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SKETCHES

OF

"VIRGINIA,"

HISTORICAL

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL.

BY THE  
REV. WILLIAM HENRY FOOTE D. D.,  
PASTOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ROMNEY, VIRGINIA.

Second Series.

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PHILADELPHIA:  
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.  
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## INTRODUCTION.

Fa' r's Grant — The first Settlements west of the Blue Ridge, in Vir- a — Grants to Vanmeter — Joist Hite removes to Virginia — her Settlers — Frederick County set off — Extracts from the Records Court .....	PAGE 13-17
--	------------

## CHAPTER I.

### THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE OPEQUON.

Wives by a Young Lady — Visit to the Church and Church-yard — The Early Settlers — Names of Families — Extent of Settlement — Mis- sionaries — First Pastor — Second Pastor — Third Pastor — Inscrip- tion on a Tomb-stone — William Hoge — Robert White — Samuel Glass .....	18-24
---	-------

## CHAPTER II.

### SETTLEMENTS ON THE FORKS OF SHENANDOAH.

Stone Church, Augusta — Grants to Burden and Beverly — Missiona- ries — Mr. Craig, the first Pastor — His Early Life — Emigrates to America while a Youth — Visits the Triple Forks — His views of the Congregation — His Domestic Arrangements — The old Burying- ground — Epitaphs of the three Ministers .....	25-34
---	-------

## CHAPTER III.

### TINKLING SPRING.

The Name — John Lewis — Col. Patton — John Preston — John Van- lear — John M'Cue — James C. Willson .....	35-39
--	-------

## CHAPTER IV.

### PRESBYTERY OF HANOVER — FROM ITS FORMATION TO ITS REMODELLING.

Samuel Davies — Effort to remove Jonathan Edwards to Virginia — Formation of Hanover Presbytery — The Records — John Craig — John Todd — Extracts from the Records of the Council of State — Letter to Whitfield — Efforts for a College in Kentucky — Close of Life — Robert Henry — Origin of Briery Congregation — Anecdote of Mr. Henry — His Death — John Wright — Causes of Toleration — John Brown — John Martin — Some Acts of Presbytery .....	40-58
---	-------

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER V.

## NEW PROVIDENCE.

Origin of the Congregation, from Mr. Houston's Letter — Building the Church — Classical School — Samuel Brown — His Birth — Education — Missionary Tours — Settlement — Labors — Estimation of his Charge — Of his Brethren — His Death.....	58-71
--	-------

## CHAPTER VI.

## HANOVER PRESBYTERY — FROM 1758 TO 1770.

Henry Pattillo—William Richardson—Andrew Millar—Samuel Black — Hugh M'Aden — Richard Sankey—James Waddell, D. D.—James Hunt—David Rice—Mrs. Samuel Blair's Skotch of Herself—James Creswell — Charles Cummings — Samuel Leake—David Caldwell — Joseph Alexander — Thomas Jackson — William Irwin — Hezekiah Balch — The Presbytery of Orange formed.....	89
--	----

## CHAPTER VII.

## TIMBER RIDGE.

First Inhabitants — Ephraim M'Dowell — Epitaph — Mary Greenlee — Missionaries — Call to John Brown — His Life and Labors — His Supporters, a list of — List of Subscribers, and the sums given for his support — The Alexander Family—Archibald Alexander.....	91-1
--	------

## CHAPTER VIII.

## HANOVER PRESBYTERY — FROM 1770 TO FORMATION OF VIRGINIA SYNOD

James Campbell — Samuel Edmundson — Caleb Wallace — William Graham — James Templeton — Samuel M'Corkle — Samuel Stanhope Smith — John B. Smith — Edward Crawford — Archibald Scott — Samuel Doak — John Montgomery — James M'Connel — Benjamin Erwin — William Willson — James Crawford — Samuel Shannon — James Mitchel — Moses Hoge — John M'Cue — Adam Rankin — Samuel Carrick — Samuel Houston — Andrew M'Clure — John D. Blair.	105-113
--	---------

## CHAPTER IX.

## SETTLEMENTS ON THE HOLSTON.

Letters from Ex-Governor Campbell on the Early Settlements on Holston—Call to Mr. Cummings—Incidents in his Life—The Campbells of Holston—Official Report of the Battle of King's Mountain—The Loss in Campbell's Regiment—Col. Patrick Ferguson—Incidents in his Life.....	114-133
---	---------

## CHAPTER X.

## REV. MESSRS. JAMES MITCHEL AND SAMUEL HOUSTON.

Mr. Mitchel's Appearance—His Birth and Ancestry—His entrance on the work of the ministry — His Conversion — Visits Kentucky — Is Ordained — Removes to Bedford—The Great Awakening — Anecdote of his preaching in Newmarket—His Preaching—His Sickness and Death. Mr. Houston's birth and education—Journal of his military tour, and his account of the battle of Guilford — Enters the Ministry — Goes to Tennessee—Returns to Virginia—Settles at High Bridge — His Death — His Epitaph.....	133-149
---	---------

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE CAPTIVITY AND ESCAPE OF MRS. INGLIS, 1756.

George Draper emigrates from Pennsylvania — Residence on the Allegheny — Inroads of the Indians — Col. Patton killed — The Family taken Captive — Go down the Kanawha to Ohio — Goes to the Big Scioto — Her Occupation — Goes to the Big Bone Licks — Escapes with an old Dutch Woman — Her Journey Homewards — Escapes the observation of the Indians in sight — Her Sufferings — The old Woman threatens to kill her — Reaches the Frontier — Is Recognised — Meets her Husband — The Search for her Child — Various Battles with the Indians — Her Son, the captive, comes home — Is Educated — Married — His various removals, and Incidents in his Life. . . . . 149-159

## CHAPTER XII.

## CORNSTALK; AND THE BATTLE AT POINT PLEASANT.

The Shawnees owned the Valley of the Shenandoah — First known of Cornstalk — His Endowments — An Indian Confederacy — An expedition against them planned — Point Pleasant the rendezvous — Tories collected — Gen. Andrew Lewis to command — The march down the Kanawha — The approach of the Indians — The spirit of the Soldiers — Cornstalk leads the Indians — The Shawnees — Lewis prepares for Battle — The Fight commences soon after sunrise, and lasts all day — Attacked in the rear, the Indians retreat — The Governor arrests the pursuit — Cornstalk in Conference — Eminent Men in the Battle — Cornstalk visits the Point — Is detained as Hostage — His Son visits him — Is detained — Both Slain. . . . . 159-168

## CHAPTER XIII.

## REV. WILLIAM HILL, D. D.— FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS SETTLEMENT IN WINCHESTER.

Birth-place — Education — Loses his Mother — Enters College — A Revival in College — Professes Religion — Is deprived of the use of his income — Revival on Guinea Creek — Mr. Hill lives at Col. Read's — Becomes Candidate for the Ministry — Is Licensed — A Missionary Tour — Interesting Incidents — Ride with Mr. Turner — Sick at Winchester — Second Mission — Visits Richmond — Col. Gordon's — David Smith — Methodist Meeting — Williamsburg — Mr. Holt — Third Mission — Has Cary Allen as his Companion — Goes over to the Holston — Matthew Lyle — Returns and visits the Potomac — Visits the Valley around Winchester — Ordained and settled in Jefferson County — His Endowments to Preach — Is Married — Winchester Presbytery formed 169-190

## CHAPTER XIV.

## REV. JAMES TURNER.

His Birth-place and Parentage — His Appearance — His Early Habits — Marries — Is Awakened under Mr. Lacy's preaching — The Beefsteak Club — Mr. Turner visits his Mother in distress — Is hopefully Converted — Exhorts in Meetings — The Club broken up — Is taken on trial for Licensure — His Endowments as a Speaker — Co-Pastor with Mr. Mitchel — Anecdote told by his Son — His Appearance at Presbytery — At Synod in Lexington — His Will — His Death. . . . . 190-201

## CHAPTER XV.

## BETHEL AND HER MINISTERS.

- Origin of Bethel — First Pastor, Mr. Cummings — Second Pastor, Mr. Scott — His Origin — His entrance to the Ministry — The new Meeting-House — Memorial of Presbytery — The Memorial of Messrs. Smith and Todd — Convention of the Presbyterian Church — Soldiers in the Revolution — Alarm at the approach of Tarleton — An old Soldier — Sacred Lyric by Davies — Mr. Scott's Appearance — His Preaching — His Abilities — His Death — His Family — The Exercises — Rev. William M'Pheeters, D. D. — His Origin — His Pious Mother — Her Experience and Death — Letter from Dr. M'Farland — He enters the Ministry — Preaches in Kentucky — In Bethel — Called to Raleigh — Organizes a Church — Resigns the Pastoral Care — His Domestic Relations — A Letter from his Daughter — Death of his Son — His own Death . . . . . 202-216

## CHAPTER XVI.

## ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER—HIS LICENSURE AND SETTLEMENT IN CHARLOTTE.

- His first Ministerial Services — When taken under care of Presbytery — His Trial Pieces — His Companions in Study — His Examinations — Is made Elder — Goes to the Assembly — His visit to Mr. Hoge — His visit to Philadelphia — Graham's Attachment to the Youth — His Trial Sermon for Licensure — His Examination and Licensure in Winchester — His Winter's Work — The attention excited by his Preaching — Becomes a resident in Charlotte — Is ordained — The Copartnership — Materials for Church History — Mrs. Legrand . . . . . 217-223

## CHAPTER XVII.

## REV. MESSRS. CARY ALLEN AND WILLIAM CALHOON.

- Parentage of Allen — His Peculiarities — His Reflections on the Hogs — His commencing a course of Classical Studies — His Comic Power — John Gilpin — His Conversion — Desires the Ministry — Difficulties in the way — Becomes Candidate — Is Delayed — Is Licensed — Goes to Kentucky with Robert Marshall — His Preaching on Silver Creek — Returns to Virginia — Incident in Campbell — Again visits Kentucky — Mr. Calhoon goes in company — Allen's attempt to imitate Calhoon — His Mission in Virginia — Col. Skillern — Sermon at his House — Address to the Negroes — His Interview at a Tavern — Infidelity rebuked in Lexington by him — Letter from Daniel Allen — William Calhoon — His Childhood — Enters College — Takes Allein's Alarm to William Hill — Becomes Candidate for the Ministry — Goes to Kentucky with Cary Allen — Settles in Kentucky — Removes to Virginia — Settles in Albemarle — Removes to Augusta County — His Characteristics — His Interview with William Wirt — Mr. Wirt's Conversion . . . . . 223-240

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## JOHN H. RICE, D. D.

- His Birth-place — His Parentage — His Early Training — Loss of his Mother — Makes profession of Religion — His Youthful Studies — Goes to Liberty Hall — Lives with Mr. Baxter at New London — Private Teacher at Malvern Hills — His Improvement and his Trials — Returns Home — His Sickness — Seeks the office of Tutor in College 241-247

CHAPTER XIX.

MESSRS. ALEXANDER AND RICE ASSOCIATED IN COLLEGE.

Efforts of the Board to get a President—Mr. Alexander declines—Mr. Blair declines—Apply to Mr. Alexander again—He accepts—Removes to College—Rice and Alexander conjoined become lasting Friends—Arrangements for Preaching—Members of Hanover Presbytery—The Charitable Fund—Mr. Rice leaves College—Mr. Alexander visits Ohio—Mr. Speece becomes Tutor—The Subject of Baptism—Estimation of Mr. Rice..... 248-260

CHAPTER XX.

GEORGE A. BAXTER—FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS RECTORSHIP.

Graham, Rice, and Baxter—Baxter's Birth-place and Parentage—Incident in his Early Life—His Teacher, M'Nemara—Member of College—Professes Faith—Mr. Stuart's Letters—Is Licensed—Marries—Col. Fleming—Chosen Rector of Washington Academy, Lexington..... 260-269

CHAPTER XXI.

MESSRS. ALEXANDER AND RICE A SECOND TIME ASSOCIATED AT HAMPDEN SIDNEY.

Circumstances—Mr. Alexander goes to Assembly—By the residence of Dr. Waddell—Visits New England—Returns to the College—Becomes Son-in-law of Dr. Waddell—Call to Cumberland—Mr. Rice's Letter to Mrs. Morton—Specimens of Preaching—His Difficulties—Is Married—Becomes Candidate for the Ministry—Is Licensed—Minutes of Presbytery transcribed—Mr. Rice called to Cub Creek—Mr. Tompkins, a Baptist Minister—Second step towards a Theological Seminary—Dr. Alexander's estimation of Mr. Rice at that time ..... 269-280

CHAPTER XXII.

GEORGE A. BAXTER, AND THE AWAKENING AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Ministers of the Synod of Virginia—Mr. Baxter visits Kentucky—Letter to Archibald Alexander, giving in detail the facts and circumstances of the Revival in Kentucky—Revival in Bedford—Mr. Baxter, with some young people, visits Bedford ..... 280-290

CHAPTER XXIII.

DR. BAXTER—RECTOR AND PRESIDENT.

His Income—His Duties in College—The Studies of College—Number of Students completing their Studies—Endowment of the College by the Cincinnati—Name of the Institution changed—Dr. Baxter as President—He is invited to other Institutions—His Domestic Affairs 290-294

CHAPTER XXIV.

REV. DANIEL BLAIN.

Birth-place—Parentage—Childhood—Seeks an Education—Goes to Liberty Hall—Licensed—Is Associated with Mr. Baxter—Is Married



— One of the Committee on the Magazine — His Articles — An Extract — His Early Death — Mary Hanna — Letter from S. B. Wilson, D. D. — Matthew Hanna ..... 294-301

**CHAPTER XXV.**

**DR. RICE — RESIDENCE IN CHARLOTTE.**

Members of the Church — Colored Members — Mr. Rice teaches School — An Incident — Slave Population — Slaves Members, their condition — The Account of them by Rev. S. J. Price — Articles in the Magazine — Donation by Mr. Baker — Collections for a Library — Mr. Alexander removes from Virginia — Dr. Hoge chosen President — Reasons for accepting the Office — Dr. Alexander Moderator of Assembly — His Sermon — A Seminary determined upon — Mr. Rice opens Assembly — His Studies — His Desires — Anecdote of Drury Lacy — Mr. Lacy visits Richmond — Propositions to remove Mr. Rice to Richmond — Situation of Hanover Presbytery..... 301-310

**CHAPTER XXVI.**

**WILLIAM HILL IN WINCHESTER, 1800-1818.**

Population of Winchester — Unable to agree upon the Candidates — Turn their attention to Mr. Hill — Unanimous Invitation — His Influence — The Situation of the Congregation — A Revival — William Williamson — John Lyle — Mr. Hill's Preaching — His Domestic Engagements — An Incident..... 310-319

**CHAPTER XXVII.**

**DR. RICE — HIS RESIDENCE IN RICHMOND.**

Richmond at the time of his Removal — The Burning of the Theatre — Renewed Efforts to get Mr. Rice to Richmond — He determines to go — Removes to Richmond — Letter to Dr. Alexander — Reception in Richmond — Presbytery in Richmond — Installation Services — Virginia Bible Society — Difficulties to be overcome — An Incident — The Monumental Church — Friendship of Mr. Buchanan — New Church — The Christian Monitor — Death of Mrs. Morton — The last days of Drury Lacy — Application for an Act of Incorporation — Rev. Samuel J. Mills — The Magazine — The Printing Press — The Pamphleteer — The University of Virginia — Josiah Smith — Mr. Chester's Visit — Young Men's Missionary Society — D. D. — Meeting of General Assembly, 1820 and 1822 — The General Association of Connecticut — Of Massachusetts — Dr. Sprague's Account..... 319-340

**CHAPTER XXVIII.**

**THE MESSRS. RANDOLPH.**

Theodoro Tudor becomes a Pupil — Taken Sick — Visited by his Mother — She becomes a Believer — John Randolph of Roanoke — Tudor goes to Harvard University — Leaves College — Visits England, and Dies — Randolph's Letter to Rice — The Trials of John Randolph — His Opinion of Dr. Hoge — Letter to Judge Henry St. George Tucker — Death of Mrs. Randolph ..... 340-349

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xi

CHAPTER XXIX.

REV. CONRAD SPEECE, D. D.—HIS YOUTH AND MINISTRY TO 1820.

His Birth-place—Of German Origin—Samuel Brown encourages him— Begins his Classic Education under Mr. Graham — Great Success in Study— Makes profession of Religion — Begins the study of Divinity — Stops his trials on account of difficulty about Baptism — Becomes Tutor at Hampden Sidney — Is Immersed — Returns to the Presbyterian Church, and is licensed to preach — Settles in Maryland — Returns to Virginia — Settles in Powhatan — Removes to Augusta — His Journal — His Installation — The case of George Bourne — On account of his doings on the subject of Slavery, Mr. Bourne is deposed — The case goes before the Assembly — Back to Presbytery — Again to Assembly—The Deposition Confirmed—Mr. Speece's opinions on Slavery..... 349-365

CHAPTER XXX.

JOHN H. RICE, D. D.—HIS REMOVAL TO PRINCE EDWARD.

Circumstances leading to his removal—The labors and last days of Dr. Hoge — The estimation in which Dr. Hoge was held—The Assembly founds a Theological Seminary, excited by a memorial from Philadelphia Presbytery, on the proposition of Archibald Alexander — Mr. Hoge's death — Mr. Alexander chosen President of Hampden Sidney College — Mr. J. T. Cushing chosen Professor — The Seminary transferred to Hanover Presbytery — J. H. Rice chosen Professor — He is chosen President of Princeton College — Letter from Dr. Miller — Letter from Dr. M'Dowell — Second Letter from Dr. Miller — Dr. Rice to Dr. Woods—Third Letter from Dr. Miller—Mental Exercises of Dr. Rice—Declines the Presidency of the College — Letter to Dr. Alexander — Death of Mrs. Wood — Fourth Letter from Dr. Miller—Visit to the Eastern Shore—Accepts the Professorship—Visit to the State of New York ..... 365-387

CHAPTER XXXI.

DR. RICE — HIS ENTRANCE ON THE WORK OF THE PROFESSORSHIP.

State of Hanover Presbytery—Of Hampden Sidney—President Cushing—Mr. Rice's situation, by an eye-witness—Mr. Marsh—The Professor's House — The Inauguration — The first class of Students — Mr. Marsh employed — Funds of the Seminary — A great Southern Seminary—Dr. Alexander's visit—Mr. Roy appointed Agent—Little Scholarship—Funds transferred to the Trustees of General Assembly — The Assembly accepts the keeping of the funds, and takes the oversight of the Seminary — The nine Resolutions — The Synod of Virginia agrees to take the place of the Presbytery — The Synod of North Carolina agrees to join with Synod of Virginia — Dr. Caldwell in debate — Matthew Lyle — The Episcopal Controversy— Review of Bishop Ravenscroft's four Sermons and his Pamphlet..... 387-410

CHAPTER XXXII.

DR. RICE — HIS AGENCIES.

Reasons for entering on them — Visits New York in summer of 1827 — Extracts from his Letters — Goes up the North River — Visits Philadelphia in the fall of 1827, and winter of 1827-8 — Mr. Nettleton's visit to Virginia followed by great religious excitements — Dr. Rice's Letters about it — Mr. Goodrich chosen Professor..... 410-428

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

## LAST LABORS OF DR. RICE.

He preaches the Sermon before the Board of Foreign Missions—James B. Taylor—Dr. Rice's Library bought for the Seminary—Dr. Rice's plan for a full course of study under four Professors—Students reduce the price of board—Dr. Rice states his position—The Boston House—Agency in North Carolina—Hanover Presbytery divided—A Series of Letters addressed to Ex-President Madison—Visit to New York—Goes Home Sick—His last Sermon..... 428-435

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## LAST ILLNESS OF DR. RICE.

Confined to his House—Letter to Dr. Wisner—Memorial to the Assembly on Foreign Missions—Its disposition—Mr. Staunton assists Dr. Rice—Illness increases—Drs. M'Auley and M'Dowell elected Professors—Mr. Ballentine attends upon Dr. Rice—The Closing Scene of his Life—Major Morton—The Burial..... 435-444

## CHAPTER XXXV.

## SPIRIT AND EXAMPLE OF DR. RICE.

1st. Indefatigable in his Efforts—2d. Earnest in Intellectual Improvement—3d. A Friend of the Colored Race—4th. Was fond of his Pen—5th. A quick sense of the Ridiculous—6th. Happy in his Domestic Relations—7th. Always caring for the Seminary—Letter to Dr. M'Farland—8th. Excels in the Class Room—9th. Abundant in Labors—His Resolutions..... 444-456

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## DR. BAXTER—INAUGURATED PROFESSOR.

Chosen Professor—Enters upon the duties of his Office—His Inaugural Address—Dr. Hill's Charge—The State of the Southern Churches..... 456-463

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## DR. HILL—FROM 1818 TO LEAVING WINCHESTER.

Domestic Affliction—Winchester, a visit to, in 1853—Burial of Elizabeth M. Hill—Visit to the Grave-Yards—Daniel Morgan—Gen. Robedeau—Judge White—Various Inscriptions—Dr. Hill finds Trouble—Proposes a renewal of their Covenant to the Church—His habits in Discussions—Some Collisions—Subject of Dancing—Choice of a Successor—A new Church organized—John Matthews, D. D.—Mr. Riddle settled in Winchester—Is removed to Pittsburg—Dr. Hill resigns his Charge—Removes to Presbytery of West Hanover—To Alexandria—To Winchester..... 463-480

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## DR. SPEECE—THE CLOSE OF LIFE.

His views of Theological Seminaries—An active friend of the Temperance Cause—State of the Question—Death—Dr. Baxter's opinion of him—New Measures—Dr. Hendren's opinion of him—His Library—Poetry, the last from his Pen..... 480-486

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

GOING INTO THE CONVENTION.

Position of the Southern Churches in regard to matters in Controversy — 1st. Examination of Ministers—2d. Churches formed on the Plan of Union — Plan of Union — 3d. Case of Rev. Albert Barnes — 4th. Cause of Foreign Missions—Reception and disposition of Dr. Rice's Memorial — Presbytery of Baltimore resolves to engage in Foreign Missions—Western Foreign Missionary Society formed—Report laid before the Assembly, 1832 — Central Board of Foreign Missions — Western Board transferred to Assembly — Not Accepted — Dr. Miller's Letter about Dr. Rice's Memorial—5th. The Act and Testimony — Against Errors—6th. The Subject of Slavery—Lastly. A Division of the Presbyterian Church — Position of the Virginia Synod — Act of the Virginia Synod, adopted at Petersburg — The Virginia Presbyteries determine to go into Convention..... 486-512

CHAPTER XL.

THE CONVENTION OF 1837.

The President — Movements of Southern Members — Committee of Business — Resolutions Proposed — Errors Condemned — In Doctrine, Order, and Discipline — Memorial Prepared — Miscellaneous Resolutions ..... 513-520

CHAPTER XLI.

THE ASSEMBLY OF 1837.

Expectation of the Churches — The Opening Services — The Presentation of the Memorial — The Report of the Committee on it — Resolution abrogating the Plan of Union — Debate upon it — Postponement of the Debate on Errors of Doctrine — Resolution for Citation — Debate upon it — Messrs. Beman and Plumer — Committee on the State of the Church — The peaceable division of the Church contemplated — The Committee Disagree — Their Reports — Dr. Baxter's Principle on a Constitutional Question — Brought forward in Convention — And in the Assembly — Debate upon its application to the Western Reserve — The Vote — Foreign Missions — Preparations for a Lawsuit — Errors Condemned — Protests Entered — Where they may all be found — Adjournment of the Assembly..... 521-538

CHAPTER XLII.

THE DIVISION OF THE VIRGINIA SYNOD.

The Excitement on account of the action of the Assembly — Dr. Baxter's Position and Course — Watchman of the South — Action of the Presbyteries — Action of the Board of Directors of Union Theological Seminary — Resignation of Professors — Position of Drs. Hill and Baxter — Division of Presbyteries, beginning with Abington — Election of new Professors — Records of Hanover Presbytery — Dr. Hodge's and Dr. Hill's History of the Infancy of Presbyterianism in America — Later Researches — The time Makemie came to America — The Separation of the opposing parts of the Synod — Rev. Wm. M. Atkinson — His Labors, Sickness, and Death — His Birth — Entrance on the Ministry — His Lovely Character..... 538-556

## CHAPTER XLIII.

GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.—CLOSING SCENE OF HIS LIFE.

Circumstances of his Last Days—Dr. Hendren's estimation of Dr. Baxter—Mr. Boccock's Address—Dr. Baxter's Writings—Mr. Morrison's Letter ..... 556-564

## CHAPTER XLIV.

RECOLLECTIONS—SACRAMENT AT MONMOUTH.

Dr. Leyburn's Recollections of Mr. Turner—Of Mr. Mitchel—Of Dr. Speece—Of Dr. Baxter—The Sacrament at Monmouth ..... 565-573

## CHAPTER XLV.

REV. CLEMENT READ.

His Ancestry—Genealogy of Families—The Carrington Family—Mr. Read's Education—His Wife's Ancestry—His Entrance on the Ministry with the Republican Methodists—Mr. Lacy's Letters about the Union of Denominations—Mr. Read joins the Presbyterian Church—A Calvinist in Creed—His View of the Duties of the Church—His Habits..... 573-580

## CHAPTER XLVI.

MESSRS. LOGAN, BOWYER, AND ANDERSON

The Labors of Mr. Logan in the Ministry—Judge Johnston's Letter concerning Col. Bowyer—Mrs. Bowyer—Col. Anderson—His Military Life—His Character ..... 580-586

## CHAPTER XLVII.

FREDERICKSBURG—JOHN B. HOGE AND JAMES H. FITZGERALD.

Location of the City—Orphan Asylum—First place of worship for the Presbyterians—John Mark—First Presbyterian Minister—Recollections of Fredericksburg—The Worshippers at the Presbyterian Church—The Order at Church—The Meeting of Synod—The Preaching of John B. Hoge—Of Dr. Alexander—Sketch of John B. Hoge—Of James H. Fitzgerald..... 586-596

SKETCHES  
OF  
VIRGINIA.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.

THE first habitations of white men, west of the Blue Ridge in Virginia, designed for a permanent residence, were erected upon the waters that flow into the Cohongorooton, and with it form the Potomac. The grant of the northern neck, to the ancestors of Lord Fairfax, claimed for its western boundary a line from the head-spring of the Rappahannoc, supposed to rise in the Blue Ridge, to the head-spring of the Potomac, supposed to rise in the same ridge, or not far to the west. The Shenandoah, or more probably the Monoccacy, was reckoned the main branch of the Potomac. As the beauty and fertility of the country, west of the Blue Ridge, became known by hunters and explorers, Lord Fairfax naturally searched for the longest stream that passed through the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry, gave the name of Potomac to the Cohongorooton of the aborigines and looked for its head-spring in the distant ridges of the Allegheny. The name Potomac, became by general use the appellation of the river, that is the dividing line between Maryland and Virginia, from its mouth to its head-spring. The western or south-western lines of the grant being extended so far into the Alleghenies, Lord Fairfax claimed that extensive and fertile country embraced in the counties of Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Frederic, Clarke, Warren, Page, Shenandoah and Hardy. While the claims of Fairfax to this extended grant were not admitted in Virginia, or established in England, warrants for surveying and appropriating extensive tracts, west of the Blue Ridge, were granted, by the governor of Virginia, to enterprising men, on condition of permanent settlements being made, on portions of the territory covered by the warrants. John and Isaac Vanmeter obtained, from Gov. Gooch, a warrant for 40,000 acres to be located among the beautiful prairies at the lower

end of the valley. This warrant they sold to Joist Hite of Pennsylvania, who proceeded to make locations of the land, and to induce emigrants from the European nations to take their residence on his grant.

Of the streams that water the extensive western section of Fairfax's grant, all of which seek their outlet by the Cohongorooton, at Harper's Ferry, the Opecquon, taking its rise at the base of the North Mountain a few miles west of Winchester, and winding its way through the middle of the valley to the main river Potomac, claims for her banks the honor of the first settlement. The Cedar creek, rising in the same mountain a little farther south, and winding across the valley into the Shenandoah, divides the honor with the Opecquon, or claims indisputably the second place. The Shenandoah claims the third for its banks above its first forks, in the counties of Page, Warren and Shenandoah. About the same time Linvel's creek in Rockingham, in Beverly's grant, was chosen for a settlement. And then in quick succession the adjoining head streams of the Shenandoah and the James, and the waters that run among the Allegheny ridges into the Potomac, and the Potomac itself, were adorned with habitations of white men associated for mutual defence and improvement.

A dispute immediately arose between Fairfax and Hite, and other grantees. Fairfax obtained from the crown the establishment of his boundaries, on conditions,—one of which was that the grants already made by the king's officers should remain undisturbed by any claim of Fairfax. Hite was thus confirmed in his grant, and those that bought under him were secured in their possessions. Fairfax, however, pretended that Hite had not fulfilled the conditions of his grants, for besides the grant obtained from the Messrs. Vanmeter, he had with M'Kay, Green and Duff, received warrants to locate 100,000 acres in the bounds of the so called northern neck; and he proceeded to grant away large quantities of the land covered by Hite's warrants. This proceeding led to a lawsuit, which was finally settled in 1786, in favour of Hite. While all that bought under Hite were secured by the compromise with the king, those who bought under Fairfax and settled on Hite's grants, were compelled by this decision to hold their titles from Hite. The lawsuit alarmed many emigrants, and the hopes of greater security allured them on to the head waters of the Shenandoah, and a large region of country, of which Staunton is near the centre, was occupied more rapidly than the lower end of the valley, unsurpassed as it was in beauty and fertility, and untroubled as a great part of it was by the opposing grants and the lawsuit.

Those that first came into the valley for a residence, were Scotch-Irish, more or less direct from Ireland, through Pennsylvania; Germans, also through Pennsylvania, more or less direct from the parent land; and the Quakers or Friends, of English origin, also from the state of Penn, their American founder. A large part of the valley, from the head springs of the Shenandoah to the

Potomac, or Maryland line, a distance of about 150 miles, embracing ten counties, was covered with prairies abounding in tall grass, and these, with the scattered forests, were filled with pea vines. Much of the beautiful timber in the valley has grown since the emigrants chose their habitations.

Joist Hite removed his family to Virginia in 1732, and took his residence on the Opecquon a few miles south of Winchester. The farm and dwelling of Mr. Hite have been for many years in possession of the Barton family. His sons-in-law came with him: George Bowman was located on Cedar Creek, about eight miles south of Newtown; Jacob Chrisman at a spring two miles south of Newtown, still called by his name; and Paul Froman on Cedar Creek, some nine miles above Bowman, towards the North Mountain. Other families came with them, making in all sixteen. Peter Stephens took his residence between Hite and Chrisman, and others settling with him, he called the place Stephensburg, now commonly called Newtown. Robert M'Kay made his residence on Crooked Run. Robert Green and Peter Duff came with the company—but preferred locating a part of their grant east of the Blue Ridge, in Rappahannoc County.

Other grants were obtained from the Governor in the region claimed by Fairfax, and were sanctioned by the king; one in 1733, to Jacob Stover, a German, for five thousand acres on the south fork of the Gerando (Shenandoah) and on Mesinetta Creek. In 1734, Benjamin Allen, Riley Moore and William White, removed from Monocacy in Maryland, and settled on the north branch of the Shenandoah, about twelve miles south of Woodstock.

Before any settlement had been made in the valley of the Shenandoah, John Vanmeter, from the state of New York, accompanied the Delawares in an excursion to the Catawba. Their path led along the south branch of the Potomac. Delighted with the appearance of Hardy County, he, on his return, advised his sons if they turned their steps southward for a home to seek the south branch. His son Isaac visited the country about the year 1736, and made what is called a tomahawk right to Fort Pleasant. He revisited the country in 1740, and found a cabin built upon the tract. He bought out the inhabitant, and in 1744, removed his family. Between his first visit, and his removal, a number of persons had taken their abode along the branch—Howard, Coburn, Walker, Rutledge, Miller, Hite, Casey, Pancake, Forman, and perhaps others, had found their way to that beautiful country.

In 1734, Richard Morgan obtained a grant for a tract of land in the immediate vicinity of Shepherd's town, on the Cohongorooton. The first settlers were Robert Harper (at Harper's Ferry), Thomas and William Forrester, Israel Friend, Thomas Shepherd, Thomas Swearingen, Van Swearingen, James Forman, Edward Lucas, Jacob Hite (son of Joist), John Lemon, Richard and Edward Mercer, Jacob Vaameter and brothers, Robert Stockton, Robert Buckles, John Taylor, Richard Morgan, William Stroop and John



Wright. Others were soon added: and settlements were made along the banks of the Cohongorooton, or Potomac, from Harper's Ferry to the North Mountain.

An enterprising man by the name of Ross obtained a warrant for forty thousand acres. His surveys were north of Winchester, along the Opecquon and Apple-pye Ridge. The settlers were Friends, and in 1738 had regular monthly meetings.

In 1730, Colonel Robert Carter had obtained a grant for sixty three thousand acres along the Shenandoah, on the west side, from the forks down about twenty miles: some of the finest lands in Warren County were embraced. Another grant of thirteen thousand acres along the same river, next below Carter's tract, embraced the finest lands in Clarke County. These tracts were not pressed into market, and were not occupied till the rest of the valley was taken up.

Back Creek in Berkeley county, west of the North Mountain, was early settled, being chosen in preference to the lands in the valley between the North Mountain and the Blue Ridge. The settlers were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The date of their earliest settlement is not preserved. Harassed by the Indians in Braddock's war, the greater part went across the North Mountain and took their abode on Tuscarora and along to the Falling Waters, and founded congregations by those names, still known in the Presbyterian Church.

In 1738, the County of Frederick was set off, including all Fairfax grant west of the Blue Ridge, now embraced in ten counties. The preamble of the law says—"Whereas great numbers of people have settled themselves of late upon the rivers Shenandoah, Cohongorooton and Opecquon, and the branches thereof, on the north side of the Blue Ridge Mountains, whereby the strength of the colony, and its security upon the frontiers, and his majesty's revenues of quit-rents are like to be much increased and augmented," &c., &c. On Tuesday, November 14th, 1743, eight persons took the magistrates' oath, and composed the court. Morgan Morgan and David Vance administered the oath to Marquis Calmes, Thomas Rutherford, William M'Mahon, Meredith Helmes, George Hoge and John White. These, in turn, administered the oath to Morgan Morgan and David Vance. James Wood was made Clerk of the County, and Thomas Rutherford, Sheriff. James Porteus, John Steerman, George Johnston, and John Newport, gentlemen, taking the oath of attornies, were admitted to the Bar. Winchester was the county seat. At the second meeting of the court, December 9th, 1743, the will of Benjamin Burden, who had been named as magistrate, was proved: Barnet Lindsey received twenty lashes on his bare back, at the common whipping-post, for stealing two pieces of venison from the milk house of Thomas Hart, adjudged to be worth two pence: Henry Howard, servant to James M'Crachan, was adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, on charge of stealing a mare from Samuel Glass, and received ten lashes on his bare back, December 10th. In another case of horse stealing—or rather horse

riding—taking a man's horse without leave, and riding off on a visit for some days—the defendant had his choice of twenty lashes or fifteen shillings fine: the same Henry Howard was complained of by his master, James M'Crachan, that he had been absent eleven days, and that in finding him and bringing him back, the expenses had been twenty shillings, and one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco; and the court ordered that he serve six months and four days for his runaway time and expenses, after the expiration of his time of servitude according to law, unless he could otherwise satisfy his master. In March, 1744, ordered that James O'Neal keep the Court House clean, and attend on court days to take care of the Justices' horses during a twelvemonth, for which he is to receive from the county levy £23 15s. current money.

These servants were persons from the old country, sold to service for a term of time to pay their passage across the ocean. Black slaves were not common in the valley of Virginia, till long after the revolution, except along the Shenandoah river, on the tracts of land owned by persons living east of the Ridge. The public officers were chosen with due respect to the various settlements in the extended county. The High Sheriff was from Jefferson—the County Clerk from Winchester—Morgan, one of the Magistrates, from Berkeley, Hoge, from south branch of Potomac, and the others from Frederick, and Clarke, and Warren.

Augusta County was set off in 1738, at the same time with Frederick. The two counties were to embrace all western Virginia; Frederick to contain that part of the northern neck west of the Ridge, and Augusta all the rest of the vast western possessions. The dividing line was to run from the head-spring of Hedgeman's river, a branch of the Rappahannoc, to the head-spring of the Potomac. Augusta contained an area now embraced by four states, and about forty counties in Virginia. The emigrants to this county were like those to Frederick, with the exceptions of the Friends. The Scotch-Irish took the lead.

And now kind reader, you shall be introduced, if you please, to some of these early settlements, made by men of strong minds, ready hands, and brave hearts; the elements of whose character, like the country they chose, have been developed in the prosperity of Virginia.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE OPECQUON SETTLEMENT.

[Lines written by a young lady that now lies in the old burying-ground near Opecquon Church.]

HEAR you not the warning sigh  
 On the breeze that passes by?  
 Lingerers near this solemn ground,  
 To our silent home ye're bound.  
 Hast thou strength? the strong were laid  
 In these mansions of the dead.  
 Youth and vigor slumber here;  
 And hast thou no cause to fear?  
 Hast thou kindred? ties as strong  
 Here have been forgotten long:  
 As they laid each sleeper low,  
 Sighs were heaved, and tears did flow.  
 Hast thou beauty? hast thou wealth?  
 Future hopes and present health?  
 Trust them not,—here perished lie,  
 Loveliness and hopes as high.  
 Yes, we hear thee;—on the ear  
 There has fallen a voice of fear.  
 Deep, sepulchral, hollow tone,  
 We would bid thy words begone.  
 Must we perish? must we die?  
 And beneath the cold earth lie?  
 Yes, this fearful thing we know;  
 Monitor, thy tale is true.  
 Speak again thou warning one;  
 Did you go with horror down?  
 Did the dread of that dark place  
 Freeze thy blood, and blanch thy face?  
 O there is a mingled sound  
 From the regions under ground?  
 Songs of joy, and anguished moans,  
 From the lost and rescued ones?  
 Listen, and their truth's the same;  
 We had hope in Jesus' name,  
 And that hope shone in the gloom;  
 Seek his love to light thy tomb.  
 But the groaning of the lost,  
 Helpless, restless, tempest-tossed,  
 Comes to break that happy strain;  
 We despised the Saviour's name,  
 And we warn you from the grave,  
 Ye cannot his anger brave.  
 Lingerers! idle not your day,  
 Fly, and seek him while you may.

About three miles from Winchester, on the paved road to Staunton, on the western side of the road, near a little village, is a stone building surrounded by a few venerable oaks. That is Opecquon

meeting house; and between it and the village is the grave-yard, in which lie the remains of some of the oldest settlers of the valley: in their midst the writer of these lines, going down to the rest of her ancestors in her worth and loveliness, a believer in Jesus. Her voice charmed many hearts, in the praises of God, in this house: silenced on earth, her spirit makes melody in heaven.

Let us visit this church and yard. This house is the third built upon this site for the worshippers of the Opecquon Congregation. This old grove has witnessed the coming and going of generations; and could these trees speak, they could tell of remarkable scenes of crowded assemblies, of tears, and groans, and outcries, and joyful songs of faith, and hope, and love, under the faithful preaching of the gospel. They have bent their boughs over many a funeral train, mourning for some, lest the buried, "restless, hopeless, tempest-tossed" were waiting a sorrowful resurrection; and waving with joy over others whose dead "had hope in Jesus' name." Come, let us sit down here, in the shadow of the church and school-house, which always went hand in hand with the Scotch-Irish emigrants, and these old trees, the witnesses of the past and present, and let us gather up some of the memorials of the events and generations passing in a century of years.

It was a condition of the grant by which Hite came in possession of this beautiful country, that he should persuade some of the emigrants from the European countries, and from Pennsylvania, to settle on his lands. In all his grants of frontier territory, the Governor secured an increase of population and wealth to his Majesty's Colony, while he made the grantees rich. Hite, Beverly, and Burden, grantees in the valley, sent out advertisements to meet the emigrants as they landed on the Delaware, and also as they were about to leave their native land, setting forth the fertility and beauty of the valley, and offering favorable terms to actual settlers. And soon after Hite had removed his family to the Opecquon, the Scotch-Irish, immediately from Ireland, began to rear habitations around him and his sons-in-law, Bowman and Chrisman, and Froman, and near to Stephens and M'Kay. Of those that came first, the greater part took their titles from Hite and were located to the south of Opecquon. As others came and joined the settlement, some purchased of Fairfax, and others settling near the line of the grant, purchased on both sides, and held their titles from both Hite and Fairfax. Tradition says that Hite made more favourable terms for his purchasers than Fairfax was inclined to do; but does not tell in what this advantage consisted, except Fairfax demanded payment in money, and Hite received part in traffic. Samuel Glass took his residence at the head-spring of the Opecquon, having purchased from Hite sixteen hundred acres, lying along the southern side of the stream. He afterwards made some small purchases of Fairfax—and as a grand-daughter said, might have had as much as he pleased of the land lying toward Winchester, for a few shillings the acre. James C. Baker now occupies his farm. A son-in-law,

Becket, was seated between Mr. Glass and North Mountain; his son David took his residence a little below his father, on the Opecquon, at Cherry Mead, now owned by Madison Campbell; his son Robert was placed a little further down at Long Meadows, now in possession of his grand-son Robert. The stone dwelling is on the old site, and at the back of it is carefully preserved, as part of the residence, the stockade fort used as the place of refuge in alarms. Next down the creek was Joseph Colvin and family. None of the descendants remained long in possession of their purchase here, they chose to live on Cedar Creek. Then came John Wilson and the Marquis family, with whom he was connected; the grave of his wife is marked, in this yard, by the oldest monumental stone in the valley. Next were the M'Auleys, within sight of the church here; and then William Hoge had his residence on that little rising ground near by us to the west. He gave this parcel of land for a burying-ground, a site for a church and a school-house. Adjoining these to the south were the Allen family, a part of whom speedily removed to the Shenandoah, near Front Royal. The M'Gill family now occupy their positions here. A little beyond the village, on the other side of the paved road, lived Robert Wilson; his residence, part stone, and part wood, remains to this day. There M'Aden, on his mission to North Carolina, met with the preacher of Opecquon; and there Washington, while stationed at Winchester, was often entertained. A little further down the stream lived James Vance, son-in-law of Samuel Glass, and ancestor of a numerous race, most of whom are to be found west of the Alleghenies. These were all here as early as 1736, or '37. Other families gathered around these, and on Cedar Creek, charmed with a country abounding with prairie and pea vines, and buffaloe and deer.

By the time of Braddock's war, the congregation assembling at this place for worship was large, and composed of families of great moral worth, whose descendants have been thought worthy of any posts of trust, honor, or profit, in the gift of their fellow-citizens. They came from the gap in the North Mountain, from the neighborhood of the White Posts, from the neighborhoods east of Winchester, from Cedar Creek, and from beyond Newtown. While Washington was encamped in Winchester this was the only place of religious worship in the vicinity of the fort. Congregations assembled here when Winchester could scarce show a cluster of houses. After Braddock's war many families were added to the congregation, as the Chipleys, the Gilkersons, the Simralls and the Newalls, and many others. But it is not necessary to add further to this list, as a large portion of the families that composed the congregation of Opecquon, about the close of the 18th century, removed to the inviting fields of Kentucky, and very few families now residing near this sacred spot, can trace their origin to the early settlers.

The first minister of the Presbyterian order that visited this region is supposed to have been a Mr. Gelston, of whom the

Records of Donegal Presbytery, in 1736, say — “Mr. Gelston is appointed to pay a visit to some new inhabitants near Opeckon, in Virginia, who have been writing to Mr. Gelston, and, when he was over the river, desired a visit of this kind; and he is to spend some time in preaching to said new inhabitants according to discretion.” In 1739, the same Presbytery took measures to send Mr. John Thompson, as an Evangelist, through the new settlements, on the frontiers of Virginia.

The missionaries sent out by Donegal and New Castle Presbyteries to the frontiers, and those under the direction of the Synod, found Opeckon on their journeys going and returning. Mr. William Robinson, on his long to be remembered tour through Virginia and Carolina, repeatedly preached here. On the division of the Synod, which began in 1742, and continued till 1758, the people on Opeckon generally went with the new side, and had the visits of missionaries from the Presbytery of New Castle, and other parts of the Synod of New York.

The first pastor of this church was John Hoge, a relative of him that gave this land for the place of worship, and the burial of the dead. He was graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1748, and prepared for the ministry under the care of New Castle Presbytery. As the records of that Presbytery for a series of years cannot be found, and no private memoranda have been discovered to throw any light on the subject, the time of his licensure, and of his ordination, are not certainly known. He appears on the roll of Synod as a member in 1755. At that time he was preaching at this place. Hugh M'Aden, the pioneer in Carolina, in his journal, says, that on Tuesday, June 18th, 1755, he spent the day at Robert Wilson's, in company with Mr. Hoge, the minister. They appear to have been acquaintances. Under Mr. Hoge, the churches of Cedar Creek and Opeckon were regularly organized. There are no records of the congregations during the long period of his ministry. Tradition says he was an amiable and pious man. Becoming infirm the latter part of his life, he gave up his charge. After the Synods were united, Mr. Hoge became a member of the Presbytery of Donegal, and continued united with that body, until it was, in 1786, divided, in anticipation of forming a General Assembly, into the Presbytery of Baltimore and the Presbytery of Carlisle, to the latter of which he was annexed as without charge: in 1795, he was member of the Presbytery of Huntingdon, without charge, after which his name does not appear on the records, but the time of his death is not mentioned.

The next minister was John Montgomery, from Augusta County, a graduate of Nassau Hall; ordained in 1780, and in 1781, accepted a call from Winchester, Opeckon, and Cedar Creek. A young gentleman of fine manners, and pleasant address, and esteemed as a preacher. He remained with the congregation till 1789, and then removed to the Calf Pasture.

The third minister was Nash Legrand, an extended notice of

whom is found in the first series of these sketches. He came to visit the churches, and there being a mutual approbation, he accepted their call in 1790. His ministry was eminently successful; under his care Opecquon saw her best days. This stone house was built. A continued revival filled the church with devoted worshippers.

The neighborhoods were full of young people, active, intelligent, and enterprising. The reports from the west painted Kentucky as more beautiful in its solitariness, than Opecquon had been to the eyes of the emigrants from Ireland. And the grand-children, like their ancestors, sought a new home among the prairies, beyond the Alleghenies. Not a moiety of the congregations remained with their preacher. Being bereaved of his wife, and suffering in health, Mr. Legrand left Opecquon, in 1809. Since that time the church has been served by a succession of ministers, and has been blessed with revivals.

Now let us go within this stone enclosure, and among the remains of the ancient settlers, and meditate upon the past. Let us enter through the narrow gate-way on the southern side, through which the congregation sleeping here entered, never to return. Let us pause a few moments at this rough, low, time-worn stone, in the very centre of the graves; the first, with an inscription, reared in the Valley of Virginia to mark the resting-place of an emigrant—you will scarcely read the inscription on one side, or decipher the letters and figures on the other. The stone crumbled under the unskilful hands of the husband, who brought it from that eminence yonder on the west, and, in the absence of a proper artist, inscribed the letters himself, to be a memorial to his young and lovely wife. Tradition says he was the school-master.

[On one side.]

JOHN WILSON<sup>N</sup>  
INTERED HERE  
THE BODYS OF  
HIS 2 CHILDER &  
WIFE y<sup>d</sup> MOTHER  
MARY MARCUS  
WHO DYED AG<sup>m</sup>  
THE 4<sup>th</sup> 1742  
Aged 22 year

[On the other.]

F R O M  
J R L A N D  
J u l y 6<sup>th</sup> 1737  
CO<sup>r</sup>, Argma  
g H.

On the side on which Ireland is chiselled, the pebbles in the stone, or his unsteady hand, made large indentures, and rendered the inscription almost illegible. Here the stone has stood, a monument of affection, and marked the grave of the early departed, while the days of more than a century have passed away.

Out towards the eastern corner marked by these small head and foot stones without names, lie Hoge, and White, and Vance, and we know not how many others, with their families. We cannot distinguish their graves, but we know they lie there. A little to the right of that limestone pyramid lies William Hoge, buried in the

land of his own gift—and many of his family and descendants are around him. A pious man, he sought in America a home, in circumstances he could not find in Scotland. A native of Paisley, he embarked while a youth with a company of emigrants, leaving their native shores on account of political and religious difficulties. Among these was a family by the name of Hume. The father and mother died on the voyage and left an only child, a daughter. Young Hoge took charge of their effects, and on arriving at New York delivered them and the young lady to a connexion, a Dr. Johnston. Having chosen Amboy for his home, Mr. Hoge sought Miss Hume in marriage. In a few years he removed to the State of Delaware; and again, in a few years, removed and found a home on the Swetara, in Pennsylvania; and from that place in his old age removed, with his emigrating children, about the year 1735, to Opecquon. His oldest son, William, joined the Quakers, and took his residence with them in Loudon County; his second son, James, lived near Middletown, is mentioned by Dr. Alexander in his Autobiography, and was eminent for his clear understanding, devout fear of God, and love of the gospel of Christ; he attached himself to the Seceder Church; his son, Moses, was the professor of Theology, first regularly chosen as such by the Synod of Virginia. George, the third son of William Hoge, was one of the first bench of Magistrates in Frederick County, lived a short time on the south branch of Potomac, and removed to North Carolina. Robert Wilson had married the second daughter, and lived in that stone and wooden house. The bones of those who died on the Opecquon are in the south-eastern part of the yard, every foot of which is occupied as a tenement of the dead. Near that tree in the eastern corner lies Dr. Robert White, a graduate of Edinburgh, and many years a Surgeon in the British Navy. While in the service he visited his connexion, William Hoge, then living in Delaware, and in process of time became his son-in-law, taking for his wife the elder daughter Margaret. Having emigrated with his kin people to Virginia, he took his residence near the North Mountain, on a creek which bears his name. He was laid in this yard in the year 1752, in the 64th year of his age. He left three sons, John, Robert, and Alexander. Robert inherited the residence of his father, and it descended to his grand-child. Alexander became a lawyer of eminence, lived near Winchester, was a member of the first Congress of the United States, and of the Virginia Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution; and was a member of the Legislature at the time the Rev. J. B. Smith made his famous speech on the rights of conscience, against a general assessment. John was a member of the first bench of Magistrates in Frederick County, and was father of Robert White, who, in his youth, signalized himself in the Revolutionary Army, and bore the marks of his courage in his slightly limping gait, while he adorned the bar, and then the bench of his native State, as President of the General Court.



This limestone pyramid tells you it was reared in memory of Samuel Glass and Mary Gamble, his wife, who came in their old age, from Ban Bridge, County Down, Ireland, and were among the early settlers, taking their abode on the Opecquon in 1736. His wife often spoke of "her two fair brothers that perished in the siege of Derry." Mr. Glass lived like a patriarch with his descendants. Devout in spirit, and of good report in religion, in the absence of a regular pastor, he visited the sick to counsel and instruct, and to pray. His grand-children used to relate in their old age, by way of contrast, circumstances showing the strict observance of the Sabbath by families. Public worship was attended when practicable; and reading the Bible, committing and reciting the Catechism, and reading books of piety and devotion, filled up all the hours. Mr. Glass, in the midst of wild lands to be purchased at a low rate, thought sixteen hundred acres enough for himself and his children. Around him here lie his children and many of his grand-children, having given evidence of reconciliation to God. Just at his right lies his son-in-law, James Vance, the father of numerous descendants, both in Virginia and the wide region west of the Alleghenies. Out here to the left are his children, grand-children and great-grand-children. There is his grand-son, Joseph Glass, a Presbyterian preacher, of strong frame and powerful mind, going down to his grave in the very strength of his life, in 1821; and at his side was laid, in 1831, his wife, the flower of another Scotch-Irish family: and just by lies their eldest daughter, the wife of a Presbyterian preacher, who says on her tomb-stone, "It is easy for a Christian to die" — and near by lies the second daughter, left by the death of her parents the head of the family, herself in declining health. Among her papers were found a few lines written soon after her mother's death. Will you read them?—

Oh! my mother, vainly now  
 I seek thee, while my heart is aching;  
 And seest, knowest, carest thou,  
 While sorrow's cloud is o'er me breaking?  
 Thou dost not hear me—far away,  
 Where sorrows come not, thou art dwelling;  
 Thou heedest not the dark array  
 Which heavily my heart is filling.  
 My own kind mother! 'tis not vain  
 To think of thee, to love thee dearly;  
 That love is pure, it hath no stain;  
 Such love, such vision, cometh rarely.  
 Oh, often when I sleep, I hear  
 Thy soft voice, and I see thee smiling;  
 Tho' heavier load I wake to bear,  
 I love that sweet and brief beguiling.  
 My blessed mother! thou art where  
 Thou canst not hear my sad complaining,  
 But clothed in bliss and brightness there,  
 With the redeemed thy spirit's reigning.  
 And Father, wilt thou grant me grace  
 To follow where her step was leading?  
 With her in heaven grant me a place,  
 This, this, shall be my latest pleading.

This whole yard is strewed with the ancient dead. These new-looking monuments mark the beginning of a second century among the graves. Excellence and beauty lie here. How gladly would we stop at the very grave of William Hoge, from whom have descended so many honorable families, and so many ministers of the Gospel! And "the beauty of Opecquon" — who shall tell us where she laid down, heart-broken, to rest? To this yard hundreds and hundreds in Virginia, and the far West, will come to seek the sepulchres of their emigrating ancestors. At the Resurrection there will be joyous meetings.

Could proper memoranda of Back Creek, Falling Waters, and Tuscarora, in Berkeley County, and Elk Branch and Bull Skin, in Jefferson, and of the south branch in Hardy, be brought to light, reflections, profitable and impressive, would cluster around the recollections and memorials of the worthy emigrants. They were of the same race as those of Opecquon, and probably not a whit behind in excellence. In the absence of other testimony, these examples must guide our judgment respecting the congregations in the northern part of the great Valley of the Shenandoah.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE FORKS OF THE SHENANDOAH—THE STONE CHURCH.

THE traveller on the great paved road from Winchester to Staunton, after passing the eighty-third mile-stone, sees on his right, (about eight miles from Staunton), in a grove of ancient oaks, a stone building, of antique and singular appearance. The east end is towards the road, with a large doorway for folding doors, about midway from the corners of the house; and on one side of this large entrance is a low, narrow door, according with no known architecture or proportion. Near the ridge of the roof the gable slants a number of feet, as if the corner of the roof and gable had been cut off, and the vacancy covered with shingles. A little above the great door is a window of modern construction. On the north side of the house is an appendage, a small room with walls and chimney of stone. Diverging from the road, in the path long trod by the generations assembling here, the visitor will perceive, at a small distance from the house, traces of a ditch and the remains of an embankment, drawn quite round the house in a military style. This is the oldest house of worship in the Valley of Virginia. It has seen the revolution of years carrying away generations of men, and their habitations, and their churches. The light pine doors speak at once their modern origin, swinging in the place of the massy

oaks that hung upon the solid posts, in unison with the walls that now, after the storms of a century have left their marks, give no signs of speedy decay. Reared before Braddock's war, this house was to the early emigrants a place for the worship of Almighty God, and a retreat from the inroads of the savages, the dwelling-place of mercy, and a refuge from the storm. That ditch was deep, and that bank had its palisade; and that little door was the wicket-gate, and that room was the kitchen, when the alarm of approaching savages filled the house and closed the massy doors. Thus secured, the courageous women and children could defend themselves from any savage attack while the strong men went to their fields, or to drive off the intruding foe. On the other side of the great road is the place where these adventurous emigrants were laid to repose till dust has returned to dust, in close assemblage, as in the house of God, or the palisaded fort.

These first settlers of this beautiful country were like those of Opecquon, from the north of Ireland, the blended Scotch-Irish, and in search, as they said, of freedom of conscience with a competence in the wilderness; and for these they cheerfully left their homes and kindred in Ireland. Unallured by the speedy steamers and comfortable packets, they crossed the great abyss of waters, and sought the mountains of Virginia. Benjamin Burden and William Beverly had each obtained a large grant of land from Governor Gooch, to be located west of the Blue Ridge, on the head-waters of the Shenandoah and the James. Each of these was interested to procure settlers by the terms of the grant, and for their own convenience and profit. Beverly was from the lower country of Virginia, a branch of the well-known family; Burden was an enterprising trader from New Jersey, and had ingratiated himself with the Governor. John Lewis was from Ireland, by way of Portugal, to which he first fled after a bloody encounter with an oppressive land-holder, of whom Lewis was lessee. Lewis brought his wife, Mary Lynn, and four sons, Andrew, Thomas, William, and Charles, and one daughter, as we are told by Colonel Stuart, of Greenbrier, and made his locations on a creek running into the Middle Forks of Shenandoah. His residence was a few miles below Staunton, which stands on the same creek, called, after the first settler, Lewis. John Mackey at the same time took his residence at Buffalo Gap; and John Salling at the forks of James river, below the Natural Bridge. Lewis located land in different places, making judicious selections. Beverly's tract lay across the valley, the upper edge of which included Staunton. Burden's tract was in the upper part of Augusta, and in Rockbridge.

Great efforts were made to call the attention of emigrants, who, landing on the Delaware, were finding their way to the lower end of the valley, and the pleasant country at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, on the waters of the James and Roanoke. Advertisements were sent to meet the emigrants at landing, and also, it is said, across the water. It does not appear that either of these

gentlemen went, or sent agents to Europe, to seek for emigrants: that was not necessary. The tide of emigration was rapid. The invitations offering the most favorable terms, were the most successful. Beverly and Burden could present more encouraging circumstances in the upper end of the valley, than Hite and others could at the lower end, threatened as they were by Fairfax, with lawsuits, and all the vexations of litigation. And before the year 1788, numerous settlements were made on the prairie hills and vales of the Triple Forks of Shenandoah.

The old stone church, with the grave-yard near, was the centre of a cluster of neighborhoods. Emigrants in sufficient numbers to form a congregation able to support a minister, would scatter abroad in distant localities in this beautiful region, scarcely near enough for self-defence, or to assemble on the sabbath. Families chose their residence according as they fancied a spring of water, a running stream, a hill, a piece of woods, a prairie, or extensive range for cattle and horses, or abundance of game, that gathered in some valleys. The first consequence of this wide occupation of the country was ease of living. The range was sufficient for the cattle and horses, summer and winter. A few fields were tilled for bread. The next consequence was a long ride or walk to meet in congregations for public worship on the sabbath; and by degrees the people became disused to the sanctuary, and began to lose a regard for religious ordinances. The third was exposure to savage inroads. For some twenty years the emigrants were unmolested. Some that had known war in Ireland, lived and died in that peace in this wilderness, for which their hearts longed in their native land. Others in the quietness and abundance of this isolated county, began to think wars and fightings were confined to the legends of past days. The use of fire-arms, in which they became expert, was to supply from the wild game their returning appetites.

Missionaries speedily followed these emigrants. "A supplication from the people of Beverly Manor, in the back parts of Virginia," was laid before the Presbytery of Donegal, September 2d, 1787—"requesting supplies. The Presbytery judge it not expedient for several reasons to supply them this winter; but order Mr. Anderson (James) to write an encouraging letter to the people to signify that the Presbytery resolves, if it be in their power, to grant their request next spring." Mr. Anderson was the bearer of the petition of the Synod of Philadelphia, to Governor Gooch of Virginia, made at the request of John Caldwell and others, in 1788, to obtain protection in the exercise of their religious preferences. Having been kindly received, he visited the emigrants in the valley with assurances from the Governor, of protection in the exercise of their consciences in matters of religion, and encouragement to extend their settlements.

Another supplication was presented in September, 1789. "The Presbytery having discoursed at some length upon it, and hearing Mr. Thompson express his willingness in some degree to be ser-

viceable to that people, if the Lord shall please to call him thereto, and if other difficulties in the way be surmounted, the Presbytery look on him as a very fit person for the great undertaking. Mr. Thompson made a number of visits to the Valley of the Shenandoah, and to the Presbyterian Congregations east of the Ridge; and finally took his residence for some years in Prince Edward, near or with his son-in-law, Mr. Sankey, minister of Buffalo. The same year, 1739, Mr. John Craig, a licentiate, was sent by the Presbytery to visit "Opeconon, the High Tract, and other societies of our persuasion in Virginia, at his discretion." The next spring from different congregations there came up "supplications, wherein they request that Presbytery, by reason of great distance, please to form a call to Mr. Craig, and affix the names to the call of the subscribers to said supplications." The Presbytery called on Mr. Craig for information and his wishes in respect to these supplications. Mr. Craig expressed himself in favor of the "call from the inhabitants at Shenandoah and the South river;" the Presbytery directed Mr. Sankey to prepare a call. On the 17th of June, Mr. Craig declared his acceptance; and in September, 1740, passed his trials for ordination. "Robert Doag and Daniel Dennison from Virginia, declared in the name of the congregation of Shenandoah, their adherence to the call formerly presented to Mr. Craig"—the next day was appointed as "a day of solemn fasting and prayer, to be observed by all parties concerned, in order to implore the divine blessing and concurrence in the great undertaking." Mr. Sankey preached from Jeremiah 3. 15, "I will give you pastors after mine own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding;" and Mr. Craig was set apart for the work of the gospel ministry in the south part of Beverly's Manor."

Mr. Craig was the first Presbyterian minister regularly settled in the Colony of Virginia. In his old age, he prepared for his descendants a manuscript volume containing the important facts of his life, interspersed with reflections, prayers, and meditations. It is entitled—

*A preacher preaching to himself from a long text of no less than sixty years: On review of past life.*

"I was born August 17th, 1709, in the parish of Dunagor, County Antrim, Ireland, of pious parents, the child of their old age, tenderly loved, but in prudent government, and by early instructions in the principles of religion as I was capable of receiving them, which had strong effects on my young and tender mind, (being then about five or six years of age,) and engaged me to fly to God with prayers and tears in secret, for pardon, peace, guidance and direction, while in the world, and to fit me for death; and what appears strange to me now, the just thoughts and expressions that were given to me, and the strict care of my conduct, lest in my

childish folly, I should sin against God; and the correct desire I had to know more of God and my duty to him, made me diligent, and the task easy, to learn to read the word of God, which then and ever since gave me great delight and pleasure: and though I endeavored to conceal my little religious exercises and acts of devotion, my affectionate and tender parents discovered my conduct, and turn of mind, and thirst after knowledge, which raised in them pleasing hopes, and engaged them contrary to their former designs, to bestow upon me a liberal education." About the age of fourteen or fifteen, he made profession of religion, being admitted, after examination, to the Lord's table, by Rev. Alexander Brown, who baptized him. While at school he was careful to avoid those companions that might lead him into the imitation of their vicious ways. He was at first shocked by the depravity he saw around:—this he says — "made me pray more earnestly that God would keep me from falling in with those views. As for my conduct and diligence for the space of eight or nine years at school, I never received one stroke, or so much as a sharp rebuke from all the masters I was with: but still gained the favor of them all." He then spent some years in reading Algebra, and the Mathematics generally, Logic, Metaphysics, Pneumatics and Ethics — and also Geography and History, ecclesiastical and profane: and then he repaired to Scotland, and in the college at Edinburgh, attained to the degree of A. M. Anno Domini, 1732. His observations in college, and the opening prospects in worldly matters, embarrassed him greatly in his choice of a profession. After much perplexity he resolved to attend the physicians' hall. A long and dangerous illness that came upon him was accompanied with the sufferings of an accusing conscience. After a confinement of about six months, unexpectedly to himself and others he recovered. He had wept and prayed, and humbled himself before God. "Patrimony and estate had then little weight in my mind, being well convinced that God who saved my life from death would support it, while he had any service for it. So I cast myself upon his care, and earnestly prayed for his direction." He was now pretty much settled in his convictions that he ought to engage in the ministry of the gospel.

"America was then much in my mind accompanied with the argument — that service would be most pleasing and acceptable, where most needful and wanting — which raised in me a strong desire to see that part of the world. I consulted my parents and friends, who did not much hinder my designs. I earnestly cried to God for his directions, that he would restrain or encourage me, as he saw it would be to his glory and my happiness. At that time I had a dream or vision, representing to me as it were in miniature, the whole that has happened to me of any importance these thirty-five years; yea, the very place I have been settled in these thirty years. I knew it at first sight, and I have done here what was represented to me then. I thought little of it then, though often of it since."

He embarked at Learn, June 10th, 1734, and was landed at New Castle upon Delaware, on the 17th of the succeeding August. "I escaped a very imminent danger, without any means but the kind hand of providence, being accidentally cast overboard in a dark and tempestuous night. I lay as on a bed of down on my back, on the raging wave which tossed me back on the ship's side, where I found hold and sprung aboard, and none aboard knew of it. When I came ashore I met with an old acquaintance, Rev. Benjamin Campbell, minister of New Castle. He was then aguish, and died about two months after, greatly to my grief."

He attended the Synod of Philadelphia, in September 1734, and delivered his letters of introduction to the members. "It gave me both grief and joy, to see that Synod; grief, to see the small number and mean appearance; joy, to see their mutual love and good order, and men of solid sense among them, and steady to the Presbyterian principles, and against all innovations, which began to appear at this Synod, from an overture read publicly by the Rev. Gilbert Tennant, concerning the receiving of candidates into the ministry, and communicants to the Lord's table—which he imbibed from one Mr. Frelinghausen, a low Dutch minister, which notions were then openly rejected, but afterwards prevailed so far as to decide the Synod, and put the Church of God here into the utmost confusion." After looking around, with much discouragement, for a proper location, he at length found "a home, a maintenance, a faithful and able friend, a sincere Christian, the Rev. John Thompson of Chesnut Level, whose praise is deservedly in the church. I taught school one year, and read two years more. Being invited by the Presbytery, I entered on trials, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Donegal, 1737. I was sent to a new settlement in Virginia of our own country people, near 300 miles distant. From the dream I had before I left Ireland, I knew it to be the plot in Christ's vineyard, where I was to labor. I must say I thought very little of it, which perhaps was my sin."

"From them I had a call, and durst not refuse it, although I well saw it would be attended with many great difficulties. I accepted the call—the place was a new settlement, without a place of worship, or any church order, a wilderness in the proper sense, and a few Christian settlers in it, with numbers of the heathen travelling among us, but generally civil, though some persons were murdered by them about that time. They march about in small companies from fifteen to twenty, sometimes more or less. They must be supplied at any house they call at with victuals, or they become their own stewards and cooks, and spare nothing they choose to eat and drink." This was previous to Braddock's war. The Act of Assembly forming Augusta County, passed 1738. The first court was held in 1745. Kentucky, and all Virginia claimed in the west, belonged to it. Mr. Craig goes on—"When we were erected into a county and parish, and had ministers inducted, of which we had two, they both in their turns wrote to me, making high demands. I

gave no answer, but still observed our own rules when there were no particular laws against them."

About the division of the Presbyterian Church he writes—  
"Having seen the conduct of ministers and people, when I was in Pennsylvania, that maintained these new doctrines, examined the controversy, had free conversations with both parties, applied to God for light and direction in the important concerns, which was done with time and deliberation, not instantly, I attained clearness of mind to join in the protest against these new and uncharitable opinions, and the ruin of Christ's Government. This gave offence to two or three families in my congregation, who then looked upon me as an opposer of the work of God, as they called it, an enemy to religion, and applied with all keenness to their holy and spiritual teachers, to come and preach, and convert the people of my charge, and free them from sin and Satan, and from me, a carnal wretch on whom they unhappily depended for instruction, to their souls' utter destruction. They flying speedily came and thundered their new gospel through every corner of my congregation; and some of them had the assurance to come to my house, and demand a dismissal of some of my subscribers who had invited them, being tainted with these notions formerly. But Providence so ordered that affair, that they gained none of my people that I knew of; my moral character stood clear and good, even among them; but they freely loaded me with these and such like, poor, blind, carnal, hypocritical, damned wretch; and this given to my face by some of their ministers. And when I administered the Lord's Supper to my people, they mockingly said to their neighbors going to it, what, are you going to Craig's frolic? I thought God had given me a difficult plot to labor in, but I ever called upon him in trouble, and he never failed to help."

Of the congregation Mr. Craig says—"It was large by computation, about thirty miles in length, and near twenty in breadth. The people agreed to have two meeting-houses, expecting they would become two congregations, which is now come to pass. That part now called Tinkling Spring was most in numbers, and richer than the other, and forward, and had the public management of the affairs of the whole settlement: their leaders close-handed about providing necessary things for pious and religious uses, and could not agree for several years upon a plan or manner, where or how to build their meeting-house, which gave me very great trouble to hold them together, their disputes ran so high. A difference happened between Colonel John Lewis and Colonel James Patton, both living in that congregation which was hurtful to the settlement, but especially to me. I could neither bring them to friendship with each other, or obtain both their friendships at once ever after. This continued for thirteen or fourteen years, till Colonel Patton was murdered by the Indians. At that time he was friendly with me. After his death, Colonel Lewis was friendly with me till he died. As to the other



part of the congregation, now called Augusta, the people were fewer in numbers, and much lower as to their worldly circumstances, but a good-natured, prudent, governable people, and liberally bestowed a part of what God gave them for religious and pious uses, and now enjoy the benefit; always unanimous among themselves, loving and kind to me these thirty years, with whom I enjoyed the greatest satisfaction, and serve them with pleasure. I had no trouble with them about their meeting-house, but to moderate and direct them when they met. They readily fixed on the place, and agreed on the plan for building it, and contributed cheerfully money and labor to accomplish the work, all in the voluntary way, what every man pleased.

“As to my private and domestic state of life when fixed in the congregation, I purchased a plantation and began to improve upon it: and June 11th, 1744, married a young gentlewoman of a good family and character, born and brought up in the same neighborhood where I was born, daughter of Mr. George Russel, by whom I had nine children. My first-born died October 4th, 1745, being four months and six days old: a great grief to us the parents, being left alone. God exercised me with trying dispensations in my family. He took my first child, and left my second; he took the third and left the fourth; took the fifth and left the sixth, and gave me then more without any further breach. The people of my charge were all new settlers and generally of low circumstances. Their own necessities called for all their labors; they could or did do little for my support, except a few, and consequently fell greatly in arrears.” It appears to have been the habit of Mr. Craig to keep a regular account of all he received from his congregations, for whatever purpose paid into him: and in the final settlement was willing to count all receipts as part of his salary.

“What made the times distressing and unhappy to all the frontiers, was the French and Indian war, which lay heavy on us, in which I suffered a part as well as others. When General Braddock was defeated and killed, our country was laid open to the enemy, our people were in dreadful confusion and discouraged to the highest degree. Some of the richer sort that could take some money with them to live upon, were for flying to a safer place of the country. My advice was then called for, which I gave, opposing that scheme as a scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith, and a noble Christian dependence on God, as able to save and deliver from the heathen; it would be a lasting blot to our posterity.” Mr. Craig urged the building forts in convenient neighborhoods, sufficient to hold twenty or thirty families, secure against small arms, and on alarms to flee to these places of refuge. One of which was to be the church. The proposition was acted upon very generally — “They required me to go before them in the work which I did

Let us go a little nearer the gate, and read upon the white marble slab, "Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Conrad Speece, D. D., for more than twenty-two years pastor of Augusta church, born November 7th, 1776, died February 15th, 1836. He consecrated a mind rich in genius and learning, to the service of his Saviour, in the great work of the gospel ministry; and here sleeps with his people, till they shall stand before the Judgment-seat of Christ. Reader—If in his life he tried in vain to save, hear him at last, O! hear him from the grave. This stone is erected in token of affection that can know no end." This man could write better than most of his contemporaries, and could preach better than he could write. Feasted by the poetic labors of others, he himself indited a hymn to be sung while the English language praises God. Of humble origin, he was raised by the smiles of the Lord to stand in the valley, with such men as Samuel Brown, G. A. Baxter, and Moses Hoge, and form one of the triad at Hampden Sidney, with Rice and Alexander. His prolific pen contributed abundantly to the three octavo periodicals in his native State, devoted to religion and morals, and sent contributions to the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine. With Dr. Baxter, he laid down in the Assembly, in the case of Daniel Bourne, his neighbor, the platform of the southern churches on slavery. Beloved by his brethren in the ministry, in general, and feared by some in particular; a systematic pastor and punctual presbyter; he left productions of his pen, and incidents in his life, sufficient to form a volume worthy of preservation. His merits and productions cannot be discussed in this place, they must have their appropriate positions among his brethren. When another century is passed, may it be found that this congregation has been served as constantly by ministers as few in number, and equal in ability and spiritual qualifications, to these that lie gathered with their people. And may the present pastor fill his full measure of excellence and service, in honor of his birth-place and his parents.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### TINKLING SPRING.

GOING down from the splendid prospect on Rockfish Gap, to the edge of the "lake country," as the Sage of Monticello termed it, you enter the bounds of the oldest congregation in Augusta County, one that contends with Opecquon for the honor of being the first in the great valley, and the first in the State after the days of Makemie,—the congregation of the Triple Forks of the Shenandoah, which formerly stretched across the valley from this Gap to the Ridge, in the western horizon. You are, too, in the bounds of that division of the congregation named Tinkling Spring, which assembled to worship God in the southern part of the settlement, the old

stone church being the place for that part that lay along the track of the paved road. Ministers then were few, and men went far to worship; eight or ten miles were an ordinary ride or walk, to the house of God, on a Sabbath morning. Staunton, in its early days, belonged to Tinkling Spring congregation; and Col. Lewis, the first settler on Lewis's Creek, and John Preston, "the shipmaster of Dublin," were among the regular worshippers.

The road from the Gap to Staunton, at first passed near the church. The travelled road now leaves the church some two miles to the south. About three miles from Waynesborough, and six from the village of Asylums, diverging from the turnpike that winds its way among scenery that irresistibly invites your gaze, if you love mountains, you will find upon a hill-side, half concealed by forest trees, the house of worship. To this hill and sweetly flowing spring come in crowds on the Sabbath, the young men and maidens with the old men and matrons, the place where their great-grand-fathers emigrating from the Presbyterian country in the north of Ireland, with their families, their politics, and their religion, came regularly for the services of the sanctuary. There, in a log building finished off by the widow of John Preston, John Craig, the first settled Presbyterian minister in Virginia, after the days of Makemie, preached the gospel for many years. The southern part of the congregation of the Triple Forks, had some difficulty in deciding on the place for their church building, and for a time worshipped in different parts at stands, or tents. Mr. Craig intimates that the rivalry of some individuals, Cols. Lewis and Patton, hindered the congregation in their choice. Tradition says that he himself was a partizan in selecting the site. The larger portion of the southern section of the congregation chose this hill on account of its central position, and the refreshing spring that gushed forth with a peculiar sound—and took the name of Tinkling Spring. Mr. Craig preferred a situation more northwardly, near the residence of James Pilson, and appealing to the old gentleman one day in expectation that he would be favorable to the location nearest his dwelling, received for a reply—that the Tinkling Spring was best for the whole southern part of the congregation—that a more northern locality would give the northern part two places of worship, and the centre one, and the southern part none. "Well, well," said the disappointed pastor—"are you against me too, Jimmy? Well, I am resolved that none of that water shall ever tinkle down my throat." He kept his word. Like the leading men of his charge, or more properly like all his charge, he was a persevering man; and while his congregation quenched their thirst in full draughts, he only moistened his lips, and that but seldom.

This congregation was generally with their first pastor, on the "old side," or with the protectors. The neighboring congregation, New Providence, was generally of the "new side." There might have been, and probably were for a few years, some heart-burnings confined to a few members. The two congregations have, from time

that the present families know not when it was otherwise, been on terms of strictest friendship. Had memorials of the instances of personal piety in each congregation been preserved, the Christian public might have received edification equally affecting from among the children of the old side and of the new. The divisions could never be distinctly marked in the congregations, for any length of time, any farther than accidental circumstances made a perceptible difference in the habits of neighborhoods. All through the valley were families more strict in their attention to the education of their children in ways of piety than others, more careful to devote them to God in a way to produce a lasting impression.

In the various Indian wars and in the revolutions this congregation showed its patriotism, and sent forth fathers and sons to meet the enemy in battle. Some of the leading military men in the expedition against the Indians were from this congregation. The Lewis family were famous. Charles A. Stuart, late of Greenbrier, son of John Stuart, who was in the battle of Point Pleasant, tells us that his mother was a Lewis, a grand-daughter of the emigrant John Lewis. On his authority we are informed that John Lewis and Margaret Linn came from Ireland—"but being Presbyterians, were probably of Scottish origin. John Lewis was advantageously a tenant under a Catholic landlord, and for his skill, industry, and fidelity, had the promise of continuance at pleasure. The promise was violated on application for the same place by a Catholic. Upon Lewis's refusal to give immediate possession, his landlord unlawfully undertook by force to oust him. Resistance, of course, followed. In the affray, Charles, (or perhaps Samuel), a brother to John, an officer in the king's service, and then sick at John's house, was killed. This last act excited John to the utmost pitch of fury, in which he slew one or two of the assailants, and escaping, fled to Portugal. Having remained there two or three years, he privately made arrangements for the removal of his family to America, where he and they were soon reunited. He then came to this part of the country, and settled in what is called Beverly Manor. His first encampment (for so it may be called, although he built a cabin), was on the bank of Middle, then Carthrae's river, not four hundred yards from a house now occupied by Charles A. Stuart. Thence he removed to Lewis's Creek, settled on the tract of land now belonging to the heirs of Robert McCullough, and there built the old stone house, which is still standing, and is probably by far the oldest house in the country. He was the founder of the town of Staunton. This is also in Beverly Manor. He there bred up his family, consisting of four sons and one daughter. His sons were Thomas, William, Andrew, and Charles. John, of the Warm Springs, was the son of Thomas, the surveyor of Augusta, when Augusta extended to the Mississippi river." All the sons of Col. John Lewis were the parents of a numerous progeny. Andrew Lewis, who was a man of vast energies, both physical and moral, was the commandant of the southern division of Lord Dunmore's army against the Shawanees, and repulsed the In-

dians at Point Pleasant, in Oct., 1774. In the very front of this battle, his brother Col. Charles Lewis, sealed his destiny in blood, leaving a name consecrated amongst the dearest and sweetest remembrance of thousands who survive him. Of the 100,000 acres of land said to have been granted to John Lewis, I have no knowledge; but presume that the grant alluded to, is that which was made to the Greenbrier Company, of which he and his son Andrew were members, and the efficient agents."—William was active in the French and Indian wars—was an officer in the revolution, in which he lost one son in battle, and had one maimed for life. When the rumor came that Tarlton was approaching the valley, the father was confined by sickness—the mother, with the spirit that dwelt in the breasts of hundreds of mothers in the valley, sent her three sons of 17, 15, 13 years—saying, go my children, I devote you all to my country.—The valley-woman knew the distresses of war; in their childhood, they had known the miseries of savage depredations; and loving their children they preferred an honorable death in the battle-field, to the disgraceful sufferings and death by marauding parties, and the tomahawk of the savage.

When a call was made for militia to aid General Green against Cornwallis, Tinkling Spring sent her sons. Waddell, their minister, addressed to the soldiers at Midway, the parting sermon. In the battle at Guilford Courthouse, these men were found in the hottest of the fight. Some were among the slain. Some brought away deep wounds from sabre cuts; and bore the scars through a long life, protracted in some cases to more than fourscore years.

Col. James Patton came from Donegal, a man of property, the commander and owner of a merchant ship. He obtained from the Governor of Virginia, a grant for 120,000 acres of land in the valley for himself and his associates. His residence was on the south fork of Shenandoah. He took up land on the Alleghanies, in Montgomery county, and was killed by the Indians, in one of their plundering incursions, while he was on a visit to that beautiful country in 1753. The Indians came upon him suddenly at Smithfield.

John Preston, a shipmaster in Dublin, married a sister of Col. James Patton; was not successful in his business in Ireland, particularly on account of his religious opinions; came with Col. Patton and resided for a time at Spring Hill, afterwards occupied by Dr. Waddell; and about the year 1743, purchased and occupied a tract near Staunton, lately occupied by General Baldwin. Here he soon died—leaving a widow and five children, all born in Ireland but one. His eldest daughter married Robert Breckenridge, of Botetourt—the grandfather of those ministers, Robert and John, whose acts have been inwoven with the history of the Presbyterian Church since about 1830. The second married Rev. John Brown, pastor of New Providence and Timber Ridge, whose descendants have been famous in Kentucky. The third child, William, was the father of a numerous family, male and female, that have not been unknown in Virginia. The fourth married Francis Smith, and the fifth John

Howard, and their descendants are numerous in Kentucky and the south-western States. Devoutly attached to the Presbyterian Church famed for its vigorous contests for liberty in Scotland, and Ireland, and America; a firm believer in the Calvinistic creed long and well tried as the creed to bear up men in great emergencies; conscientious in his personal religion, estimating the gospel and its advantages to man, a mortal and immortal creature, as beyond all price; devoutly thanking God, before his death, that an orthodox minister was connected with his family, the pastor of a congregation in the wilderness; though cut off in a few years, he impressed a character that has been handed down from generation to generation, by his descendants, for a hundred years, that speaks beyond all argumentation or praise the value of the principles on which the early settlers of the valley built up their society. You may find his son-in-law the first minister of New Providence, the traces of whose labors remain till this day: among his descendants you may find persons in all the varied stations of honest and honorable society, the mountain farmer, the minister of the gospel, the lawyer, the Governor; you may find near Staunton the vale in which he lived and left his widow, you may see here the spot where he worshipped in the plainness and simplicity of the Presbyterian forms, you look to that yard where his ashes rest, and you find no monument inscribed *John Preston*.

The Rev. John A. Vanlear that died pastor of Mossy Creek, a part of the ancient bounds of the Triple Forks of Shenandoah, preserved some memoranda of the Vanlear family. John Vanlear, a pious man and thorough Presbyterian, a merchant, emigrated from Holland and settled in Philadelphia. He was one of the company that built the first house of worship for Presbyterians in the city. Feeling the necessity of a house, he willingly exerted himself in the work of collecting funds. Those more nearly interested not being able to raise sufficient money, he applied to a particular friend, a Quaker, for aid—"Well, friend John," said the Quaker—"thee art engaged in a good cause. I wish thee success. I can't subscribe to thy paper. But if thee will send to my store, thee shall have nails to do the whole building." The house was built on the north-west corner of Chestnut and Second streets. This man died in Philadelphia, leaving one son, who removed to Lancaster. He left several sons, two of whom removed to Williamsport, in Maryland, and its vicinity, and one to Christian's Creek, in Augusta County, about the year 1752. This man left two sons and one daughter; one of the sons, Jacob, lived and died on the place settled by his father. His widow survived him many years, and died at the age of nearly one hundred; a woman of wonderful memory, the relator of many of the traditions respecting the pioneers of the valley. This man left a son on the same place, many years an elder in the Tinkling Spring church. The other son, John, born in Lancaster about 1745, and seven years old when his father removed to Christian's Creek, married a Miss Allison, in Augusta

County, and removed to Montgomery about the time of the revolutionary war, and settled on the north fork of Roanoke, ten miles from Christiansburg, and four from Blacksburg. He served several campaigns during the war, and was present at the siege of York, and the capture of Cornwallis. At the first organization of a church in Montgomery County, he was chosen elder, and officiated till upwards of eighty years of age. Father of ten children, three sons and seven daughters; he trained them up in the old fashioned way of keeping the Sabbath, and saw them all members of the church; two of his sons elders, and one a minister of the gospel, (the collector of these memoranda), and died at the advanced age of eighty-eight, in the year 1833. "The Bible, and Shorter Catechism, and a sermon from Davies or Burder, on every Sabbath"—says his son, was the order of his house. Other genealogies of equal or greater interest may probably come to light respecting the pious men and women of Tinkling Spring. Let their descendants look for them.

Now let us visit the grave-yard to the west of the church, surrounded by a stone wall, in shape of a section of a horse-shoe, divided at the toe. Let us enter by this gate on the south side nearest the church, and before we go towards the south-west end, we will pause a moment to read the white marble slab to the memory of the third pastor, John M'Cue. Craig, the first pastor, lies near Augusta church; Waddell, in Louisa, under an apple-tree, in a place chosen by himself, near where the Counties of Orange, Albemarle, and Louisa meet: M'Cue was suddenly removed Sept. 20th, 1818, in the 66th year of his age. His congregation assembled for worship on the Sabbath morning. His family preceded him a little on their way to the house of God. After a time a messenger informed the gathered people that his lifeless corpse had been found near his own gate. Whether he had fallen from paralysis, or the restiveness of his horse, can never be known. There was no appearance of a struggle after his fall. His ministry extended over 27 years.

A little farther west, and we shall see the marble slab that covers the fourth pastor, James C. Willson, who having served this church 21 years, was suddenly called away on the 10th of January, 1840. He had devoted that day to praying for and writing to an absent son, whom he had hoped to see engaged in the ministry of the gospel. Stepping into the post-office in apparently usual health, he sat down and gasped, and never moved again. No medical effort could restore the lost pulse. The prayers and tears of the father were a memorial before God. His son followed the father in about two years, giving evidence of acceptance with God. The last prayers of the father were answered in the last hours of the child. These two slabs are a memorial to all pastors of Tinkling Spring—"What thy hand findeth to do, do with all thy might"—"In such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.

Come down now to the south-west end. In this irregular piece of ground, surrounded on three sides by a stone wall, full of mounds,

but not a single inscription,—*here* is the resting place of the ashes of the ancestors of many of the families in Virginia and Kentucky, men whose names are woven by their descendants in the web of political and religious courts, in colors too vivid to be unnoticed or mistaken. Here are the sepulchres of men that turned the wilderness into habitations, and after assembling on that hillside to worship the God of their fathers, are gathered here to wait the coming of the Son of God, when the graves shall give up their dead. It was a good thought in the conception, and will be patriotic in the execution to raise here in the midst of these crowded mounds, a pillar as simple and unadorned as the manners of that age, and as beautiful and enduring in its simplicity, as the principles that peopled and have governed this valley, inscribed—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY  
OF THE  
EMIGRANTS TO THIS VALLEY.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

##### THE PRESBYTERY OF HANOVER—FROM ITS FORMATION TO ITS REMODELLING.

THE history of the Presbytery of Hanover, the mother of Presbyteries in the South and West, embraces facts in church government, church extension, church discipline, missionary efforts and success, biography of ministers, and members of the church, male and female, in different departments of life, of thrilling interest and in abundance to fill more than one volume. The facts and the actors will be found in any fair record of the memorable things in the Presbyterian Church, in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Ohio, in all of which, Hanover Presbytery had an existence for a series of years.

SAMUEL DAVIES may be called the father of Hanover Presbytery, though not by any means the founder of Presbyterianism in Virginia. And in giving a notice of its members, he naturally stands first upon the list of worthies. A memoir of him extending over more than one hundred and fifty large octavo pages, more than fifty of which are in very small print, has been given in the 1st vol. of the Sketches of Virginia. In that memoir, many popular errors respecting that great and good man, widely circulated with some editions of his sermons, are corrected from authentic and original sources of information. Many of his actions are recorded in the following pages.



*An effort to remove Rev. Jonathan Edwards to Virginia.*

Hanover, July 4th, 1751.

REV. AND VERY DEAR BROTHER—I never received any information of the kind in my life, that afforded me so many anxious thoughts, as yours concerning the great Mr. Edwards. It has employed my waking hours, and even mingled with my midnight dreams. The main cause of my anxiety, was, the delay of your letter, which I did not receive till about three weeks ago, when I was in Lunenburg, about one hundred and thirty miles from home. This made me afraid lest Mr. Edwards had settled some where else, being weary of waiting for the invitation from Virginia. Should this be the unhappy case, and should the obligation to his new people be deemed undissolvable, I shall look upon it as a severe judgment of incensed heaven on this wretched colony. What shall I say? I am lost in perplexities at the thought.

I assure myself, dear sir, of your most zealous concurrence to persuade him to Virginia. Do not send him a cold, paper message, but go to him yourself in person. If he be not as yet engaged to any place, I depend upon your word, and “make no doubt but he will come.” If he is engaged, I hope he may be regularly dismissed upon a case of so great importance. Of all the men I know in America, he appears to me the most fit for this place; and if he could be obtained on no other condition, I would cheerfully resign him my place, and cast myself into the wide world once more. Fiery, superficial ministers, will never do in these parts: They might do good, but they would do much more harm. We need the deep judgment and calm temper of Mr. Edwards among us. Even the dissenters here, have the nicest taste of almost every congregation I know, and cannot put up with even the truths of the gospel in an injudicious form. The enemies are watchful, and some of them crafty, and raise a prodigious clamor about raving, injudicious preaching. Mr. Edwards would suit them both. Our liberties, too, are precarious, and methods are used to restrain them. There is nobody here who is known in Great Britain, whose representation might have some weight to counter-balance that of the Council; and on this account we greatly need Mr. Edwards, whose character there, especially in Scotland, would have considerable influence. He might also, as you observe, do much good by keeping an academy; and which is of greater importance than all, might be the happy instrument of turning many to righteousness.

As soon as I returned from Lunenburg, I wrote to the elders in the upper part of my congregation, (which I want to cast off when they have an opportunity of obtaining a minister), urging them to take pains with the people of their respective quarters, to obtain subscriptions for Mr. Edwards' maintenance; and though they had no knowledge of him, but by my recommendation, they made up about £80 of our currency, which is about £60 or £65 sterling;

and it is the general opinion of the people, that if Mr. Edwards does in any measure answer the character I have given him, (and I doubt not but he will), they can easily afford him £100 per annum. Sundry of them did actually plead their want of acquaintance with him as the reason of their backwardness; and I could not expect it would be otherwise; and others might have had that as a secret reason, who did not publicly mention it. The people about the lower meeting-house, which is my more immediate charge, assure me they will contribute towards the expenses of his first year's settlement; and the people in Lunenburg told me they would cheerfully subscribe towards his maintenance the first year, should he settle anywhere in Virginia; and I doubt not but that all the dissenting congregations of Virginia will do the same, so that I believe Mr. Edwards may safely depend on £30 or £40 the first year, besides his annual salary. This, however, I am certain of, that he has the prospect of a comfortable livelihood; and indeed, should I ensnare him into poverty designedly, I should censure myself as the basest of mankind. My salary at present is about £100, and notwithstanding £20 or £30 peculiar expenses, I find I can make a shift to live upon it.

I could not content myself with following your advice, and only writing to Mr. Edwards; and therefore the people have sent the bearer, a worthy youth who has been under my tuition for some time, to wait on him with their invitation. He has lived so long here, and is so perfectly acquainted with affairs, that he can inform you and Mr. Edwards of them as well as myself.

And now, sir, I shall answer the other part of your letter. I send you herewith a narrative of religion here. As I have no correspondence with any of the Boston ministers, I have been obliged to impose upon you the trouble of sending it to the press, if you think it worth while. I beseech you, dear sir, to make such corrections as you and Mr. Edwards shall think fit, and be not afraid of offending me by so doing, for I was designedly careless in writing it, as I knew it would pass through your hands. I would have you particularly consider the expediency of publishing the postscript and the poetical lines on Mr. Blair.

I am impatient, sir, to see your books; and wish you would inform me which way I shall send the price of them to the printer, and order them to be conveyed by water, to the care of Mr. John Holt, merchant in Williamsburg, or to Col. John Hunter, merchant in Hampton, as may be most convenient.

I have dropped the thoughts of my intended treatise on the Morality of Gospel-holiness, till I have more leisure, and a larger acquaintance with divinity; but am now and then collecting materials for it.

I believe the weakest of the congregations in this colony, could afford a minister £60 or £70 yearly salary; and as to itinerants, the usual rule is, twenty or thirty shillings a Sunday. As far as I know them, the (people) here are in general pretty generous. This colony is very healthy, except on rivers' sides, and "will suit very

well with the constitution of New England men." Dear sir, if Mr. Edwards fail, shall I prevail with you to come yourself, at least to pay us a transient visit? O! how would it rejoice my soul to see you!

Whenever I write to you, I am in such a hurry, that I am apprehensive my letters afford you a very mean idea of my intellectual abilities; but as you do not wrong me in it, I shall be quite easy unless you think I make you such wretched returns as that my correspondence is insufferable. Pray for me, and write to me as often as you can.

I am, sir, yours in the tenderest bonds,

SAMUEL DAVIES.

Rev. Mr. Joseph Bellaney.

P. S. You may insert or omit the marginal note in page 28 of the narrative, as your prudence directs. The contents are undoubtedly true, but I am afraid will seem incredible.

July 13th.—I did not receive the complete subscription for Mr. Edwards till yesterday, which happily exceeds my expectation. It amounts to about £97, which is near £80 sterling. This will undoubtedly be a sufficient maintenance. You will see by the subscription paper, how many dissenting families there are in the least half of my congregation, for the subscribers are chiefly heads of families. Oh, dear sir, let me renew my importunities with you to exert all your influence in our behalf with Mr. Edwards. Though the people seem eager for him above all men on earth, yet they request you by me, in case this attempt fails, to endeavor to send some other to settle among them: (for they have no prospect of relief these sundry years from Presbytery), but let him be a popular preacher, of ready utterance, good delivery, solid judgment, free from enthusiastical freaks, and of ardent zeal; for I am afraid they will accept of none other, and I would not have any sent here that might be unacceptable. You or Mr. Edwards are the only men they could make an implicit venture upon. I am with the warmest emotions of heart, dear sir,

Your most affectionate brother,

S. D.

In a letter to Mr. Erskine—July 7th, 1752—Mr. Edwards, among many other things, says—"I was in the latter part of the last summer applied to, with much earnestness and importunity, by some of the people of Virginia, to come and settle among them, in the work of the ministry; who subscribed handsomely for my encouragement and support, and sent a messenger to me with their request and subscriptions; but I was installed at Stockbridge before the messenger came.

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

At a meeting of the Synod of New York, Sept. 3d, 1755, "a petition was brought into the Synod, setting forth the necessity of

erecting a new Presbytery in Virginia: the Synod therefore appoint the Rev. Samuel Davies, John Todd, Alexander Craighead, Robert Henry, and John Wright, and John Brown, to be a Presbytery under the name of the Presbytery of Hanover: and that their first meeting shall be in Hanover, on the first Wednesday of December next; and that Mr. Davies open the Presbytery by a sermon; and that any of our members settling to the southward and westward of Mr. Hogg's congregation, shall have liberty to join the Presbytery of Hanover."

The records of the first meeting of the Presbytery are short—  
 "Hanover, December 3d. The Presbytery of Hanover met according to the above constitution and appointment. Mr. Davies, Moderator, and Mr. Todd, Clerk. Ubi post preces sederunt, Messrs. Samuel Davies, Robert Henry, John Brown, and John Todd, ministers. Elders, Samuel Morris, Alexander Joice, John Molley. Messrs. Craighead and Wright, absent. Mr. Davies being sick, requested Mr. Todd to preach for him, and accordingly the Presbytery was opened by him, with a sermon from Zachariah the 4th, 7th, (Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain; and he shall bring forth the head-stone thereof with shoutings, crying grace, grace unto it). The Synod of New York having appointed that a day of fasting and prayer be held in all the congregations within their bounds, on account of the present critical and alarming state of Great Britain, and the British plantations in America; and having left it to the discretion of each Presbytery to determine the particular day, this Presbytery, therefore, appoint next New Year's day to be set apart for that purpose; because of the retrospect it may have to the important transactions of last year; the prospect it may bear to the ensuing year which may be equally interesting and important; and that we may have the encouragement of joining, in our united requests, to the throne of grace, with the Presbytery of New Castle, who have appointed the same day. The Presbytery appoint Mr. Brown to give timely notice hereof to Mr. Craighead, and Mr. Henry to do the same to Mr. Wright. The Synod having recommended to all the congregations within their bounds, to raise a collection for the college of New Jersey, the Presbytery having taken the affair under consideration judge, that considering the present impoverished state of the colony in general, and of our congregation in particular, such a proposal would be quite impracticable; and appoint that the members that attend the Synod next year report the same to the Synod. A petition directed to Mr. Davies and Mr. Todd, from people living near the mountain in Albemarle, near Wood's Gap, was referred by them to the Presbytery, representing their destitute circumstances, in the want of gospel ordinances, and requesting some supplies from us:—the Presbytery therefore appoint the Rev. Samuel Davies to preach there on the 2d Sabbath in March next; and that Mr. Brown desire some of the people to appoint the place of meeting, to be out of the bounds of Mr. Black's congregation, at some conve-

nient place. The Presbytery appoint Mr. John Todd to be their constant clerk. Adjourned till the Thursday of the second Sabbath of March next, to meet at Providence, and appoint that Mr. Henry open the Presbytery by a sermon.

Concluded with prayer.

*Members of Hanover Presbytery.*

JOHN TODD, the first minister introduced by Mr. Davies to share his labors, was a graduate of the college at New Jersey, in 1749, a member of the second class admitted to a degree. He was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, in 1750. On representation, by Mr. Davies, of the desolations and encouraging prospects in the southern colonies, made to the Synod of New York in the spring of 1750—"the Synod do recommend to the Presbytery of New Brunswick to endeavor to prevail with Mr. John Todd, upon his being licensed to take a journey thither." Report was made to the Synod in the fall of the year: it appears—"that Mr. Todd is licensed, and is preparing speedily to go." On reaching Virginia, he preached in the houses licensed for Mr. Davies, and gave great satisfaction. The plan to locate him in Prince Edward or Charlotte Counties, was abandoned principally on account of objections made by the General Court to licensing more houses in addition to the seven already licensed for Mr. Davies, and the dissenting people. By a change of plan, Mr. Todd was invited to occupy four of the places licensed for Mr. Davies; and efforts were made to obtain other preachers for the vacancies south of James river, and thus avoid the charge of itinerancy, an offence in the view of the council. In the year 1751, Mr. Todd was ordained by the New Brunswick Presbytery; and obtained from the General Court the license demanded by the law. The following is a copy.

Wednesday, April 22d, 1752.

Present—the Governor

WM. FAIRFAX,  
JOHN BLAIR,  
WM. NELSON, Esqrs.,  
WM. DAWSON, D. D.,  
JOHN LEWIS,

THOMAS NELSON,  
PHILIP GRYMES,  
PEYTON RANDOLPH.  
RICHARD CORBIN,  
PHILIP LUDWELL, Esqrs.

John Todd, a dissenting minister, this day in court took the oath appointed by the Act of Parliament, to be taken instead of the oath of allegiance, and supremacy, and the abrogation oath, and subscribed the last mentioned oath, and repeated and subscribed the test. And thereupon, on his motion, he is allowed to officiate as an assistant to Samuel Davies, a dissenting minister, in such places as are already licensed by this court for meeting of dissenters.

The jealousy of the court led to an arrangement which proved very agreeable to the seven congregations, as it left them all in

connection with Mr. Davies; and equally pleasing to Mr. Davies, as it gave him more frequent opportunities for those missionary excursions in which he delighted, the influence of which is felt to this day; and no less acceptable to Mr. Todd, who enjoyed the experience and counsel of his friend, with the privilege of missionary excursions.

The sermon preached by Mr. Davies at the installation of Mr. Todd, on the 12th of November, 1752, was, at the earnest request of the hearers, published, after being enlarged, with an appendix annexed. A dedication—"To the Rev. Clergy of the Established church of Virginia"—was prefixed, under the date of Jan. 9th, 1753. The dissenters in England procured a republication of this pamphlet while Mr. Davies was on his mission to Great Britain in the year 1754, as an expression of their high approbation of the production and its author.

Of the few documents that remain respecting Mr. Todd, the following show us his character and course of action. From a letter to Mr. Whitefield, June 26, 1755. "The impressions of the day you preached last here, at my meeting-house, can, I believe, never wear out of my mind; never did I feel any thing of the kind more distressing than to part with you, and that not merely for my own sake, but that of the multitudes, that stood longing to hear more of the news of salvation from you. I still have the lively image of the people of God drowned in tears, multitudes of hardy gentlemen, that perhaps never wept for their poor souls before, standing aghast,—all with signs of eagerness to attend to what they heard, and their significant tears, expressive of the sorrow of their hearts, that they had so long neglected their souls. I returned home like one that had sustained some amazing loss: and that I might contribute more than ever to the salvation of perishing multitudes amongst us, I resolved I would labor to obtain and exert more of that sound fire which the God of all grace had so abundantly bestowed upon you for the good of mankind. To the praise of rich grace be it spoken, I have had the comfort of many solemn Sabbaths since I saw you, when I am persuaded, the power of God has attended his word, for sundry weeks together; and in my auditory which was more crowded through your means than it had been before, I could scarce see an individual whose countenance did not indicate the concern of their souls about eternal things. And blessed be God, those appearances are not yet wholly fled from our assembly.

I was by order of Presbytery to attend the installation of Mr. Henry, the 4th of the month, at Lnnenburg, about a hundred miles south-west of this place; and we administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper the Sabbath following. We preached Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sabbath, and Monday. There was comfortable evidence of the power of God with us every day; believers were more quickened, and sinners were much alarmed. Many of them talked with Mr. Henry and me with great desire to know what

they should do to be saved, One I remember came to me trembling and astonished, the nearest image I ever saw of the trembling jailor crying—"What shall I do to get an interest in Christ." In my return home, I made an excursion to preach to a number of people who had never before heard a "*New Light*," as they call me. I hope the word of God was attended with divine power to many of their hearts."

Mr. Davies, in a letter bearing date Hanover, July 14th, 1756, says—"Last Sunday I had a sacrament, assisted by my good brother and next neighbor, Mr. Todd. It was a time of unusual anxiety to me. I hope it was a refreshing time to some hungry souls. I had the pleasure of seeing the table of the Lord adorned with about forty-four black faces."

After the removal of Mr. Davies to Princeton, Mr. Todd was for many years the leading man in the Presbytery, east of the Blue Ridge. To him the vacancies looked for counsel and assistance in obtaining ministers. During the revolution he was a staunch whig. In the proceedings of Hanover Presbytery, on the subject of religious liberty, he took an active part: his name is appended to some important papers. (See vol. 1st of Sketches.)

Mr. Todd felt and expressed great interest in the early emigration to Kentucky. Some of his kindred were among the early adventurers; and his old friend and co-laborer, David Rice, had cast his lot among the inhabitants of that fertile region. He used all his influence in conjunction with others to obtain from the Virginia Legislature, a charter for a college. His nephew, Col. John Todd, a member of the Legislature from Fayette County, and the Honorable Caleb Wallace, from Lincoln, took the lead in this matter. As early as 1780, escheated lands were given for this purpose. In 1783, trustees were incorporated. The escheated lands granted amounted to 20,000 acres. The Board of Trustees met in Nov. 1783, in Lincoln, and chose Rev. David Rice, chairman. The Seminary, called the Transylvania Seminary, was opened at the house of Mr. Rice, Feb. 1785. This seminary passed from the hands of the original trustees. Mr. Todd, to encourage the cultivation of literature and theology in the growing West, was the means of sending a small, but valuable library and an apparatus across the Alleghany, for the advantage of this seminary—but not as a donation to it.

Mr. Todd superintended a classical school for many years. Mr. Davies, while in Virginia, greatly encouraged the effort to educate youth with the hope of supplying the church with necessary ministers. One of his assistants was James Waddell, who read divinity with Mr. Davies while thus engaged. By correspondence with Dr. Gordon, of London, he obtained as we are told by Mr. Davidson, in his history of Kentucky, for the use of the young men at his school, a library and apparatus to the amount of £80, 2s. 6d., including cost of transportation. Mr. Todd's school declined with his advancing years. He could find no fit successor. The semi-

naries at Hampden Sidney, and Lexington, were under the care of the Presbytery of Hanover, and received general patronage; and had procured each a small library. With the consent of Dr. Gordon, Mr. Todd placed the library in his possession in the hands of his friend, David Rice, for the use of students of theology in Kentucky, under the care of the Presbytery of Transylvania. These volumes and apparatus were by that Presbytery delivered to the trustees of the Kentucky Academy, incorporated in 1794. This academy was finally merged in the Transylvania University. The principal donor to the library for Mr. Todd, which became the nucleus of the library of Transylvania University, was the well known benevolent merchant of London, John Thorton. The others were Dr. Gordon, Rev. Mr. Fowle, Messrs. Fuller, Samuel and Thomas Stratton, Charles Jerdcin, David Jennings, Jonathan Eade, Joseph Ainsley, and John Field, of Thames Street. The name of Todd is deservedly honored in Kentucky, both in church and State.

In the latter part of his life, Mr. Todd was very infirm, and for many years unable to perform fully the ministerial services of his own particular charge; and his great labors in early life made him prematurely old. His missionary excursions were all laid aside. His attendance on the judicatories of the church became irregular. The young brethren south side of James river, uttered suspicions that Waddell and Todd had relaxed somewhat of their spiritual religion in its visible exercise, if not in its deep principle; this created in the breasts of the brethren north of the river, a coldness towards the brethren they esteemed rash. The facts involved in this coldness and these suspicions, were talked over in Presbytery, repeatedly; and some letters passed between the parties, not designed for the public eye. In the course of time it became generally understood that Mr. Waddell's ideas of education, and his relaxing in his ministerial efforts, as also the causes of Mr. Todd's course, had been much misunderstood. Rev. J. B. Smith, on his return from Philadelphia, with a silk velvet vest and gold watch, called on Mr. Waddell, and passed the night; receiving all the attentions of that hospitable gentleman. Before parting, Waddell, in his inimitable manner, gently called the attention of Smith, who had been grieved at Waddell's worldliness in education, to the possibility that "the pride of life" might be found in a gold watch-chain, and elegant carriage, and velvet vest. Smith felt the rebuke, both in its justness and inimitable manner. The controversy died away. There was one report in circulation about Mr. Todd, which he thought called for his special attention, that he had so relaxed discipline, that he had admitted a gambler to the Lord's table. To wipe away this aspersion, in his estimation as base as false, he attended the Presbytery in the Cove congregation, Albemarle, July, 1793. Having fully cleared himself from the stains of such a report, he set out for home on Saturday, the 27th. Whether, from the clumsiness consequent on his infirmities, or in a fit of apoplexy, is unknown; as he was alone, and was fond of riding a spirited



horse, he was found in the road lifeless. Rev. William Williamson, in his journal, after mentioning that he had dined with Rev. Messrs. Todd and Blair, at the house of Rev. Mr. Irvin, says—Saturday, July 27, “I proceeded onwards to my meeting, at Mountain Plains; on the road was informed of the death of Mr. Todd,—that he was found on the road. Went on and saw him, with whom I had dined, well the day before, now in eternity. Alarming dispensation. May it be impressed on my mind, and speak to my heart louder than ten thousand thunders. Went to meeting, spoke from Amos 4th, 12th: ‘Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.’”

Mr. Todd preached about forty-two years in Virginia. A son bearing his name, was licensed by Hanover Presbytery, at the Cove, Sept. 13th, 1800, preaching his first sermon where his father preached his last. For sometime he occupied the churches left vacant by his father. In the year 1809, he removed to Kentucky, leaving none of the name in Virginia. But the name of Todd can never be omitted in any history of the Presbyterian church in Virginia, or in the United States of America. It would be very agreeable to the church in coming time, to peruse a sermon from his pen or an essay—but she must content herself with a record of his works.

ALEXANDER CRAIGHEAD. Of this energetic man, a Memoir has been given in the Sketches of North Carolina.

ROBERT HENRY, the minister fourth named in the Presbytery, was a native of Scotland, a graduate of New Jersey College, in the year 1751, and a licentiate of the Presbytery of New York. “Upon representation of the destitute circumstances of Virginia, the Synod appoint—Sept. 29th, 1752,—Mr. Greenman, and Mr. Robert Henry, to go there sometime betwixt this and next Synod.” He visited the vacancies of Virginia south of the James, and being acceptable to the congregation, and himself pleased with the prospects of usefulness and comfort, he was ordained by the Presbytery of New York, in 1753, to become the regular pastor. His installation did not take place till after Mr. Davies’ return from Great Britain. In 1755, on the 4th of June, the installation services were performed by Mr. Todd, and Mr. Henry was constituted pastor of Cub creek in Charlotte, and Briery in Prince Edward, both then forming part of Lunenburg County. Mr. Todd considered the event and the circumstances of sufficient interest to be communicated to Mr. Whitefield. Mr. Davies, under date of July 14th, 1756, writes—“About a month ago, I took a journey to Mr. Henry’s congregation in Lunenburg, about 120 miles hence, to assist him in administering the sacrament, and in thirteen days I preached 11 or 12 sermons, with encouraging appearance of success. I think Mr. Henry and Mr. Wright’s labors continued to be blessed in those parts. At the sacrament in that wilderness, there were about 2000 hearers, and about 200 communicants, and a general seriousness and attention appeared among them; a consi-

derable number of thoughtless creatures are solicitously enquiring after religion."

The congregation of Briery had its origin in one of Mr. Davies' visits to the scattered Presbyterian families on the frontiers. In his missionary excursions he had as many appointments in advance as was convenient to make, and made others as he went along. Sending forward he would engage a place for lodging, and gather the family, and servants, and if possible, some of the neighbors for evening worship and exposition of Scripture. Passing through Charlotte, one of the company, James Morton, rode forward to the house of Littlejoe Morton, on the little Roanoke, the place since known as little Roanoke bridge, and enquired for lodging for Mr. Davies, the preacher. Mrs. Morton sent for her husband from the fields. They consulted upon the matter. They had heard of the New Lights and of Mr. Davies, but had never heard them, and were not favorably impressed by the report. Their hospitality that knew not how to turn from their door those that asked for accommodation, finally prevailed; and Mr. Davies was made welcome. That night he expounded Scripture with much feeling and earnestness. In the morning he passed on; but Mr. and Mrs. Morton were both awakened to a sense of their lost condition. Finding peace in believing, they both became devoted friends of Mr. Davies, and ardent Christians. That section of the country had been settled under the pastorage of the Randolph family, by a most worthy population. Mr. Morton was an enterprising man, proverbially honest and kind, and in the confidence and employ of the Randolphs, whose interest he greatly promoted, by making judicious selections of land in their behalf. Upon becoming a believer, he began to talk and pray with his neighbors and friends, and like Morris, of Hanover, to have worship on the Sabbath. His efforts were followed with great success. Mr. Davies visited the neighborhood; and numbers became hopefully Christians, and were formed into a congregation on the little Roanoke and Briery. The traditions of Littlejoe Morton and others of that name, of the Womacs and Spencers and others, had they been committed to writing, would be perused with an interest as intense as the letters of Morris and Davies, about the doings in Hanover, and more abiding as the congregation gathered has flourished to this day, and a great number of the descendants of these first Christians have been eminently pious. Their prayer-meetings, their long rides to church, their communion seasons, and their deep religious exercises, had something of romantic interest in them, as they displayed the mighty power of God's grace. Hanover lives mostly in history; Briery is a living epistle known and read of all men.

Cub Creek congregation was made up of a colony of Scotch-Irish, led to the frontiers of Virginia, by John Caldwell, about the year 1738. At his request the Synod of Philadelphia appointed a deputation to wait upon the Governor of Virginia, to solicit the favor of the Governor and Council for the proposed colony. Rev.

James Anderson waited on the Governor, Mr. Gooch, a Scotchman, educated a Presbyterian, and obtained from him a promise of protection and free enjoyment of their religion upon the condition of good citizenship, and compliance with the act of Toleration. It was less difficult to obtain toleration for a colony than for families that chose to leave the established church. Mr. Anderson visited the incipient congregations in the Shenandoah valley, and put them in the way of toleration by the Governor and Council. Part of the immediate descendants of the colony on Cub Creek went to Kentucky, some to South Carolina, and the progeny of the remainder is found in the bounds of the first Cub Creek, which has been the fruitful parent of numerous churches colonized on her borders.

Somewhat eccentric in manners, Mr. Henry was ardently pious and devoted to his work as a gospel minister. His strong natural passions were controlled by divine grace, and made the instruments of good. "He required"—said the venerable Pattello, in conversation with a young minister—"grace enough for two common men, to keep him in order; and he had it." He had much success in his ministry. Mr. M'Aden, the early missionary to North Carolina, after describing the terror of the inhabitants west of the Blue Ridge, upon the receipt of the news of Braddock's defeat, says, on visiting Mr. Henry on his way to Carolina,—“I was much refreshed by a relation of Mr. Henry's success among his people, who told me of several brought in by his ministry, and frequent appearance of new awakenings amongst them; scarcely a Sabbath passing without some life, and appearance of the power of God.” Having a great fund of cheerfulness and a fine flow of spirits, Mr. Henry's besetting sin was in exciting levity in others by his humor and eccentricity. His ardent piety, however, was known to all; and very often the involuntary smile which he unintentionally excited, was followed by a tear from a wounded heart. In his preaching he was very animated, sometimes approaching vociferation. This vehement manner, and vein of humor often breaking out in his sermons, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the African race, among whom he gathered many converts; and from his time Cub Creek has been able to number many of that race among her professors.

The Presbytery in session at Cub Creek, Thursday, Oct. 16th, 1766, adopted the following minute—"Mr. Henry and his session have agreed before the Presbytery, that if the said session cannot settle their congregational affairs respecting Mr. Henry's salary to his satisfaction, in a month from this time, they are willing to acquit him of the pastoral relation, and to allow him to remove where he pleases,—in which Presbytery concur." The month passed without a settlement. Mr. Henry made a journey to North Carolina, and received an invitation to remove to the Catawba. The records of Presbytery, April 1st, 1767, say—"a call was presented to Mr. Henry from the united congregations of Steel Creek and New Providence; which he accepts upon condition that

said congregation, and his former congregation continue in the same state in which he left them; in which the Presbytery concur; Mr. Henry having previously obtained a regular dismission from his former congregation on Cub Creek, in Virginia." In the Providence of God he was permitted to remain where his heart evidently longed for its home. On the eighth of the succeeding May, he passed to his everlasting rest; and his bones were laid among the people of his ministry.

The place where the first *stand* was erected on Cub Creek, for preaching, can be pointed out; and also the dwellings in Briery that were opened for the preaching the gospel in the time of the gathering the churches. Since the days of Mr. Henry the two congregations have been sometimes united in the services of a minister, and sometimes separated; and in these two conditions have enjoyed the labors of Rev. Messrs. Lacy, Alexander, Lyle, Rice, Mahon, Reed, Douglass, Plumer, Osborne, Stewart, Hart, Brown, Scott, and Stuart.

Mr. Henry was not in the habit of reading his sermons, or even of writing. Short notes of preparations were all he used, and not always those. It is said of him that on a certain occasion he thought he ought to prepare himself with greater care than usual, and having written a sermon, he commenced reading from a small manuscript in his Bible. Of course he appeared to go on tamely. A gust of wind suddenly swept the paper from the Bible. He watched its progress as it sailed along to an old elder's scat. The old gentleman had been listening seriously, and as the paper fell at his side he deliberately put his foot upon it. Mr. Henry waited for him to bring it back to him. The old gentleman looked up as if nothing had happened; and Mr. Henry finished his sermon in the best way he could. It was the end of his written preparations to preach. There is nothing left as a production of his pen. Mr. Davies gives a testimony of the usefulness of Mr. Henry under date of June 3d, 1757—"But my honest friend Mr. Henry has had remarkable success last winter among the young people of his congregation. No less than seventeen of them were struck to the heart by one occasional evening lecture."

The first instance in which the attention of the Presbytery of Hanover was called to the subject of Psalmody, as embracing the question of propriety or impropriety of singing the version of Dr. Watts, occurred at Cub Creek, Oct. 6th, 1763. "In answer to the petition from Mr. Henry's congregation respecting Psalmody," Mr. Todd read the action of Synod—recommending consideration of the subject—and permission to those that desire to use the version of Watts till further action be had on the subject.

JOHN WRIGHT, the fifth named in the order of Synod, was from Scotland. All that is known of his early life, is from a letter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards to the Rev. John Erskine, of Scotland, July 7th, 1752—"Mr. John Wright, a member of New

Jersey College, who is to take his degree of Bachelor of Arts the next September, is now at my house. He was born in Scotland; has lived in Virginia, and is a friend and acquaintance of Mr. Davies; has a great interest in the esteem of the religious people of Virginia, and is peculiarly esteemed by President Burr; has been admitted to special intimacy with him; and is a person of a very good character for his understanding, prudence, and piety. He has a desire to have a correspondence with some divine of his native country, and has chosen you for his correspondent, if he may be admitted to such a favor. He intends to send you a letter with this, of which I would ask a favorable reception, as he has laid me under some special obligations."

Mr. Wright took his degree in 1752, was licensed by New Castle Presbytery, and ordained by the same in 1753. On the last Sabbath of July, in the year 1755, he was installed pastor of the church in Cumberland, Virginia. The church-building stands about three miles east from Farmville; the congregation extended westwardly and southwardly to Briery, embracing what is now the college church, and in other directions unlimited, or bounded only by the distance people could ride to the ordinances of the gospel. Wyllis, mountain, and river, belonged to this congregation, and for a time the neighborhood was a promising field of labor. The population was made up of English, Scotch-Irish, and Huguenots. The church as first gathered was the fruit of the labors of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Davies; principally of the latter. When Mr. Davies obtained license for three houses in addition to the four originally licensed, he asked for a house in Cumberland. The request was not noticed. It is probable its distance from Davies' residence was considered a sufficient reason; the General Court having recalled the license granted by the Court of New Kent County. Capt. John Morton, who accompanied Mr. Davies on his first visit to the house of Littlejoe Morton, was—says Dr. Alexander—"one of the persons who first associated together as a Presbyterian church in Cumberland County, Virginia, of which he soon became elder; in which office he continued till the day of his death. He was a man of warm, generous heart, ardent in his piety, and public-spirited in a high degree; so that his heart and his hands were ever ready to engage in any good work."

Mr. Wright, in a letter bearing date August 18th, 1755, soon after Braddock's defeat, and amidst the long drought, says—"the situation of our colony is most doleful, as the Gazette will inform you; we have not only the sword without, but famine within; and also, our people, till the defeat of our army, quite unalarmed and secure! But now there seems to be a general concern among all ranks. People generally begin to believe the divine government, and that our judgments are inflicted for our sins! they now hear sermons with solemnity and attention; they acknowledge their wickedness and ignorance, and believe that the *New Light* clergy and adherents are right. Thus you see, dear sir, that amidst all our

troubles, God is gracious and brings real good out of our real evils, adored be his great name. I had the sacrament of the Lord's supper administered, the last Sunday of July, in my infant congregation, which proved a solemn season. There was a vast concourse of people, above 2000, I dare say. I was installed at the same time, by Messrs. Davies, and Henry, of Lunenburg. I have had about 180 communicants, above 80 of them never partook before I came here. There were general awakenings for sundry Sabbaths before the sacrament, and new instances of deep and rational conviction, which I found by examining the communicants. I have seen last Lord's day above a hundred weeping and trembling under the word."

"I now preach anywhere, being so distant from the metropolis, and the times being so dangerous and shocking; and I would fain hope not without success."

Here is stated the great cause of the liberty the dissenters enjoyed after Davies' return from England. It is found in the French and Indian war, and the necessity to use the aid of the dissenters, as they were called, then altogether Presbyterians, in defending the country. A license was refused to the people of Cumberland, asking for it in a respectful way and according to law; in time of peace they should have no house for worship under protection of law; war comes, and in its troubles and confusion, Mr. Wright preaches in as many places in Cumberland as the people choose, and he is able to occupy. God shakes the earth that his beloved may have peace. We also learn the date of the first communion in Cumberland under the ministry of Mr. Wright, the last Sabbath of July, 1755. From the circumstances of the case, it is probable this was the first held by any Presbyterian, in the bounds of Cumberland congregation. Previously to this time, the people rode to Briery and Cub Creek, to ordinances administered by Mr. Henry, on one side, and to Hanover, and Louisa, and Goochland, on the other, to enjoy the same privileges under Messrs. Davies and Todd. The number of professors increased, till, at the time of installation, about 180 were numbered. People were used to ride far on communion occasions; and in the state of the church at that time, to have but 180 communicants assemble at a central place, when Davies, and Henry, and Wright were to officiate after harvest, is scarcely credible. It is therefore most probable that the 180 were all living in the bounds of Mr. Wright's charge, or at least out of the bounds of the other pastoral charges.

Mr. Davies writes under date of March 2d, 1756—about some books sent from England to be distributed at his discretion,—“I sent a few of each sort to my friend and brother Mr. Wright, minister in Cumberland, about ninety miles hence, where there is a great number of negroes, and not a few of them thoughtful and inquisitive about Christianity, and sundry of them hopeful converts. He has been faithful in the distribution, and informs me they meet with a very agreeable and promising reception. He is very labo-

rious in his endeavors to instruct negroes, and has set up two or three schools among them, where they attend before and after sermon, for they have no other leisure time."

Mr. Wright, under date of January 20th, 1757, says—"Blessed be God, we have had more of the power of God last spring, summer, and autumn, than ever. This I told Mr. Adams. But since I wrote him there have been some remarkable revivings in Messrs. Davies and Henry's congregations, and mine. The former had it chiefly among the negroes; and the other among the youth; and in my congregation I may say it was general and eminently among the young people." Speaking of his communion seasons and members joining the church—he says—"last August about eighty or ninety; and last July between thirty and forty new ones. At my first I had not quite six young people; but at my last between fifty and sixty. There seems to be something of a stir among the negroes in my congregation, and among little children. I believe I have five or six of the former who have even now a title to heaven. They received lately a present of addresses done by Mr. Fawcett, of Kidderminster, Testaments, Bibles, &c., which animates them much to learn to read. A good number of ministers in this country entered into a concert of prayer on Saturday evening and Sabbath morning, not only for the church in general, but for one another in particular." Nov. 14th, 1757, he says—"I have been sickly all this spring and summer. I was obliged to quit preaching altogether, but could not keep silence; at last I fled from my flock, to be out of temptation of preaching, but could not keep away long; and upon my return must preach or sink into melancholy. I got some ease about the middle of May, and preached at Willis's Creek on Acts 17th, 30th. 'But now he commandeth all men every where to repent.'" On the 2d Sabbath in the succeeding June, Messrs. Henry and Martin assisted Mr. Wright at a communion in Cumberland; thirty-six new communicants were admitted to the ordinance.

It is melancholy to record the fact that a man of the high expectations and esteem, and apparent usefulness of Mr. Wright, should fall under the censure of the Presbytery. In the weakness of body, and the melancholy of which he complains in one of his letters, he sought relief in stimulants, in the once common, but vain belief, that permanent relief might be had by their exciting influence. The things in which he sought renewed health, wrought his disgrace, and his departure from Virginia. In 1762, the Presbytery sustained some charges against him of immoderate use of spirituous liquors; and some improprieties connected with that indulgence. His morning of expectation went down in clouds, never to be brighter till Christ the Lord shall come. Then we hope it may appear that wandering he was not finally lost.

The Rev. JOHN BROWN, the sixth named in the order of the Synod, was pastor of Timber Ridge and Providence. A sketch of him is found under the head of Timber Ridge.

The Rev. JOHN MARTIN, the seventh on the list of members, was the first licensed and the first ordained by the Presbytery of Hanover. March 18th, 1756, at Providence, in Louisa, Mr. Todd's charge,—“Mr. John Martin offered himself upon trials for the gospel ministry, and delivered a discourse upon Ephesians 2d, 1st, which was sustained as a part of trial; and he was also examined as to his religious experience, and the reasons of his desiring the ministry; which was also sustained. He was likewise examined in the Latin and Greek languages, and briefly in Logic, Ontology, Ethics, Natural Philosophy, Rhetoric, Geography, and Astronomy; in all which his answers in general were very satisfactory. And the Presbytery appoint him to prepare a sermon on 1 Cor. 1st, 22d, 23d, and an exegesis on this question—Num revelatio supernaturalis sit necessaria?—to be delivered at our next committee. And the Presbytery appoint Messrs. Todd, Wright, and Davies, a committee for that purpose; to meet in the lower meeting-house in Hanover the last Wednesday in April.”

At the time appointed, the parts of trial received the approbation of the committee; and examination was held—“upon the Hebrew, and in sundry extempore questions upon the doctrines of religion, and some cases of conscience, his answers to which were generally sustained.” He was requested by the committee to prepare a sermon on Galat. 2d, 20th. “The life which I now live in the flesh”—and an exposition on Isaiah 61st, 1, 2, 3,—The spirit of the Lord is upon me. At Goochland Court House, July 7th, 1756, the sermon and the exposition were delivered before some members in a private capacity, as the Presbytery failed to meet—“which the ministers and elders present do highly approve of and think worthy to be received as part of the trials,” and they desire him to compose a sermon against the next Presbytery on 1 John 5th, 10th, first part—He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself. In the succeeding August, the 25th day—“The Presbytery met by appointment of the Moderator—and farther examined Mr. Martin, in sundry extempore questions upon various branches of learning and divinity, and reheard his religious experience; and upon a review of the sundry trials he has passed through, they judge him qualified to preach the gospel; and he having declared his assent to, and approbation of the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechism and Directory, as they have been adopted by the Synod of New York, the Presbytery do license and authorize him to preach as a candidate for the ministry of the gospel, and recommend him to the acceptance of the churches. And they order Mr. Davies and Todd to draw up for him a certificate according to the purport of this Minute; and appoint the Moderator to give him some solemn instructions and admonitions with regard to the discharge of his office, which was done accordingly.” Mr. Davies was the Moderator.

The preaching of Mr. Martin was very acceptable to the vacancies. First came invitations for a few Sabbaths; then calls from



Albemarle—Prince Edward and Lunenburg; petitions from Petersburg and Amelia. In all these places he preached to acceptance. Pressing calls for ministerial services came from North Carolina. April 27th, 1757—"Presbytery is appointed to meet in Hanover on the 2d Wednesday of June, which Mr. Martin is to open with a sermon from Romans 4th. 5th, preparatory to his ordination, which is to be the day following, at which Mr. Davies is to preside." At the appointed time, Mr. Martin preached, and on the next day was regularly ordained. The reasons for his ordination are not stated: they may be inferred. After his ordination he visited North Carolina, and had appointments at Rocky river, Hawfields, and Hico." He never met the Presbytery again. In October of the same year at a meeting of *the committee* at Mr. William Smith's, in Cumberland—"Mr. Martin, having entered into the Indian Mission, has, by the hands of Mr. Davies, given up both the calls, which he had under consideration." January 25th, 1758, at Capt. Anderson's, Cumberland—"Applications having been made to the committee appointed by the Presbytery, to manage such incidental occurrences as might happen in the interspace between the meetings of the Presbytery, by the society for managing the Indian Mission and schools, that Mr. Martin should be sent among the Indians; the committee complied:—on which account he is excused from complying with his other appointments." His name appears on the Minutes of Presbytery for the last time, April 25th, 1759. No reason is given for its omission. The Records of the Indian Mission in England, if in existence, would give some interesting facts concerning the mission and this man.

#### *Some Acts of Presbytery.*

In the short period of two years and four months, from the time of its formation to its remodelling in 1758, the Presbytery of Hanover held nine meetings,—met four times by committee appointed for Presbyterial business,—and appointed one committee of peculiar powers, viz—Aug. 25, 1756—"As the members are scattered so that they cannot often meet in stated Presbytery, nor be called *pro re nata*, the Presbytery appoint Messrs. Todd, Wright, Brown, and Davies, or any two of them a committee for this year, to transact such affairs as may not admit of a delay till the meeting of the Presbytery, and they shall bring in an account of their proceeding to Presbytery." The first act of Presbytery was to appoint a *fast*, in accordance with the Act of Synod;—and their last act was to appoint the last Wednesday of June, to be observed by all the members in their congregations as a day of public fasting and prayer, on account of the situation of our public affairs; and the want of divine influence on the means of grace. An address was presented to the Right Honorable John, Earl of Loudon, Supreme Governor of the Colony—in which—after professing loyalty—they hope—"your Excellency will grant us all liberties and immunities of

a full toleration, according to the laws of England, and particularly according to the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Act of Toleration."

An address with a like expression of hope and desire, was addressed to Governor Fauquier. Earl Loudon made no reply; Fauquier assured the Presbytery of the protection of the Act of Toleration.

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## CHAPTER V.

### NEW PROVIDENCE.

THE Rev. Samuel Houston, in answer to some inquiries made by the Rev. James Morrison, the third pastor of New Providence, gave in writing the origin of the congregation. He begins with the grants to Beverly and Burden. "The dividing line between their grants crossed the valley near where New Providence church now stands."

"Those families that came first were nearly connected, or large families. For comfort and for safety they generally settled near each other, and with the understanding that as soon as practicable they might have schools for their children; and form religious societies, and have places of public worship. Those first settlers in the valley were mostly Presbyterians; but those in New Providence, I believe wholly so, at least in name. Near the South Mountain, there were several families of the name of Moore,—others of Steel,—near them M'Clung,—and Fulton,—Beard; and then a little further on, my grand-father, John Houston, and his brother-in-law, John Montgomery, and some by the name of Eaken. Near the middle (of the valley), on Kennedy's Creek and its branches were, the Kennedys, Wardlaws, Logans; and another line of Steels, Edmundsons, Buchanans, Pattons, Millars, Stephensons. Towards the North Mountain, on Hays' and Walker's Creek, were two families of Hays, three or four Walkers of the same stock, and their brother-in-law, James Moore; two families of Robinsons, one of Kelly, Hudson, Thompson, Smiley, and two of Rheas. In the midst were three of the Berry family, one of Tedford, one M'Campbell, two or three M'Croskys, and a Coalter family. In the course of a few years, other families came and settled amongst them; their names were, M'Nutt, Weir, Campbell, Wilson, Anderson, Culton, Henry, Lowry, and another stock of Edmundsons, and one family named Todd, my grand-father on my mother's side; two of the name of Stuart, one of Alexander, Cowder, Gray, Jamieson, and two Pattons. Of all these families, by intermarriages other families were soon formed; also others coming in.

“The above settlers commenced, at least many of them, in the woods, and in much fear from the savages and wild beasts. Hence at my grand-father’s house, some distance from the South Mountain, but nearer it than the western side of the settlement, and a house most convenient for the whole settlement to collect their families together in case of an invasion, the settlers erected a stockade fort, the remainders of which, I saw around the yard when I was a boy. Near to the fort, at a place called then, and now, Old Providence, they erected a log meeting-house, and had worship occasionally by supplies from Pennsylvania. In those early days, the population of Timber Ridge united with Providence to get supplies, intending as soon as they could to have a settled pastor between them. The lower settlement on Hays’ Creek and Walker’s Creek, felt themselves too distant from Old Providence, and urged a more central place between the mountains, and proposed the place, now near Witherow’s Mansion. My grand-father prevailed upon his neighbors to meet them at the new site; accordingly a log meeting-house was erected on the southern side of the creek. The united congregations of Timber Ridge and New Providence, called Mr. John Brown, and he was installed their pastor. The first elders were,—a Mr. Millar, Andrew Hays, John Logan, Samuel Buchannan, Alexander Walker, my grand-father John Houston, and Andrew Steel.” After the congregation had agreed upon a site for a new church, having had much difficulty in becoming united in the choice, it was proposed to adopt a name—My aged ancestor said, ‘neighbors we have hitherto had unpleasant and fruitless meetings, to-day we have had an agreeable and successful one, and we are indebted to a kind providence: let us call it New Providence,’ to which all agreed. Then, or soon afterwards they united in efforts; some contributing, others laboring until they finished the stone walls, roof, doors, windows, and floor, and set in benches and a temporary pulpit, and then rested for some years until I was a boy capable of observation. For well do I remember sitting in my father’s seat to see the swallows flying in and out during public worship, to feed their young ones, in nests upon the collar beams and wall-plates, or cavities in the stone work.” When the people after some years finished the work by making a pulpit with a canopy, a gallery, and by glazing the windows, he says—“the elders were—Andrew Hays, John Logan, Alexander Walker, John Houston, my father, Saunders Walker, and soon after James Henry, Charles Campbell, and James M’Campbell.

“About the year 1763 an unhappy difference took place between the pastor, Mr. Brown, and some leading men in Timber Ridge congregation, on account of which Mr. Brown talked of removing. This deeply affected many of the New Providence congregation. But at last they agreed to retain his labors entirely, and on his accepting £80 salary from them alone, his connexion and theirs with Timber Ridge was dissolved. Mr. Brown’s labors were continued harmoniously in New Providence, until his powers of body failed, especially

his voice. Therefore mutually he and the congregation agreed for him to be relieved by the congregation becoming vacant, and another called, all which was in due order effected; and in a short time his successor, Mr. Samuel Brown, was called and installed their pastor, which brings me down to the year 1796.

"A few remarks and I have done. After Mr. J. B. left Timber Ridge many of said congregation retained much affection for him, and through much inconvenience attended almost steadily N. P. meetings and communions as formerly. Another remark is, that before the struggle for independence took place, N. P. kept the Sabbath with great strictness, and family worship was almost universal. Another remark is, that shortly before the war, some men, whose sons were growing up, felt a desire for having them, or part of them, educated liberally, chiefly with a view to the ministry of the gospel. Accordingly a small grammar school was formed in the neighborhood of Old Providence, composed of Samuel Doak, John Montgomery, Archibald Alexander, James Houston, William Tate, Samuel Greenlee, William Wilson, and others, which greatly increased and drew youths from distant neighborhoods. This grammar school was moved to the place near Fairfield, called Mount Pleasant; it was, in 1776, established at Timber Ridge meeting-house, and named Liberty Hall.

"Sincerely yours,

"S. HOUSTON."

Tradition says the first work after building log-cabins for themselves, was to erect a capacious meeting-house. For permanency and dignity they determined it should be of stone. Limestone for mortar could be found in any abundance, but sand was brought on pack-horses six or seven miles from the stream called South Fork. Nails and glass were brought in the same way from Philadelphia. A sycamore, for a long time the only one in the neighborhood, sprung from the bank of refuse sand brought from a stream where the tree abounds. The succeeding generations knew the old sycamore, enjoying its shade on Sabbath noon. So intent were many of the people of New Providence that their house of worship should be properly finished, that they forbore not only luxuries, but what are now esteemed the necessaries of housewifery. One old lady apologized to some company that came to eat with her, for not accommodating more at a time at the table, and requiring them to eat by turns, that all might have the benefit of her few knives and forks, by saying, "We intended to have got a set of knives this year, but the meeting-house was to be finished, and we could not give our share and get the knives, so we put them off for another year." The only pair of wheels in the congregation for many years was made to draw timbers for the church. In their private concerns the drag and sled sufficed.

Of those persons named by Mr. Houston, students of the first grammar school—Doak, Montgomery, Houston, and Wilson be-

came ministers of the gospel. Dr. Doak, well known in Tennessee as the laborious patron of literature, and minister of the gospel; Houston preached in Kentucky, and in the time of the great excitement, left the Presbyterian Church; Montgomery preached in Virginia, and died on Cowpasture; Wilson lies buried near Augusta Church, of which he was long a pastor. Houston and Wilson used to tell of Doak, that as his parents lived in the bounds of Bethel, too far from the school to live at home, he erected a cabin near the school house for his convenience; and that the boys in their fun would frequently, while Doak was engaged with his teacher, break into his cabin, and derange his apparatus for cooking, and make sad work with his housekeeping; all which he bore with great good humor, and went on cheerfully with his studies, in preparation for that life of trial and usefulness as a pioneer of the gospel and sound education in Tennessee. The name of the first teacher has been preserved, but not those of his successors, till William Graham, and John Montgomery; these are preserved in the records of Presbytery. It does not appear that Mr. J. Brown ever himself engaged in teaching the school which for years was in operation about a mile from his dwelling, in which his elder children received their education, preparatory for those posts of honor conferred upon them by the community.

The people of New Providence were visited by the missionaries sent out by the Presbyteries of the Synod of New York. And May 18th, 1748, the Records of Synod say, "A call was brought into Synod from Falling Spring and New Providence, to be presented to Mr. Byram, the acceptance of which he declined." The congregation being pleased with the labors of Mr. John Brown, a licentiate of New Castle Presbytery, who remained in the Valley for some time as a missionary, united, in 1753, with the people of Timber Ridge in making the call for his services. After Mr. Brown withdrew from Timber Ridge, he continued, many years, to preach to New Providence alone. His sketch is given under the head of Timber Ridge. That the congregation of New Providence did not overvalue his usefulness, is seen in their prosperity. It went united into the hands of his successors, with a cheering prospect of usefulness, the standard of piety, an able eldership, a large number of professors of religion, having sent into the ministry some of her sons, and been the nursery of the Academy and the germ of the College.

The second pastor was Mr. SAMUEL BROWN, settled in 1796. We know nothing of the life of John Brown till he left college; we know but comparatively little of his successor before he entered on his ministry. And that little we know is from the memoranda of a son, now a minister of the gospel. Samuel Brown, of English origin, was born in the year 1766, of a family of moderate circumstances, in Bedford County, Virginia, in the bounds of the congregation of Peaks and Pisgah, the fruitful mother of many ministers of the gospel prominent in the Virginia Church.

Crab Bottom, October 25th, 1853.

DEAR BROTHER—In 1836 I was at the house of Jesse Wit, the brother-in-law of my venerated father, and took down, as directed by him, the following reminiscences. Mr. Wit was intimately acquainted with him from childhood, went to school with him, and subsequently my father boarded at his house, and went to school in his neighborhood. Mr. Wit lived and died near Liberty, Bedford County, Virginia.

Mr. Wit says :—The first advantages he (my father) enjoyed in the way of mental culture were at schools where the first branches only of an English education were taught. He indulged in such sports as were common at schools, but was entirely free from profanity, and of exemplary morals. He was the fondest boy of his books, and the best scholar of his age I ever knew. He often expressed a desire to obtain a liberal education, but the circumstances of his father were not such as to enable him to give his children a better education than would barely fit them to transact their own business in the more ordinary walks of life. About the year 1785 there was a school taught near the Peaks of Otter, by a Mr. Bromhead, in which the higher branches of an English education, such as English grammar, geography, surveying, &c., might be obtained. This was not the case in schools generally at that day. To this school he earnestly requested his father to send him; but his father did not think his circumstances would justify the expense of boarding his son from home, and declined granting the request. The son being very urgent, the father thought to end the matter by telling him that to enable him to do so, it would be necessary to sell his yoke of oxen. But such was the desire of the son to learn, that, to this measure he strongly urged his father. By some means, now unknown, he got to the school. Being possessed of more than the ordinary talents and fondness for the science of mathematics, and having obtained a magnetic needle, he fitted it to a compass of his own construction, and with this, for want of a better, he practised surveying, for his own improvement.

After leaving the school of Mr. Bromhead, he went to Kentucky, and taught school himself, but at the end of twelve months he returned to the house of his father in Bedford County. This was in 1788. Shortly after his return he commenced going to school to the Rev. James Mitchel, who resided in the neighborhood of his father. About this time the congregations of Peaks and Pisgah were blessed with an extensive revival of religion, principally under the instrumentality of the Rev. Drury Lacy. Mr. Brown became one of the subjects of renewing grace. At that time he was very fond of playing on the violin, and was considered a good player. The amusement of dancing also possessed in his estimation peculiar claims. He abandoned both, and returned to them no more. Indeed, such were his subsequent views of the great tendency of dancing to banish serious reflections, and promote licentiousness, that even the sound of the violin was ever afterwards unpleasant. Of the pecu-

liar exercises of his mind under his awakening, I know but little. I remember to have heard, however, that like many others, he was for a time greatly perplexed about the distinctive doctrines of Calvinism; and being unable to get the difficulties solved that were suggested to his mind, he undertook to read the Scriptures regularly through in reference to that single point, noting down as he proceeded, what he found to favor the Arminian or Calvinistic view. Having found so many passages which would admit of no other than a Calvinistic interpretation, and not one on the side of Arminianism but might be interpreted otherwise, he bowed to the doctrines of divine grace, and gave his heart to God before he had gone half through the Bible. Not long after he made his first public address. Being at a prayer meeting in Liberty, where there was considerable religious excitement, he arose, and with great earnestness repeated Heb. 12:14: "Holiness—without which no man shall see the Lord;" and sat down.

In 1790, he boarded in my family, in Liberty, and commenced the study of the Latin language, under a Mr. Andrew Lyle, from Rockbridge County. Mr. L. subsequently removed to Kentucky, and entered the ministry. He was succeeded by a Mr. Houston, from the same county, who subsequently became a minister of the gospel, and removed to Ohio, where he became a Shaking Quaker. In this school, Mr. Brown continued about two years. Thus far Mr. Wit. I am, Dear Sir, yours in the gospel,

HENRY BROWN.

While preparing for the ministry as a candidate, he was a member of Liberty Hall Academy, under William Graham. At the meeting of Hanover Presbytery, at Concord, July 30th, 1791, Messrs. Turner and Calhoun read parts of their trial in preparation for licensure; the call from Philadelphia for the removal of J. B. Smith, from Hampden Sidney College, was put in his hands with the non-concurrence of the Presbytery; and three young men were taken as candidates; "John Lyle, recommended to this Presbytery as a young man of good moral character, prosecuting his studies, and desirous of putting himself under their care, not as a candidate at present, but for their patronage and direction, was introduced. And the Presbytery having heard an account of his religious exercises, thought proper to encourage him in his studies. Mr. Samuel Brown was also recommended as a young man in nearly the same circumstances, and wishing to be taken under the direction of Presbytery in the same manner. But the Presbytery having heard a detail of God's dealings with his soul, and of his motives to engage in the ministry of the gospel, and considering the progress that he has already made in acquiring an education, thought proper to admit him as a candidate upon trials. They therefore agreed to assign him some subjects as a specimen of his abilities, under this limitation, that he be at liberty to produce them to Presbytery at any of their sessions, when it shall be convenient

to himself; and appointed him an essay upon the Extent of Christ's Satisfaction." Mr. Moses Waddel, a student at Hampden Sidney College, was also received as candidate, and parts of trial were assigned.

At Bethel, July 27th, 1792, Mr. Brown read his essay upon the Extent of Christ's Satisfaction. This essay was on the 30th considered and sustained, and an essay was appointed him upon the question—"How do men become depraved, and wherein does that depravity consist;" and also a Presbyterial exercise upon Romans 1st, 18th. At Providence, in Louisa, Oct. 5th, 1792, "Mr. Brown was appointed a popular discourse on Rom. 5th, 1st, in addition to his other parts of trial to be produced at the next meeting." Briery, April 5th, 1793—"The Presbytery was opened with a sermon by Samuel Brown, on the subject assigned him." At this meeting the Rev. Devereux Jarret took his seat as a corresponding member. On the next evening the Presbytery met at 7 o'clock, at the house "of old Mrs. Morton"—and after consideration, sustained Mr. Brown's popular sermon. The notice of his reading his Essay and Presbyterial Exercise is omitted in the records. "The Presbytery then proceeded to examine Mr. Brown with respect to his knowledge in the doctrines of Divinity, and his answers being satisfactory, it was agreed to license him to preach the gospel. And Mr. Brown having adopted the Confession of Faith as received in the Presbyterian Church in America, and promised subjection to his brethren in the Lord, was accordingly licensed to preach the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ, and recommended to all the churches where God in his Providence may call him." At a meeting in July, at the Cove, on the 25th instant, Presbytery recommended Mr. Brown to the commission of Synod. Under the direction of this commission, he performed missionary service until April 21st, 1796, when at Hampden Sidney—"Mr. Samuel Brown, formerly a probationer under the care of this Presbytery, but for some time past a missionary under the direction of the commission of Synod, produced a dismission from that body, certifying his good character and conduct while he acted as a missionary, whereupon he was again received as a probationer under the care of this Presbytery." On the next day—"A supplication was laid before Presbytery from the congregations of Providence, (Louisa), North Fork, and the Bird, to obtain Mr. Samuel Brown to supply them for six months, in order to prepare the way for his final settlement among them. Mr. Brown being asked whether such an appointment would be agreeable to him, answered in the negative, as he had already determined to remove out of the bounds of Presbytery." He then requested and obtained a dismission to join the Presbytery of Lexington. The journals of Mr. Brown kept during his missionary travelling and preaching have not, with the exception of a few fragments, been preserved. The range was large; the bounds of the commission extended over Virginia, West Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. With the general extent of their bounds, and a large



proportion of the particulars, Mr. Brown became fully acquainted. And the selection of a place of living, which he was enabled to make by the good will and choice of the people, was characteristic of the man. For quietness, usefulness, comfort, present success in the ministry, and prospective in-gathering of harvests, New Providence was unsurpassed by any of the numerous vacancies, and was equalled by few that had pastors. Honesty of purpose, simplicity of manners, diligence in business, and a liberal economy characterized the people of this retired but fertile region of country. The congregation had been famous for its attachment to its minister; and the condition in which the first minister left it, in his feeble age bore testimony to his fidelity. The activity of a young man was becoming visibly necessary, and Brown the first gave place cheerfully to Brown the second; and the successor as cheerfully honored his predecessor while reaping the fruit of his labors.

For years he pursued the round, monotonous, were it not of eternal consequence, of a country pastor, preaching twice on the Sabbath to a large congregation of hearers in the old Stone Church, having an hour's interval between the sermons; visiting the sick and burying the dead as required, during the week; preaching occasionally in retired neighborhoods; catechising the children by neighborhoods annually, giving account to Presbytery of his diligence, and the success of the parents and children therein; and holding communion, or sacramental meeting at stated periods during the year. Add to these recurring duties, the responsibilities of a select classical school, bringing a number of the pupils to be members of his family, which he taught a greater part of the time he was pastor of New Providence. The excellence of his teaching and discipline drew pupils from the counties east of the Ridge, and kept his number complete. In teaching — he was, "mild with the mild — and with the froward fierce as fire." Rebellion against the laws of propriety, was in his eyes like the sin of witchcraft, and woe to the unhappy boy that ventured to find out by experience, the manner Samuel Brown could subdue a disobedient boy. One experiment was sufficient for his whole school life, and generally for a whole generation of boys. But with the cheerful and the studious and the law-abiding boy, he was like a spring morning, or the autumn evening. Tall, spare, broad-shouldered, and not particularly careful at all times whether he stood precisely straight, a thin visage with small deep-set eyes, of a grey color tinged with blue, not particularly expressive till the deep passions of the heart were aroused, "then," said Governor James M'Dowell, "they began to sparkle and glow, and apparently sink deeper in his head, and grow brighter and brighter till the sparkling black was lost in a vivid flame of fire," then the volcano, giving no other sign in muscle or in limb, of its subterraneous workings, was ready to burst. Then, if the explosion was a volume of wrath, it was terrible; if the kindling of a great subject, the burst of eloquence was resistless; the bolt shot forth and shivered like the lightning.

Mr. S. Brown read and thought closely, but wrote little. Like his neighbor Baxter, he could arrange his thoughts into the purest English and most classic sentence without the help of the pen. Some few manuscripts — one printed sermon — and a few pieces in the Virginia Magazine, are all we have from his pen. His style was simple and concise, with no approach to the florid or verbose, or highly figurative. It was, in his most deeply interesting sermons, that which the hearers could never describe — because they never observed — they were simply noticing the ideas as they came rushing forth like a band of warriors from the opened gates. They could not tell the plumes nor ensigns — but they could hear the heavy tread, and see the fiery eye, and feel the fierce expression of every limb. Many of his hearers could repeat in order the great truths of his sermons that most interested him. But only now and then would they venture to say — “he used these very words.” In his less interesting discourses, they could venture to be more exact about his words. His people considered him a great reasoner. In their estimation he always reasoned well; often better; and sometimes the best they could imagine. And that he could reason well is certain from the fact, that his congregation learned to reason admirably on the great truths of religion and morals; and that his brethren in the ministry came to listen to his sermons with the same emotions as his own people. The greatest men in the Synod, said he was the greatest reasoner in the Synod, under the pressure of a great subject. Dr. Speece, who always listened to him with pleasure, on one occasion appeared to be entirely absorbed in his discourse; and as Mr. Brown said — “but we must come to a conclusion” — he unconsciously raised his hand and said aloud, “go on, go on.”

The facts given by his son respecting the manner in which he became satisfied on the subject of predestination, are illustrative of his manner of reasoning from the pulpit on common occasions. He would produce a great array of undoubted facts, and so marshal them as a host prepared for battle, that no one would like to make an onset. Or he would begin to lay the foundation of his building on some corner-stone of the gospel, and go on tier by tier, and story by story, till when the top stone was laid, the hearer charmed with its beauty and symmetry, was ready to shout “grace, grace unto it.” His hearers saw it all plain, just right; but it required Samuel Brown to do it. His model was Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, fact after fact, consecutive and connected, with illustrations; till some certain fact as a conclusion seemed inevitable. Sometimes he entered into the field of metaphysical discussion much in fashion in his day; and among the many that failed making any impression, he was of the few that was resistless. He could weave a web his adversaries could not disentangle. He could produce a train the common people could understand, and follow closely and feel at the close a deep conviction of its truth; and the wiser heads could retrace the various steps after they had reached their homes. They could admire,

but it seemed to them it took a Samuel Brown to make it. Of his habits in the judicatories of the Church, there is neither a memorandum nor a tradition of importance. One of his Elders describes him thus:—

Jan. 4th, 1851.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of Dec. 4th, only a few days ago, making some inquiries respecting the Reverend Samuel Brown. In compliance with your request, I will with pleasure, send you such notices of him as my information on the subject will allow.

He preached his first sermon in New Providence, after taking their call into his hands, June 5th, 1796. His text was in 4th of 2d Corinthians, 1st and 2d verses. His second sermon on the same day was from 1st Peter, 2d and 3d verses. He was married 9th of October, 1798, to Polly Moore, whose story is known to you. He soon afterwards purchased a small farm near Brownsburg, and commenced teaching a classical school. He continued the school several years. Amongst those who were his pupils, I may name Gov. James McDowell, Gov. McNutt, of Mississippi, Samuel McD. Moore, and Dr. Wilson, now of Union Seminary. He attended to the business of his farm himself, employing no overseer. His salary was only \$400 per annum, until a year or two before his death, when it was raised to \$500. He was judicious and economical in the management of his affairs. At the time of his installation his means were nothing, his family became large, yet at his death his estate was quite considerable. He died suddenly, 13th October, 1818, having preached the day before. His text on that occasion was in the 40th chapter of Isaiah, 30 and 31.

His talents, according to the common opinion, and that is my own, were of a very high order. His judgment in all matters was sound and practical. In cases where it seemed difficult to arrive at a correct decision, he seemed to seize with facility the true view; and the clearness of his statements hardly failed to bring others to concur with him. His preaching was impressive and interesting. In his personal appearance he was tall and lean, his eyes sunk deeply in his head. His voice, though not sweet, was distinct; his manner earnest, seeming to be inspired by a deep conviction of the truth and importance of his subject. His gestures, according to my recollections, were few, but appropriate. In his addresses from the pulpit, he was eminent for strength, conciseness, and perspicuity. Argumentative more than declamatory, he convinced the judgment of his hearers. Plain, instructive, and practical in his discourses, he brought the principles of the Bible to bear upon the conduct of his people in all their relations. He also held forth very strongly the great Calvinistic doctrines of the Scriptures. He preached repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. He dwelt prominently on the total depravity of human nature, and on the necessity of regeneration. He frequently became very much animated when preaching, and sometimes the tears were seen to trickle

down his cheeks. His sermons were short generally. I have heard people complain sometimes that they were too short, but never that they were too long. When he preached two sermons on the Sabbath, as he did in the summer, his last sermon was generally considered the ablest. I never saw but one sermon of his in print; that one was preached at the installation or ordination of A. B. Davidson, in Harrisonburg. Mr. Brown told me that he had preached it without much preparation, that he had however felt liberty in the delivery of it. When the Presbytery applied for a copy, he had none, and wrote it out as nearly as he could; but I think he was not satisfied with it, and people generally did not consider it as a fair specimen of his sermons.

The longer he lived amongst his people, the more they became attached to him. He mingled amongst them on easy and familiar terms; took an interest in their welfare both temporal and spiritual. His conversation was interesting, and to use a current phrase, he was the soul of the company in which he was. He took an active interest in the Brownsburg Circulating Library, and was desirous to promote the taste, and the habit of reading amongst his people. He uniformly attended to catechising once a year, at the different places in his congregation, and made pastoral visits to some extent. In his day it was not customary to preach at funerals. In admitting persons to the communion of the church, he generally conversed with them privately, and then reported to the Session. He was a man that never shrunk from any responsibility, that properly belonged to him, in any circumstances in which he was placed; and his opinions probably carried more weight with them than those of any other man in this end of Rockbridge County. He was a very kind husband, and was always heard to speak of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and he reposed in her judgment and opinion great confidence. His piety was undoubted. He died universally lamented; in the prime of life, in full intellectual vigor; in the midst of his usefulness; and when the love of his people towards him, so far from abating, was becoming deeper and stronger.

I am yours, respectfully,

THOMAS H. WALKER.

As Mr. Samuel Brown "never shrunk from any responsibilities," so he never sought for notoriety. He held the post of his highest desires, the pastor of a flock of the Lord Jesus. This he sought when he entered upon the course of studies for the ministry; and for this he longed whether at the grammar school, or at Liberty Hall; and this he preferred to a missionary life. And whether he directed the concerns of a small farm, or taught a select classical school, it was to aid him in the work of a gospel minister. And this honor and this desire he left as the inheritance of his children. As a teacher he stimulated youth to seek excellence; and through life he encouraged the young to strive for mental as well as moral culture. Dr. Speece attributes to him his excitement for an education.

"In 1792, Mr. Samuel Brown, one of my former teachers, wrote to my father, to persuade him to send me to the grammar school, near New London. I was anxious to go;" and through life he spoke of Samuel Brown as conferring a great favor on him in his early life, by encouraging him to seek a liberal education.

When the bodily exercises referred to in the sketch of Baxter, and so fully described by Davidson in his History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, made their appearance in Virginia, Mr. Brown made a decided and open opposition. He said they were a profane mixture with the work of God. He had meditated upon the subject as a peculiarity of Kentucky and Tennessee; and when they became matters of daily fact in the neighboring congregations, he spoke out clearly and convincingly. His decision and his reasons for it, quickened the action of Baxter's mind, who was travelling more slowly, yet surely to the correct decision. These two men differed in some particulars, and by that very difference mutually affected the operations of each other's mind. Baxter was always ready to hear what Brown would say, and Brown was always glad to have Baxter fully agree with him. Baxter would listen to new things in argument, or report, or read them as history with entire simplicity. Like a child in a botanic garden, with the carelessness of innocence he would walk around wounding his hands with the thorns here, and offending his smell there, with the odor of the flowers, seeming to admire the pernicious and the deadly, and stopping to look a moment at the pure and good; and going into the museum to look at machinery, they should lead him to the apartments of the garrotte, the maiden and the guillotine, at all of which he would look with awakened curiosity as something recommended for their peculiar excellence:—by and by his face would begin to assume a sober cast, the lines would deepen, and the tones of voice would tremble perhaps with emotion—Gentlemen, these are all deadly, every one—and disgraceful as deadly;—those flowers are all poisonous, every one, except that little group that stands in the unobserved corner. Brown would come in, his reasoning powers as sensitive to error as the eye to the floating mote, or the smell to the fumes of sulphur; on he would go, shaking his head at this, passing by that, and pausing nowhere till he met the little group of innocent sweet flowers; and in the museum he would have felt a cold shuddering as he looked to see what these evil things were. And in recounting the whole affair, Baxter would have laughed outright as he described this poisonous thing with so pretty a covering of beauteous colors, and the queerness of those death-machines praised for their ingenuity: and Brown would have laughed at Baxter as about to put on the garrotte as a necklace, and hug the maiden and bite the nightshade to find out what they were. In the final conclusion they would entirely agree. It would have distressed them for either to have found the other coming to an opposite conclusion. Both would have paused and re-considered his course, and weighed his arguments, and

balanced them with his brother's reasons. Each looked upon the other as the greater man.

The people of New Providence considered their pastor as completely suited to them; they desired no other; they could not well conceive a better. And Mr. Brown rejoiced in an eldership of men of simplicity of manners and purposes; of sterling integrity and unfeigned piety; and a congregation of sensible people, numerous enough for all his capabilities as a pastor, and worthy of the best exercise of those endowments of body and mind that might be fitted for any service the Lord might call. Both were contented. Under his ministry, the Old Stone Meeting House, endeared by a thousand recollections, gave place to a new brick building. And as his own log dwelling was about to be exchanged for a convenient brick residence, nearly completed, he came suddenly to the end of life. He had performed the services of a sacramental occasion at New Providence on Saturday, Sabbath and Monday, the 10th, 11th and 12th of October, as his people thought with more than usual ability. On Tuesday, the 13th, making preparations to attend the Synod in Staunton, and giving directions to finish some parts of his house, he ate heartily at dinner, and in less than two hours was lifeless. Rev. John H. Rice, in the *Evangelical and Literary Magazine* for December, 1818, thus writes:—"The record of the incidents of this day (14th of October) presents something like a map of human life. In the morning we were gay and cheerful, amusing ourselves with remarks on the country, on the comparative genius and habits of our countrymen, and a thousand things, just as the thoughts of them occurred, anticipating a joyful meeting in the evening with some well-tried, faithful and beloved friends; when suddenly, as the flash of lightning breaks from the cloud, we were informed of the almost instantaneous death of one of the choicest of these friends, and one of the most valuable of men—the Rev. Samuel Brown. The road which we should travel led by the house in which he was accustomed to preach; and on inquiring for it, we were asked if we were going to the funeral! Thus, as in a moment, was hope turned into deep despondency, and gladness of heart exchanged for the bitterness of sorrow.

"We journeyed on in mournful silence interrupted by occasional remarks, which showed our unwillingness to believe the truth of what had been announced, and how reluctantly hope takes her departure from the human bosom. It might have been a fainting fit, an apoplectic stroke mistaken for the invasion of death; and still he might be alive. The roads trampled by multitudes of horses, all directed to the dwelling of our friend, dissipated these illusions of the deceiver, and convinced us of the sad reality. Still, however, when we arrived at the church, and saw the people assembling, and the pile of red clay, the sure indication of a newly opened grave, thrown up in the church yard, it seemed as though we were thus, for the first time, assured that Samuel Brown was dead. Only a few of the people had come together on our arrival. Some, in small groups,

were conversing in a low tone of voice interrupted by frequent and bitter sighs, and showing in strong terms, how deeply they felt their loss. Others, whose emotions were too powerful for conversation, stood apart, and leaning on the tombstones, looked like pictures of woe. Presently the sound of the multitude was heard. They came on in great crowds. The elders of the church assisted in committing the body to the grave. After which, solemn silence interrupted only by smothered sobs, ensued for several minutes. The widow stood at the head of the grave, surrounded by her children, exhibiting signs of unutterable anguish, yet seeming to say, 'It is the Lord, let him do with us what seemeth unto him good.' After a little time, on a signal being given, some young men began to fill the grave. The first clods that fell on the coffin, gave forth the most mournful sound I ever heard. At that moment of agony the chorister of the congregation was asked to sing a specified hymn, to a tune known to be a favorite one of the deceased minister. The voice of the chorister faltered so that it required several efforts to raise the tune; the whole congregation attempted to join him, but at first the sound was rather a scream of anguish than music. As they advanced, however, the precious truths expressed in the words of the hymn seemed to enter into their souls. Their voices became more firm, and while their eyes streamed with tears, their countenances were radiant with Christian hope, and the singing of the last stanza was like a shout of triumph. The words of the hymn are well known. —

“‘When I can read my title clear.’

By the time that these words were finished, the grave was closed, and the congregation in solemn silence retired to their homes. We lodged all night with one of the members of the church. The family seemed bereaved, as though the head of the household had just been buried. Every allusion to the event too, brought forth a flood of tears. I could not help exclaiming, 'behold how they loved him.' And I thought the lamentation of fathers and mothers, of young men and maidens, over their departed pastor, a more eloquent and affecting eulogium, than oratory with all its pomp and pretensions could pronounce. After this I shall not attempt panegyric. Let those who wish to know the character of Samuel Brown go and see the sod that covers his body, wet with the tears of his congregation."

Mr. Brown left a widow and ten children, seven sons and three daughters. A sketch of his widow has appeared in the preceding volume. In about six years she followed her husband to the tomb, and lies by his side.

The successor of Samuel Brown, and third preacher of New Providence is JAMES MORRISON, now filling the pulpit. He became the son-in-law of the widow, and a true brother of the children.

## CHAPTER VI.

HANOVER PRESBYTERY, FROM ITS RECONSTRUCTION, 1758, TO THE  
FORMATION OF ORANGE PRESBYTERY, 1770.

IN the reconstruction of Presbyteries that followed the union of the Synods of New York and Philadelphia, in 1758, the Hanover Presbytery included, with the exception of Mr. John Hoge of Frederick County, all the Presbyterian ministers south of the Potomac, in connection with the two Synods, Alexander Craighead, Samuel Black, John Craig, Samuel Davies, Alexander Miller, John Todd, Robert Henry, John Brown, John Wright, and John Martin. The first meeting was held July 12th, 1758, in Mr. Wright's congregation in Cumberland County. "Agreed that all the appointments of the former Presbytery of Hanover, that are not yet complied with, shall continue in force, as far as they are consistent with the union of the Synods." Under this order the ordination of Messrs. Richardson and Pattillo took place, the necessary steps having been taken by the former Presbytery.

*Members of Hanover Presbytery.*

Rev. HENRY PATILLO, the eighth in order, was an alumnus of Mr. Davies. A sketch of him appears in the Sketches of North Carolina.

Rev. WILLIAM RICHARDSON, the ninth in order, was an Englishman by birth, and became a member of the family of Mr. Davies. Respecting some religious books sent him, Mr. Davies writes, June 3d, 1757—"In their names and my own, I heartily thank the Society in Glasgow for their liberal and well chosen benefaction. Mr. Richardson (now a resident in my family) and myself will divide them according to direction, and endeavor to distribute them to the best advantage." At Providence, Louisa County, the Committee, Messrs. Todd, Wright, and Davies, met according to appointment to hear Mr. Pattillo's trials—"Mr. William Richardson attending upon the Committee to offer himself upon trials for the ministry of the gospel, was taken sick, and unable to pass an examination. But the members of the Committee having had considerable acquaintance with his progress in learning by their private conversation with him, conclude they have sufficient reason to dispense with his trials at this time, in so extraordinary a case; and appoint him to prepare a sermon on John iii. 2, 'We know thou art a teacher come from God;' and an Exegesis on the question—*Unde apparet necessitas Christi Mortis ut Peccatores servati sint?*—as a second part of trial to be determined at the next Presbytery." At Cub Creek, in the September following, after the licensure of Mr.



Pattillo, the examination of Mr. Richardson in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Logic, Ontology, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Geography and Astronomy, was held and approved; his religious experience, and exegesis, and sermon were heard and also approved — and they “appoint him a sermon on 2 Cor. v. 17, to be delivered at our next Committee at Wm. Smith’s in Cumberland, the last Wednesday of October; and they appoint Messrs. Davies, Henry, Wright, and Todd, a Committee for that purpose.” On the 25th of October, the Committee sustained the sermon, and appointed another on John vi. 44, first clause — and a Lecture on 2 Cor. 4: 1 — 7. At Captain Anderson’s, in Cumberland, Jan. 25th, 1758, Mr. Richardson delivered the sermon and lecture. After examination — “on various subjects of Divinity, the Presbytery received his assent to, and approbation of, the Westminster Confession of Faith, as the confession of his faith, also the Catechism and Directory, and proceeded to license him; and appointed the Moderator, Mr. Davies, to give him some admonitions with regard to the discharge of his office.” April 26th, 1758, at Providence, Louisa, Mr. Richardson opened Presbytery with a sermon according to appointment, which was accepted as preparatory for ordination. On the next day he was ordered to take a missionary tour through the upper part of North Carolina; and also to attend a meeting of Presbytery at Captain Anderson’s, in Cumberland, on July 12th, with an exegesis on — “Num Sabbatum Judaicum post Christi resurrectionem, in primum diem hebdomadis mutatum?” On the appointed day the Presbytery met, and on the next day proceeded to the ordination of Henry Pattillo and William Richardson. Mr. Davies delivered on the occasion, number seventy-one of his printed sermons, — “The love of souls a necessary qualification for the ministerial office.” To the end of the sermon, is appended the ordination service of the occasion. At the meeting of Presbytery to consider the application for the removal of Mr. Davies to Princeton, Mr. Richardson was not present. Mr. Davies, “in the name of the society for promoting Christianity among the Indians, petitioned the Presbytery that Mr. Richardson should be permitted to go as a missionary among the Indians, as soon as his health will permit; to which the Presbytery heartily agreed.” Sept. 27th, 1758, at Hanover, he was “appointed to preside at Mr. Craighead’s installation, at Rocky River in North Carolina, on his way out to the Cherokee nation.” In 1760, he joined the Presbytery of South Carolina, not in connexion with the Synod. There are further notices of his labors in North and South Carolina, in the Sketches of North Carolina. His foster child and heir, William Richardson Davie, was noted in the war of the Revolution and the Civil History of North Carolina, as a soldier of bravery, and a politician of influence.

Rev. ANDREW MILLAR, the tenth member, came from the parish of Ardstraw, in Ireland; and in 1753 applied to the Philadelphia Synod for admission — “He acknowledged he was degraded

by the Presbytery of Letterkenny, and sub-Synod of Londonderry, and General Synod of Ireland, but complained, that they had treated him hardly and unjustly." The Synod after considering his case—"think they would act wrong to encourage a man which is cast out of their churches, till we hear for what reasons, and we would warn all the Societies under our care, to give him no encouragement as a minister till his character is cleared." In 1755, he appeared before Synod and handed in "a penitential acknowledgement to transmit"—to Ireland to procure reconciliation between him and the Presbytery of Letterkenny, or the Synod of Dungannon. The next year, he came again with "a supplication from Cook's Creek and Peeked Mountain, requesting us to receive Mr. Alexander Millar as a full member, and to appoint his instalment as a regular pastor." These congregations were composed of emigrants from Ireland; Cook's Creek on the south-west, and Peeked Mountain north-eastward of Harrisonburg, the present county seat of Rockingham county. Some steps were taken by the Synod to comply with this request, and some discretionary power was granted Messrs. Black and Craig, "to receive him as a member and instal him, provided they find his conduct in that part of Christ's vineyard, such as becomes a gospel minister," in prospect of some letters being received from Ireland, favorable to Mr. Millar's standing, "in the fall when the ships are arrived from Ireland." Messrs. Black and Craig did not proceed in the affair. The request from the congregation was renewed in May, 1757—"and the Synod unanimously agree to receive him as a member, and order, that Mr. Craig instal him accordingly, at some convenient time, before the first of next August; and that he give him to understand, that it is the judgment of the Synod, that he ought to be content with the bounds fixed by the committee for that purpose." He was installed and registered as a member of Donegal Presbytery; but was not content with his bounds. He wished the line between his congregation and Mr. Craig's, should be more central, and approach nearer the Stone Church and Mossy Creek, and carried the matter before Hanover Presbytery in 1760. The matter was decided against him, "as Mr. Craig's bounds on that side are very moderate, and as the people on the limits contended for, earnestly petition that they may be continued under their own pastor." In 1764, we find him in difficulties with his congregations. Preparations were also made by Presbytery to investigate some charges, unfavorable to his morals, against his conduct while on a missionary tour in North Carolina. On these charges he was deposed June 5th, 1766, by the Presbytery of Hanover. The matter was carried to Synod, 1769. Steps were taken for a hearing, "in the mean time on account of Mr. Millar's unjustifiable delay for some years to enter his complaint—the irregularity of his proceedings—the atrocious nature of the crimes laid to his charge—we do hereby declare him suspended from the exercise of the ministerial office, till his complaint can be fully heard."

Mr. Millar then gave in a paper renouncing the authority of the

Synod. "The Synod therefore declare he is not a member of this body, and forbid all their Presbyteries and congregations to employ him."

Rev. SAMUEL BLACK, the eleventh in order, a probationer from Ireland, was received by New Castle Presbytery. His ordination took place at the Forks of Brandywine, in 1737. He soon after removed to Virginia, and took his residence among the Scotch-Irish population that had seated themselves on Rockfish river, at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, in Nelson County, as the State is now divided, and not far from Rockfish Gap. In every respect, his situation was well chosen; the people were enterprising, the soil good, the climate favorable, the position for trade showing its superiority every year as improvements advance, and the community a church-going people by habit. In the division of the Synod, he went with the Synod of Philadelphia, and was a member of the Presbytery of Donegal. On the reconstruction of Presbyteries, he was assigned to Hanover; but never met with them in session. An amiable man, of a retiring disposition, as infirmities came upon him he secluded himself more and more from public labors of the ministry. Some difficulties arose, and some charges were brought against him by a portion of the congregations, as reasons why Presbytery should grant them another minister. The Presbytery proceeded with great caution and tenderness, and the difficulties were in part adjusted. Mr. Black retired from public services altogether, owing to these difficulties and his own sensitive feelings, sooner than he would have done in other, circumstances. His family, as kind and retired as himself, never urged him to a more prominent stand, or more vigorous efforts in his old age. He was orthodox in doctrine, and correct in his views of religious action and Christian principles, as has been evidenced by the fact that a goodly number of pious people were found on Rockfish; and his successors in the ministry saw evidence that God had blessed the ministry of his word by him. No production of his pen remains; and no great act marked the even tenor of his way. His influence, like that of multitudes, will be known in its wider or narrower diffusion, at the great day. He died about the year 1771.

Rev. HUGH M'ADEN, the 12th in order, was received from New Castle Presbytery, July 18th, 1759. His memoir is found in the Sketches of North Carolina.

Rev. RICHARD SANKEY, (sometimes spelled Zankey), the 13th member, was ordained by Donegal Presbytery, in 1738. His admission to the sacred office was delayed by a circumstance recorded in the Minutes of Synod the year he took his seat. The Synod upon considering a remonstrance sent up for the purpose, say—"That though they cannot but greatly condemn and censure

Mr. Sankey's conduct, in acting the plagiarist in transcribing notes out of printed authors, thereby to impose upon the Presbytery, giving them a false view of his ministerial powers; and in sending the same notes to another candidate to enable him to impose upon his Presbytery in the same manner, as well as for his greatest imprudence in sending such heretical notes abroad, whereby most dangerous errors came to be vended; yet considering that Mr. Sankey was sharply admonished by his Presbytery, that his trials were sometime stopt, and his ordination a considerable time delayed on account of this, his conduct, we shall now lay no further censure upon him, but judge the Presbytery was defective in not taking notice in their Minutes of his being such a plagiarist, or censuring him on that account." In his after life he seems never to have expressed any inclination towards the sin of his youth; and probably justified the Presbytery and Synod in their treatment of his thoughtlessness, not to say his crime, in which they mingled leniency with the severity of their rebuke.

He was settled in the ministry near Carlisle. His congregation, like himself, were of Scotch-Irish extract. He signed the protest of 1741; and his people adhered to the old side, and belonged to the Synod of Philadelphia. The troubles of the Indian wars succeeding the defeat of Braddock, particularly those connected with the Paxton boys, induced the congregation to seek a residence in the more peaceful frontiers of southern Virginia. They took their abode in the fertile regions on Buffalo Creek, in Prince Edward, and around the place now known as Walker's church, lying between Cumberland congregation and Cub Creek, and on one side closely adjoining Briery congregation. And considering the distances people would then ride to church, the congregations of Cub Creek, Briery, Buffalo, Walker's church and Cumberland, occupied a large region of country. The Rev. William Calhoun in a letter to F. N. Watkins, says—"He was a very old man when I first knew him. From the time I knew him he was a small man, very bowlegged; when his feet would be together, his knees would be six inches apart. His face was rather square, with high cheek bones. He wore a wig and bands. His manner in preaching was to lean on the pulpit, perhaps on account of his age, with his Bible open before him. After announcing his text and dividing his subject, he made remarks on each head, and occupied much of the time in fortifying the doctrine by other passages of Scripture to which he would turn and read, giving book, chapter, and verse. He was considered a superior Hebrew scholar; often carried his Hebrew Bible into the pulpit, and used it in his criticisms and quotations, using in the general the language of the common English Bible.

In the war of the revolution, though advanced in years, Mr. Sanky was decided for the liberties of his country. His name appears honorably on some of the papers prepared by his Presbytery of lasting interest in political and religious liberty. While able to ride he attended the meetings of the judicatories of the church; and

in his old age there were instances of the Presbytery holding their meeting in his church to accommodate his infirmities, as in the case of the ordination of Mr. Mitchel. He held the office of a minister of the gospel more than half a century, some thirty of which he spent in Virginia, with an unblemished reputation. He closed his career in the year 1790. His congregations have flourished. Buffalo enjoyed the labors of Matthew Lyle, and now is served by Mr. Cochran. Walker's Church has had a variety of ministers and of success. Among others, Mr. Roberts labored there for years, not without success.

Rev. JAMES WADDELL, D.D., together with his congregation, in the Northern Neck of Virginia, have their place in the first volume of Sketches of Virginia.

Rev. JAMES HUNT, the fifteenth member, was the son of the James Hunt, conspicuous in the scenes of a religious nature in Hanover County, previous to the visit of Mr. Robinson, and during the times of Davies. His preparation for College was made at the school under the direction of Mr. Todd, and patronized by Mr. Davies: his degree was conferred at the College of New Jersey, in 1759, the summer Mr. Davies removed from Virginia to become President of the College. His theological education was completed under the direction of New Brunswick Presbytery, by whom he was licensed and ordained. It is probable that he pursued the study of theology under the instruction of his beloved pastor, the President of the College, Mr. Davies. At Tinkling Spring, Oct. 7th, 1761, he produced his credentials, and was admitted member of Hanover Presbytery. He made a tour through North Carolina, preaching to great acceptance, and in April, 1762, at Goochland, the Presbytery put in his hands "A call from Roan and Anson Counties, North Carolina, to which he is to give an answer by our fall Presbytery, or sooner, if he sees fit; and if he does accept it, and declare his acceptance to the moderator," (Mr. Craighead), "he is empowered to install him. The two congregations engage to pay him £80 each per annum." These calls he declined. Visiting the counties of Lancaster and Northumberland, in Virginia, where Messrs. Davies and Todd had been gathering members of the church, with the aid of Whitefield and others, he was encouraged by the prospects of usefulness to remain some time. Pleased with the people, who excelled in social manners, and they being interested in him as a gospel minister, preparations were making to have him settled as pastor. In the mean time, James Waddell, licensed by Hanover Presbytery, April, 1761, at the time Mr. Hunt joined Presbytery, and preaching with great favor in different parts of the country, made, after repeated invitations, a visit to the Northern Neck. Col. Gordon and others preferring him to any candidate they were likely to obtain, and there being a prospect of securing his services with a larger field of usefulness, Mr. Hunt thought proper to withdraw from a people to whom he felt greatly

attached, and seek another location. Mr. Waddell was eventually settled as pastor.

At a meeting, Oct., 1762, at Providence, Louisa County, "Mr. Waddell accepts of a call from Lancaster and Northumberland Counties, in which the Presbytery heartily concur;" Mr. Wright's trial was completed, and he "is hereby suspended until we shall see sufficient reason to restore him;" and "Mr. Hunt having requested a dismissal from this Presbytery, as he expects to settle in Pennsylvania, Mr. Todd is directed to give him credentials when he shall apply." Mr. Hunt passed the great part of his ministerial life in Montgomery County, Maryland, in the neighborhood of Rockville. For many years he was at the head of a flourishing classical and mathematical school, extensively known, and deservedly held in high esteem. Among the numerous pupils may be named William Wirt, Esq., who attended his school about four years; and laid the foundation for his literary excellence under the instruction, and in the library of Mr. Hunt. For two years young Wirt was a member of Mr. Hunt's family. This gentleman took special pains to encourage his pupil to efforts in composition, and for improvement in declamation; and having high ideas of the importance of both of these exercises, he stimulated young Wirt to efforts in public speaking that gained him the prize at the annual examination and exhibition. His son, William Pitt Hunt, opened his office, at Montgomery Court House, to young Wirt to commence the study of law; and after some years he removed to Virginia, the place of his father's birth. His widow, a Miss Watkins, became the second wife of Moses Hoge, D.D., and has left a memory in the churches which is blessed.

The sixteenth member, DAVID RICE, was born in Hanover County, December 20th, 1733. His parents were plain farmers, in moderate circumstances, of Welch extraction. His mind was deeply impressed with religious things early in life. He witnessed the excitement produced by the readings of Morris and his companions, and the preaching of Robinson. Under the preaching of Mr. Davies he was hopefully converted. When about twenty years of age he became a pupil of the school conducted by Mr. Todd with the assistance of James Waddell. So anxious was he to procure an education, that, to meet the expenses, he raised a hogshead of tobacco with his own hands and commenced his studies. Afterwards he taught an English school; and sometimes both taught and studied, till his health began to give way. Then for a time a connexion gave him his board. His classical course was completed at Nassau Hall. President Davies made him the beneficiary of some funds sent annually, from London, for the purpose of assisting in the education of young men of promise, in narrow circumstances. This supply ceasing on the death of Mr. Davies, Mr. Richard Stockton became his almoner, saying, "I have, in a literal sense, ventured my bread on the waters, having a ship at sea. If it founders, you must repay the sum I advance; if it returns safe, I will venture in the figurative

sense." The vessel returned safe, and Mr. Stockton declined the repayment offered some two years after. Mr. Rice was graduated the year Mr. Davies died, 1761. He pursued the study of Theology, in preparation for the ministry, under the direction of Mr. Todd, and was received as a candidate for the ministry at the Bird Meeting-House in Goochland, April 8th, 1762. He passed part of his trials in the June following, in Prince Edward, and part in the following October at Providence, in Louisa; and on the 9th of the following November, at Deep Creek, opened the Presbytery with a sermon on 2 Tim. 2: 19, "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." In the afternoon of the same day, at the house of Mr. Hollands, he was licensed to preach the gospel. In October, 1763, at Cub Creek — "Mr. Rice accepts a call from Mr. Davies' former congregation, in which the Presbytery cheerfully concur." On the 28th of December of the same year, he opened the Presbytery at Hanover lower meeting-house, with his trial sermon for ordination, on 2 Tim. 2: 3, "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ:" and on the next day was ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry, and set as pastor of the church in and about Hanover; Mr. Pattillo presiding. In less than three years circumstances, unfriendly to the welfare of the congregation, led to the following record of Presbytery, April 18th, 1766. Mr. Rice — "petitions the Presbytery for a dismission from his congregation in and about Hanover, on condition that the differences now subsisting in said congregation are not made up in the space of three or four months; which the Presbytery grants." In October of the same year, at Cub Creek, Mr. Rice received a call — "from the congregations of Bedford, which he accepts, and in which the Presbytery concur." The difficulties in Hanover were not between Mr. Rice and the people, but between the people themselves, particularly some of the leading men. These not being settled, Mr. Rice thought it better to remove. In April, 1767, the records of Presbytery say — "that the parties had amicably composed themselves, and are restored to peace." Emigrations from Hanover to the frontiers were now frequent. Many of the most pious and active persons were in a little time in other congregations; and this people so signally blessed of God for a series of years became weak as other men. The emigrants, black and white, wherever they went carried the spirit of the gospel, as manifested by Davies, to the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina. The churches of Christ were multiplied, while Hanover dwindled. Whether the leading men were jealous of each other, or simply missed the guiding power of Davies; or whether Davies himself under the influence of the spirit of emigration that pervaded his flock, could have kept up its relative importance, are matters for sober reflection, but no certain decision. The church of Davies still exists in feebleness among the churches of Christ, having seen days of depression and some days of reviving.

In October, 1768, Mr. Rice stated to Presbytery — "that he was

entangled in a suit brought against him by Mr. Millar, in Augusta Court, for pretended slander in transmitting a minute of Presbytery which respected said Millar's trial and deposition; which he, the said Rice did, as Clerk of Presbytery; which suit considerably affected the Presbyterian interest in this colony. The Presbytery think it necessary that some of our members attend said Court, when this suit is to be determined, and represent the affair in a proper light: and do, therefore, appoint Messrs. Todd and Brown to attend said Court for that purpose." Mr. Millar did not prosecute the suit.

In October, 1771, he was directed by Presbytery to supply Cub Creek one-fourth of his time. To this he assented — "unless the sale of land at that Creek, where he resided, and the purchase in Bedford prevented." On the 30th of October, 1777, he took advice of Presbytery whether he should continue in the relation which existed between him and Concord, and the Peaks, or give up one; and if one, which? Presbytery advised him to hold to the Peaks. He confined his labors to this large congregation for about five or six years. This period embraced the early childhood of his nephew John Holt Rice, a name dear to the Virginia church.

In 1782, Mr. Rice visited Kentucky. Allured by the reports of the fertility of the soil, he wished to have the advantage of his own observation, on the important question of making it the home of his young and increasing family, either as a family or as emigrants when they came to years of maturity. The contending claims of speculators and the unsettled state of the country, made no favorable impression upon his mind. He preached frequently while in the country, to the great acceptance of the scattered settlements. His first sermon was at Harrod's Station; Matt. 4th, 16 — "The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up." The people were more pleased with his ministry, than he was with the situation of affairs in respect to land-titles, and the safety of the homesteads sought in the midst of so much danger. May 20th. 1783, at Hall's meeting house, now New Monmouth, in Augusta county — "a call from the united congregations of Cane Run, Concord, and the Forks, in Lincoln county, was given in to be presented to Mr. Rice. On the next day Mr. Rice made a motion to be dismissed from his congregation in Bedford — "Resolved, that he be dismissed accordingly" — Ordered, "That the call from Kentucky be presented to Mr. Rice." The call was presented and accepted. He speedily removed to the "dark and bloody ground." In Virginia he had been forward in every good work. He was a trustee of Hampden Sidney College; was active in the measures to carry on the work of the Revolution; diligent in his calling as a minister of the gospel; and acceptable to the congregations in Virginia. Under his care the Peaks flourished and required his entire labor. He is called "Father Rice" in Kentucky, being the first Presbyterian minister that settled in that State. The active part he took in every thing relating to the prosperity of the infant settlements of



Western Virginia—and the faithfulness and labors by which he merited the name of “Patriarch of the Kentucky Presbyterian Church,” are recorded in *Davidson's History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky*. No history of Kentucky, whether of Church or State, can be complete without extended notice of the labors of David Rice. In fact, a Biography of this man would necessarily embrace the most interesting events in the literary, political, and religious movements of Kentucky, in its early days; and with some of his published writings, would form a volume of permanent usefulness.

Mr. Rice was married to Mary, daughter of Rev. Samuel Blair, the preceptor of Davies; he reared a family of eleven children. Many of his descendants are in Virginia; and some in the ministry. He lived to an advanced age. For the last three years of his life, he was prevented from preaching and writing, by the gradual decay of nature. His religious exercises were of a heavenly character. He died June 18th, 1816, in his 83d year. His last words were—“Oh, when shall I be free from sin and sorrow.” The following sketch is from the pen of the mother of Mrs. Rice, and will find its way to the hearts of the numerous descendants of Mr. Blair and Mr. Rice, and many others that fear God and know a mother's desires for the salvation of her children.

October 8th, 1763.

MY DEAR CHILDREN—It is my concern for your souls' welfare, as well after my decease as whilst I am present with you, that I seem to be irresistibly urged to leave you a few sentences to peruse; and if it should please a gracious God to bless them to you—as the reading of any thing of the like kind, that appeared to be honest and without show of ostentation, has been to me—my design, as far as I am judge of myself, will be fully answered. And now, O searcher of the hearts and trier of the intents and actions of thy creatures, if my design be any other than I here profess, discover to me the fraud before I proceed any farther.

My design at this time shall not be to give you a narrative or diary of what I have experienced, of as I trust, the Lord's gracious dealings towards me, for that would be too great; and as I did not prosecute that begun work in my young days, I could not now recollect without adding or diminishing. What discourages me now, was that same reason when I first attempted, is, that I believe the Lord did not give me such enlargement of judgment that I should be useful to any but such as I am nearly connected with, who, I hope, will make no bad use of any thing that may not appear with such embellishments as the public would require. However, that now is for my design in these few lines.

When I was about the age of fifteen, or soon after, it pleased a gracious God to stop me in my career of youthful follies, and to make sweet religion to appear the most noble course a rational creature could pursue. And what first brought me to reflect was:

that summer I was visited with one affliction after another ; first, the measles, and then the intermitting fever, and then the whooping cough—all to no great purpose, until by my being brought so low I apprehended myself in a decay, which put me to think I should set about reformation, a work which I thought only consisted in growing serious, and praying often, with other duties. When having an opportunity of hearing Messrs. Gilbert and John Tennent, they engaged me more, and strengthened me in my resolution to devote myself to religion. But the bed was too strait for me. I was often allured into my former vain company to the wounding of conscience and the breach of resolutions ; was like a hell upon earth, and put often to think that the day of grace was over, and I might as well give up with all. However, it pleased a gracious God again to strengthen and encourage me to wrestle and cry for free mercy, and that in myself I could do nothing, nor keep the least resolution I could make. But soon after the way of salvation in and through Christ, was clearly and sweetly opened to me in such a point of light that it appeared to me I had not lived or breathed or known what pleasure was before then. I then got victory over sin and the devil. But oh ! how soon Satan came with another hideous temptation, which was blasphemy. This, as I had never felt or heard of before, filled me with such horror, that I was near being overcome with an unnatural sin. But as the distress was great, the deliverance was greater, which made me loathe myself, and almost life, and say with Job : “ I would not live always.” I was then persuaded by my dear minister, John Tennent, to join in communion with the people of God in the precious ordinance of the Lord’s Supper. Which, though I could scarcely be prevailed on to venture, and though with trembling, lest I should meet with a salutation of “ Friend, how camest thou hither ?” I know not whether ever I had a greater discovery of the dying love of a dear Redeemer. It appeared so clear to the eyes of my understanding that for a little while I saw nothing of the world besides. Then I went on my way rejoicing, singing in the Psalmist : “ Return unto thy rest, O ! my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.” I thought then I should never sin more ; never indulge sloth or inactivity, or wandering thoughts, for sin had got such a dash it would no more have any access to my spirit : but sad experience soon made me wiser, and I was left, not many days after, to go mourning without the sun. So my chariot wheels moved slowly for many days. Though, blessed be God, a sense of religion, and my deep obligations still remained with me, and I was assiduous for the good of poor sinners ; taking such opportunities as fell in my way, and such of my acquaintance as I had access to. And in the way of my duty I suffered much reviling, but was not suffered to be moved thereby, though young, and religion at that time an uncustomary thing, and not much of morality only among the aged.

And now, my dear children, let me enjoin this duty on you, to make conscience of your conversation and words. You may

be apt to excuse yourselves with, that you are young, and it does not become you to talk of religion, and that is the minister's part. But if you have received the grace of God, have you received it in vain, or only for yourselves? Has not the Lord deposed a trust in your hands—his glory and honor—and should you not every way strive to advance it? At that time I was much perplexed with my own heart: spiritual pride seemed as if it would undo me, for I concluded at some times as if it was the spring of all my actions. This I groaned under; but sometimes was tempted to cast away all for my ignorance of divine life. And the depth of Satan made me conclude that there never was a child of God that had ever the least rising of such a horrid feeling, and so much akin to the devil. But conversing with a humble, honest woman, I found that she was wrestling under the same, and so I got new courage to fight this Apollyon, and so from time to time I was helped. As I let down my watch, and grew cold and formal, and to backsliding from him, the Lord left me to such exercises as cost me broken bones before I was restored to a sense of *his* favor. As I informed you, I cannot recollect the particular exercises at such a distance; if I can but say:

“Here, on my heart, the impress lies,  
The joys, the sorrows of the mind.”

What reason have I this day to praise my heavenly father, who is a father to the fatherless, in providing for me such a companion in life, when my fond fancy would sometimes have led me to choose one that had little or no religion! Oh! the goodness of God in preventing me then, and at other times, when I had formed schemes to ruining myself. This, my dear children, I would have you carefully to ponder and beg for direction in before proceeding in such an affair in which your happiness for this world, if not the next, depends. Let the words of the inspired apostle be the moving spring of all your actions: “the glory of God.” But, although I was blest with the best of husbands, (and you the best of fathers,) yet how unbecomingly did I act in that particular! How often have I dishonored religion by my pride, self-will and self-love! And here, with sorrow, occurs an instance of it. When I was called to a self-denying duty, for the sake of my friends and native place, to come to Pennsylvania, how many excuses did I make to get my shoulders from under the yoke! and to prevail with my venerable husband not to go! And although he did not consult flesh and blood in the way of duty, yet when the Lord so remarkably smiled upon his labors, I hope I saw my error. This is, and shall be matter of grief to me while I live. Oh! may it never be a witness against me that I was so unwilling to come to the help of the Lord. *Free mercy I plead, and I trust I was made to see and feel that if any man sin, there is an advocate with the Father—Jesus Christ.*

My care for your immortal part never left me in the midst of all my own perplexities and fears; and when I had freedom for myself, your happiness was next to my own. Before your entrance into

the world, (or before you drew the vital breath of life) my concern for you came next, which prompted me at one time to spend some time more than common to implore heaven in your behalf. It pleased God by his gracious influence to smile upon me and encourage my faith and trust for you. Now let this be an excitement to you, to be earnest for the salvation of your own souls, and, as it were, to storm heaven—offer violence to your carnal selves. For though none can win heaven by all they can do, yet the command is, "Give all diligence:" he that sows sparingly, shall reap so. Otherwise it shall avail nothing that you have so many petitions put up for you. No doubt David often prayed for his wicked son Absalom, but we do not read of his saving change. It pleased the Lord farther at that time to strengthen my hope in this instance, in that your oldest brother was more than ordinarily solicitous to know what he should do to be saved, and took all opportunities to converse with such as could direct him the way to heaven. More than ordinarily, I say, because there are too lamentably few that at eight or nine years, are much concerned about the matter. But his sudden and admonishing death, at less than twelve years, may convince others that no age nor state is exempted—here I must stop, and mourn now, because I unreasonably grieved for his removal as if the *Lord* had not a *sovereign* right to do with all his creatures as he pleased; which gave birth for every discontented thought, and liberty for Satan with all his artillery of hideous injections to destroy my peace and that submission that became a creature, and much more one that had been the subject of such favors as I trust I was. And though I was at times helped and could sweetly acquiesce in the divine will, yet it was never cured till a greater stroke was felt. And now "distress," as Young observes in the like case, "distress became distraction." And though, as the case was distressing for a father to be removed from being the head of a young family, the eldest not fourteen years, the *Lord* was pleased, to me a poor sinful creature, to strengthen me in such a way four days before the removal of my dearest friend upon earth; yet how soon did I lose sight of the promises and grow discontented; and although my temptations were different from the first in the death of my dear son, yet they were as aggravating and as pernicious to religion as the other. Life became a burden: nothing seemed to me more desirable than death, Jonah like, because I had not my desire, insensible of what or how I should die, or of the blessing of life and of the mercy of being with you. Oh! how little do we know what spirits we are of! And how weak is our strength when we are not able to go with the footmen when left! how should we, if called, be able to resist even unto blood, when left to ourselves?

It pleased God in about a twelvemonth after, to remove my youngest son Isaac, which brought my sin to remembrance in caring so unsuitably in the last dispensation. My grief for his removal, as to myself, was not probably as much as it should be, for, at that time, I thought nothing could make another wound, but as I concluded it

was for my sin that he was removed from all hopes of usefulness; every affliction throughout that time appeared but small comparatively—in comparison to the other two. But my God strengthened and upheld me through all my difficulties, and made me taste the sweetness of his promises and rely upon them with a firm confidence that *my Maker was my husband*, and that he had betrothed me to *himself* in judgment and in righteousness, and that I was still and should be the care of a kind Providence in all respects, as glory to his great name, we have been. This has been my refuge in all my difficulties that unavoidably will arise in a world of sin and temptation, and from contracted circumstances, as being the alone head of a family as to your support which has been always redressed better than I could ever think it would. And now, my dear children, I have given you some brief sketches of my life, and I wish it had been with less imperfections. I may with more justness call it out-breakings, but that the riches of free grace might be manifested to the greatest of sinners. As to my comforts or sweet manifestations of *God's love* in Jesus Christ and out-goings of soul, I have shunned to make much mention of, though *my consolations* have been neither few nor small; blessed, forever blessed be his holy name. And farther, as my eternal state is not decided and I am yet in a world of sin and temptation, I thank my *God* I enjoy, at times, peace and serenity of mind and a good degree, and that I trust I am not deceived as to the state of my soul. And now, my dear children, may we be so happy through the riches of free grace in Christ Jesus, to meet at last at the right hand of *God* when *He* makes up his jewels, and be able to say, here am I and the children that *God* has graciously given me. Amen.

If I should be judged by any of you so hard, as that I wanted to set myself off in your esteem, I think there is nothing in this relation that can give birth to such a surmise, as I told you in the beginning that I could not somehow get peace or satisfaction, as I looked upon it as a duty undone not to speak a few words to you after I could not speak after the manner I now do, and as I had often sifted the impulse, so when I was sick, March, 1763, when it pleased a gracious *God* to restore me again to you, I promised in my mind, as I think I wanted my life should not be altogether useless to you every way that I could, to attempt your good and comfort; and oh! that I may be enabled as long as life lasts, to do some little for *God's* glory, as I have done to dishonor that religion I have professed. And now, my dear children, I can't conclude with more striking words than the words of your dying father; and may they ever be as a monitor to you, to see to it, that none of you be wanting, which I would now reinforce; and that you may be kept from evils that youth are exposed to, especially vain, light company, and even those that may be possessors too, for all have not grace that may make a large possession, and of such you may be in greater danger than of others. Therefore, live near *God*, and every day seek direction how to conduct your life, and grace to live the life

of faith and mortification of sin. And now that you may be directed and conducted through this ensnaring world and be made meet for the inheritance of the saints in glory, is the desire of your mother that has always desired your eternal happiness. F. B.

P. S. This covenant was made, or to the same effect, in the year 1781, (it was lost, and this is now the reason of my renewing it in writing), in the same month, if I remember right, that I now renew it. O happy day, when for some few days after, I was often, at my worldly employment, made to say, in the language of the blessed apostle, that I knew no man after the flesh. A heaven upon earth I then enjoyed, sin, I thought, had got a greater blow than I found soon after, to my cost, it wholly had. But I trust this day it had its beginning which will be perfected in glory at last.

Aug. 14th, 1768.—O thou eternal and ever blessed God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who is the searcher of all hearts, thou knowest my sincerity, and what I am now about to do, and what thou hast commanded me to do; thou art a present witness to this solemn transaction of my soul, which I am now about to renew—even a covenant dedication of myself, my soul, my body, and all I have or possess, to be at thy disposal. It was thy free grace, through thy dear son, that first inclined my heart to fall in with this only method of escape from deserved wrath, through the alone merits of Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and I do now here ratify the sacred obligation that was made for me in baptism, and that I trust I have solemnly and sincerely and voluntarily entered under, and sworn with the symbols of Christ's blood in my heart. I desire to present myself, with the deepest abasement, sensible how unworthy I am to come before the holy majesty of heaven and earth in any act of service; and were it not that I am invited by the name of thy dear Son to trust in his perfect righteousness, I might indeed tremble to take hold of thy covenant. I do this day, with the full consent of will, surrender myself to thy disposal, to be ruled and governed in such manner as shall answer the purposes of thy glory. I leave future events to thy management. Command or require of me what thou wilt, only give me strength to perform, and I shall cheerfully obey. And although I have, in a thousand instances, broken my solemn engagements in times past, and my treacherous heart has turned aside from thee, yet I do now earnestly implore thy Holy Spirit to assist me for the time to come, with more steadfastness to perform my vows. May I be safely conducted through life. As by thy power alone I shall be able to stand, let no temptation to sin, no allurements to the world, no attachment to flesh and blood, nor death nor hell force me to violate my sacred engagements to be thine. Oh, let me never live to apostatize from thee. O my dear glorious Creator, why didst thou employ thy thoughts from all eternity for me? Why was I not with some of my species, left to all the vice my nature was inclined to? Why did thy Spirit strive with me so long, and even after, I trust, I had tasted of thy love in pardoning so guilty a wretch as I am,

who so often has crucified the Lord of Glory afresh, that even then that prayer was for me if upright: "Father forgive them." And now, may I, with humble trust and confidence, say, my Beloved is mine, and his desire is towards me, and therefore it is that my desire is towards him. Heaven and earth, and woods and vales, and all surrounding *angels* witness for me, that I am devoted to *Thee*, and when I will falsely or presumptuously deviate from this solemn engagement, let my own words testify against me. And now, O thou Almighty God, may this covenant made on earth, (though by a sinful creature) be ratified in Heaven, through the merits of Jesus Christ. And when the solemn hour of death comes, strengthen me to rely on Jesus, who, I trust, has strengthened me to renew and make this covenant; and let me remember this day's transaction to the last moment of my life. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is in me, who has crowned thee with loving kindness and tender mercies. With humble trust do I now subscribe my name to it. FRANCES BLAIR.

JAMES CRESWELL, the 17th member, pursued his studies for the ministry, while teaching school in Lancaster County, for Col. Gordon and a few neighboring gentlemen. Being highly esteemed, he was presented to Presbytery at Cub Creek, Oct. 6th, 1763, and was licensed at Tinkling Spring, May 2d, 1764. In October, 1765, at Lower Hico, in North Carolina, he opened with his trial sermon, the Presbytery met to ordain him; and on Thursday, the 6th, was ordained by Messrs. Todd, Henry, and Pattillo, a committee appointed for the purpose. He commenced his ministry with high expectations. But in a little time fell into improprieties, like Mr. Wright; and like him passed from usefulness and honor through obloquy to forgetfulness.

Rev. CHARLES CUMMINGS, the 18th, finds his place with the history of the settlement of Holston, in this volume.

Rev. SAMUEL LEAKE, the 19th member, has left no memorials of his early life. He met the Presbytery convened at Hico, North Carolina, Oct. 3d, 1765, for the ordination of Mr. Creswell, and was taken under their care. Mr. Todd having previously given him some parts of trial, they were, by consent of Presbytery, exhibited, and approved. Other parts were assigned him. He passed his final examination, and was licensed at the same time with Mr. Cummings, April 18th, 1766, at Tinkling Spring. The examination of these young men was full and particular. Mr. Leake was popular as a preacher. In October, 1768, he accepted a call from Sandy River, Dan, and Mayo, and preparations were made for his ordination, at Sandy River Meeting House, on the first Wednesday of the succeeding April. At Tinkling Spring, April 12th, 1769, the records say, that the order for a Presbytery at Sandy River to ordain Mr. Leake having failed, and he having become convinced that he could not "perform his duty without intolerable fatigue,"

the Presbytery "did not think it expedient to oblige Mr. Leake to settle there against his will. Upon this Mr. Leake returns their call." He accepted a call from the Rich Cove and North Garden, Albemarle County. Mr. Thomas Jackson having accepted a call from Cook's Creek and Peaked Mountain, in Rockingham, Mr. Leake was called on for his trial sermon for ordination, and he and Mr. Jackson both delivered the lectures assigned, these trials being approved, a Presbytery was appointed to be held at Cook's Creek for the ordination of both, May 3d, 1770, Mr. Craig to preside, and Mr. Brown to preach the ordination sermon. His pastorate was short, being brought to its end by his death, Dec. 2d, 1775. His children grew up in the congregation, and were agreeably married and settled, possessing the amiable disposition of their father. He was succeeded in his office by William Irvin, and he in turn by James Robinson. Mr. Robinson married a daughter of Mr. Leake, Mr. Andrew Hart another. A large proportion of the very numerous descendants have been pious possessors of religion. The blessing of God has rested on his house; the Lord has chosen from it ministers of his sanctuary.

Rev. DAVID CALDWELL, the twentieth minister, was received from New Brunswick Presbytery, Oct. 11th, 1767. A biography of much interest was published by his successor in office, Mr. Caruthers. A chapter embracing his life may be found in the Sketches of North Carolina.

Rev. JOSEPH ALEXANDER, the twenty-first member, produced to Presbytery, at the Byrd in Goochland, Oct. 11th, 1767, credentials from the Presbytery of New Castle, of his licensure, and of his having received and accepted a call from Sugar Creek, North Carolina, together with a recommendation for ordination. He was ordained at Buffalo, Guilford County, North Carolina, by the Presbytery met to instal Mr. Caldwell. His useful life was given partly to North Carolina, and principally to South Carolina.

Rev. THOMAS JACKSON, the twenty-second member, was received a licentiate from New York Presbytery, Oct. 6th, 1768, at Mr. Sankey's meeting-house, in Prince Edward. Being recommended by Presbytery and the Synod, to the Presbytery of Donegal or Hanover, he chose to be under the care of Hanover; and Synod having recommended that he be ordained as soon as possible, a lecture and a sermon were appointed him to be delivered at the Spring meeting. At Tinkling Spring, April 12th, 1769, he opened the Presbytery with his trial sermon. He delivered his lecture in company with Mr. Leake, and having accepted the call from Peaked Mountain and Cook's Creek, he was ordained in company with Mr. Leake at Cook's Creek, on the first Wednesday of the succeeding May. He was a successful minister, and much beloved by his charge. The people had much difficulty in fixing the places of his



preaching. Cook's Creek, Linvel's Creek, Peaked Mountain, and Mossy Creek, all wanted a Sabbath in the month; and some complained that Cook's Creek got more than her share from her location. His race was shorter than that of his companion in ordination, Mr. Leake. He died May 10th, 1773.

Rev. WILLIAM IRWIN, the twenty-third member, was taken on trials at Tinkling Spring, April 13th, 1769; and licensed at the house of George Douglass, in the Cove congregation. Having accepted a call from Rockfish and Mountain Plains, he was ordained at Rockfish, April 9th, 1772. After Mr. Leake's death, in 1775, he preached for a length of time at the Cove. He was for some years Stated Clerk of Presbytery. In the intercourse of life his manners were pleasant; in the pulpit solemn. He made careful preparation for the exercises of the sanctuary. Amiable in disposition, delicate in health, he never put himself forward or affected to take the lead, in matters of Church or State. The latter part of his life was much perplexed by a difficulty brought upon him, for some trivial matters, by members of his congregation. How great a fire a little matter may kindle, may be seen by perusing the numerous pages of the record of the protracted trial before the Presbytery, written out in the beautiful penmanship of Lacy. There is proof that an amiable man may be driven frantic by the pertinacity of well-meaning indiscreet members of his church. In his defence, Dr. Waddell delivered a speech which, for argument, pathos, sarcasm, point, and flowing eloquence, surpassed, in the opinion of his young friends, all his other efforts in public. For a number of years before his death, Mr. Irwin had his residence in the Cove congregation, but through infirmity declined the pastoral office, and ceased to preach some years before his death.

Rev. HEZEKIAH BALCH, the twenty-fourth member, a licentiate of New Castle Presbytery, after preaching with acceptance for some time in the wide bounds of Hanover, was received by the Presbytery, and ordained in March, 1770. He emigrated to Tennessee, and holds a place in the political and civil history of that State.

#### *Orange Presbytery formed.*

The Presbyterian ministers in North Carolina having increased to six in number, proposed the erection of a new Presbytery, by the name of Orange, having the Virginia line on the north, and indefinite boundaries south and west. To this the brethren in Virginia did not object. A petition sent to the Synod in May, 1770, signed by David Caldwell, Hugh M'Aden, Joseph Alexander, Henry Pattillo, Hezekiah Balch, and James Creswell, asking for a Presbytery to be constituted, was granted; and the signers were erected into a

Presbytery, the first meeting to be at Hawfield's, the first Wednesday of September. The Synod added to the list the name of Hezekiah James Balch, from Donegal, a man famous for the part he took in the Mecklenburg Declaration, in 1775.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### TIMBER RIDGE.

ROCKBRIDGE County, Virginia, received her first white inhabitants in the year 1737. In the fall of that year, Ephraim M'Dowell and his wife, both advanced in years, with their sons James and John and daughter Mary, and her husband James Greenlee, were on their way from Pennsylvania, the landing-place of emigrants from the British dominions, to Beverly's Manor. Whether the parents were born in Scotland, and in early life emigrated to Ulster County, Ireland, or whether Ireland was their birth-place, is left in doubt. The advantageous offers made by Beverly to obtain settlers for his grant, in the frontier wilderness, were circulated in Pennsylvania, and not unknown in Europe. Allured by these, James M'Dowell the son, had in the preceding summer, visited the Valley of the Shenandoah, and raised a crop of corn on the South River. The family of emigrants winding their way to the provision thus made ready for their winter's support, had crossed the Blue Ridge at Wood's Gap, and were encamped on Linvel's Creek for the night. A man calling himself Benjamin Burden, presented himself at their encampment, and asking permission to pass the night in their company, was cheerfully made partaker of their food and fire. As the evening passed on in cheerful conversation, he informed the family that his residence was in Frederick County, where he had obtained a grant of land from the Governor, in the bounds claimed by Lord Fairfax, the Governor contending that the Blue Ridge was the western boundary, and Fairfax claiming the Alleghenies; that the Governor had promised him another grant of 100,000 acres, on the head waters of the James River, as soon as he would locate a hundred settlers; and that to induce settlers to locate on his expected grant, he would give to each of them one hundred acres of land, upon their building a cabin, with the privilege of buying as much more as he pleased up to a thousand acres, at the rate of fifty shillings the hundred acres. In the course of the conversation, he learned that John M'Dowell had surveying instruments with him and could use them. After examining them carefully, he made propositions to M'Dowell to go with him and assist in laying off his tract, offering him, for his services a thousand acres, at his choice, for

himself, and two hundred acres, each, for his father and brother and brother-in-law; for which he would make them a title as soon as the Governor gave him his patent; which would be when a hundred *cabins* were erected. The next day John M'Dowell went with Mr. Burden to the house of Col. John Lewis, on Lewis Creek, near where Staunton now stands; and there the bargain was properly ratified. From Mr. Lewis's they went up the valley till they came to North River, a tributary of the James, which they mistook for the main river, and at the forks commenced running a line to lay off the proposed tract. M'Dowell chose for his residence the place now called the Red House; the members of the family were located around, and *cabins* were built. The neighborhood was called Timber Ridge, from a circumstance which guided the location. This part of the valley, like that near the Potomac, was mostly destitute of trees, and covered with tall grass and pea-vines. The forest trees on this Ridge guided these pioneers in their choice and in the name. Burden succeeded in procuring the erection of ninety-two *cabins* in two years, and received his patent from the Governor bearing date, November 8th, 1739. This speculation, not being profitable, soon passed from the hands of the company, which was composed of Burden, Governor Gooch, William Robertson and others, and became the sole property of Mr. Burden.

This Benjamin Burden was an enterprising man from New Jersey. The records of the court, in the famous land case, arising from the grant, speak of him as a trader visiting extensively the frontiers. His activity, and enterprise, and success, enlisted the favor of the Governor, who was desirous of securing a line of settlements in towns or neighborhoods, west of the Blue Ridge, both to extend his province, increase the revenues, and render more secure the counties east of that Ridge; and he obtained a patent bearing date Oct. 3d, 1734, for a tract of land on Spout Run in Frederick County, called Burden's Manor. Tradition says, that a young buffalo, caught by him in Augusta in the Gap that still bears that name, and taken to Williamsburg as a present to the Governor, had some influence by its novel appearance, in calling the attention of Governor and Council to that part of the frontiers. The speculations entered into by the Governor, Burden, Robertson and others contemplated grants to the amount of 500,000 acres. Benjamin Burden died in 1742. His will bears date the 3d of April of that year, and was admitted to record in Frederick County. His widow gave her son Benjamin, power of attorney dated March 6th, 1744, to adjust all matters concerning the grant in Rockbridge. At first from his youth and want of experience and the business habits of his father, the heir and agent was met with coldness and suspicion. But showing himself favorable to the inhabitants in not hastily demanding payments of debts; and granting some patents promised by his father, but for some reasons held back, he soon became very popular; married the widow of John M'Dowell, and lived on Timber Ridge till some time

in 1753, when he fell victim to the small-pox, then infesting the country. His will bears date March 30th, 1753. He left two daughters; one died unmarried, the other, named Martha, married Robert Hervey. His widow married John Boyer and lived to a great age. Joseph Burden, a son of Benjamin the grantee, claimed, as heir under his father's will, part of the unsold lands in the Rockbridge grant, and commenced suit against Robert and Martha Hervey; and dying in 1803, in Iredell County, North Carolina (his will bearing date April 29th,) left the suit to be carried on by his heirs. This suit was in court many years; and ultimately involved all the titles for land held under Burden's grant. The testimony and proceedings in the case, occupy two large thick folios preserved in the clerk's office at Staunton. The preceding history is taken principally from the testimony of Col. James M'Dowell, the grandson, and Mary Greenlee the sister of John M'Dowell, the surveyor of Burden's grant.

John M'Dowell made choice of a pleasant and fertile possession; and in a few years left it to his heirs. In the latter part of December, 1743, the inhabitants of Timber Ridge were assembled at his dwelling, in mourning and alarm. To resist one of the murderous incursions of the Indians from Ohio, who could not yield the valley of the Shenandoah to the whites but with bloodshed, M'Dowell had rallied his neighbors. Not well skilled in savage warfare, the company fell into an ambush, at the junction of the North river and the James, on the place long in possession of the Paxton family, and at one fire, M'Dowell and eight of his companions fell dead. The Indians fled precipitately, in consequence probably of the unusual extent of their murderous success. The alarmed population gathered to the field of slaughter, thought more of the dead than of pursuing the savages, whom they supposed far on their way to the West, took the nine bloody corpses on horseback and laid them side by side near M'Dowell's dwelling, while they prepared their graves in overwhelming distress. Though mourning the loss of their leading man, and unacquainted with military manœuvres on the frontiers, no one talked of abandoning possessions for which so high a price of blood was given in times of profound peace. In their sadness, the women were brave. Burying their dead with the solemnity of Christian rites, while the murderers escaped beyond the mountains; men and women resolved to sow their fields, build their church, and lay their bodies on Timber Ridge. Strange inheritance of our race! Every advance in civil and religious liberty is bought with human life; every step has been tracked with human blood.

The burial-place of these men, the first perhaps of the Saxon race ever committed to the dust in Rockbridge County, you may find in a brick enclosure, on the west side of the road from Staunton to Lexington, near the Red-house, or Maryland tavern, the residence of M'Dowell. Entering the iron gate, and inclining to the left, about fifteen paces you will find a low unhewn limestone, about two

feet in height, on which in rude letters by an unknown and unpractised hand, is the following inscription, next in age to the school-master's memorial to his wife, in the grave-yard at Opequon.

HEER EYES  
THE BODY OF  
JOHN MACK  
DOWELL  
DECEDED DECEMBRE  
1743

Mary Greenlee lived to a great age, and retained her memory, and spirit, and vivacity to the last, unharmed by the hardships and changes in life, from the time of an early disappointment in love, which gave a peculiar turn to the action of her mind, through the fatigues of emigration when twenty-six years of age, the labors of a new settlement, and some peculiar difficulties arising from her native shrewdness and many peculiarities. Endowed with powers of mind beyond the ordinary measure, and possessing great independence of character, she excited suspicious apprehensions among her more simple-minded neighbors, who believed, as was the fashion of the times, most devoutly in the existence of witches, and the power of witchcraft, to which many events were, by common consent, attributed. Happening one day, during a quilting at her house, to say, in a jocular manner, to a lady who had been very industrious, and whom she was pressing to eat more freely—"the mare that does double work should be best fed;" it was construed according to the mysterious jargon of the craft to mean—that she herself was a witch, and this woman the mare she rode in her nightly incursions. Some losses of stock occurred about the same time, as in the case of Mr. Craig, of the Triple Forks, and the slander was spread abroad with many additions. The indignation of the superstitious was aroused, and Mrs. Greenlee scarcely escaped a trial for witchcraft, according to the ancient laws of Virginia. In the famous trial between Burden's heirs, she underwent a long examination, testing her temper and her memory, in the April of 1806. In the midst of the examination, the question was put to her—"How old are you?" She smartly replied—"Ninety-five the 17th of this instant;—and why do you ask me my age?—do you think I am in my dotage?" Among other things in the course of the voluminous testimony taken in Burden's case, it is stated that an Irish girl, Peggy Milhollen, built a number of *cabins*, and entered them upon the list for *cabin* rights; and managed the matter with adroitness above suspicion till long after the registry was made; thus accomplishing a double purpose, helping Mr. Burden to the requisite number of *cabins* for his grant, and herself to abundant landed possessions.

Ephraim M'Dowell and his wife were advanced in life when they came to America. Their son John emigrated a *widower*, and mar-

ried a Miss Magdaline Woods. At his death he left her with three children, Samuel, James, and Martha. *Samuel* was Colonel of militia in the battle of Guilford, North Carolina. He married a Miss Mary McClung; his daughter Magdaline married Andrew Reid, son of Andrew and Mary Reid, of Rockfish, and father of Samuel M'Dowell Reid, the present Clerk of Rockbridge County. *James* married a Miss Cloyd, and died about 1770, aged thirty-five years, leaving three children, James, Sarah, and Betsy; James, the great-grand-child of Ephraim, married Sarah Preston, grand-daughter of John Preston, the emigrant, was the father of the late Governor, James M'Dowell, and is the Colonel M'Dowell whose evidence in the case of Burden afforded in part the information respecting the early history of Rockbridge. *Martha* was married to Colonel George Moffitt, of Augusta, a gentleman much engaged in the Revolutionary war.

The first church-building on Timber Ridge was of wood, and stood about three miles north of the present stone building, and less than a mile south of the Red house, on the west side of the road, near an old burying-ground in the woods, where there are now seen many graves, and a few monuments. In the division which took place in the Presbyterian church, in the years 1741-5, this congregation sympathised with the new side, and were supplied with missionaries from the Presbyteries of New Castle, New Brunswick, and New York. In the year 1748, they, in conjunction with the people of Forks of James, made out a call for the ministerial services of William Dean, of New Castle Presbytery, which was presented to Synod of New York, whose records say—Maidenhead, May 18th, 1748—"A call was brought into the Synod to be presented to the Rev. Mr. Dean, from Timber Ridge and Forks of James river; the Synod refer the consideration thereof to the Presbytery of New Castle, to which Mr. Dean doth belong, and do recommend it to said Presbytery to meet in Mr. Dean's meeting-house, on Wednesday next upon said affair; and that Mr. Dean and his people be speedily apprized of it." Mr. Dean was one of those referred to by Mr. Craig, that troubled parts of his congregation on some missionary visits to the valley. The race of this warm and ardent preacher was soon brought to a close. His death occurred soon after this call. In 1753, this congregation united with New Providence in presenting a call to Mr. John Brown, a graduate of Nassau Hall, Princeton, in 1749, and a licentiate of New Castle Presbytery. He had visited the frontiers and was willing to cast his lot among them. The paper presented to Presbytery has been preserved by the descendants of Mr. Brown in Kentucky.

WORTHY AND DEAR SIR :—We being for these many years past in very destitute circumstances, in want of the ordinances of the gospel among us, many of us under distressing spiritual languishments, and multitudes perishing in our sins for the want of the bread of life broken amongst us, our Sabbaths wasted in melancholy silence at home, or sadly broken and profaned by the more thought-

less amongst us, our hearts and hands discouraged, and our spirits broken with our mournful condition and repeated disappointments of our expectations of relief in this particular; in these afflicting circumstances that human language cannot sufficiently paint, we have had the happiness by the good providence of God of enjoying a share of your labors to our abundant satisfaction; and being universally satisfied with your ministerial abilities in general, and the peculiar agreeableness of your qualification to us in particular, as a gospel minister; we do, worthy and dear sir, from our hearts and with the most cordial affection and unanimity, agree to call, invite, and request you to take the ministerial care of us—and we do promise that we will receive the word of God from your mouth, attend on your ministry, instructions and reproofs, in public and private, and to submit to the discipline which Christ has appointed in his church administered by you, while regulated by the word of God, and agreeable to our Confession of Faith and Directory. And that you may give yourself wholly up to the important work of the ministry, we do promise that we will pay unto you annually, the sum which our Commissioners, Andrew Steel and Archibald Alexander, shall give in to the Reverend Presbytery from the time of your acceptance of this our call; and that we shall behave ourselves towards you with all that dutiful respect and affection that becomes a people towards their minister, using all means within our power to render your life comfortable and happy. We entreat you, worthy and dear sir, to have compassion upon us, and accept this our call and invitation to the pastoral charge of our immortal souls, and we shall ever hold ourselves bound to pray. We request the Reverend Presbytery to present this our call to the said Mr. Brown, and to concur in his acceptance of it—and we shall always count ourselves happy in being your obliged humble servants.

*Subscribers.*

John Houston,  
Andrew Steel,  
Samuel Buchanan,  
Alexander Walker,  
Walter Eakin,  
William Lockbridge  
Alexander Miller,  
Francis Beaty,  
John Hawely,  
John Stuart,  
William Wardlaw,  
Alexander Walker,  
John Houston, Jr.,  
John Moore,  
Samuel Houston,  
Samuel Steel,  
John Sprowl,  
James Coulter,  
Robert Reagh,  
John Robinson,  
Matthew Robinson,

John Kerr,  
John Loggan,  
James Eakin,  
John Montgomery,  
James Lusk,  
Robert Gamble,  
John Rossman,  
William Berry,  
James Trimble,  
Robert Robertson,  
John Shields,  
Charles Berry,  
John M'Crosky, Jr.,  
John Patton,  
Robert Henry,  
John Winiston,  
James Walker,  
David Sayer,  
James Robinson,  
Samuel Hay,  
Joseph Kennedy,

Samuel M'Cutchon,  
William Smith,  
Thomas Hill,  
George Henderson,  
John M'Crosky, Sen.,  
Alexander M'Crosky,  
Robert Kirkpatrick,  
John Douglass,  
John Walker,  
William Reah,  
John Wardlaw,  
Robert Weir,  
Alexander Moor,  
Matthew Houston,  
William Whiteside,  
Thomas Berry,  
William Robinson,  
Samuel Dunlap,  
Halbert M'Cleure,  
John M'Nabb,  
William Caruthers,

William Gray,  
James M'Clung,  
David Dryden,  
George Stevenson,  
William Hamilton,  
Thomas M'Speden,  
Joseph Hay,  
Francis Allison,  
John Smily,  
James Greenlee,  
Thomas M'Murry,  
James M'Dowel,  
Rodger Keys,  
Thomas Paxton,  
Nath. Peoples,  
Alexander M'Cleur,  
Robert Allison,  
Moses Whiteside,

James M'Clung, Jr  
Samuel Lyle,  
John M'Cleur,  
Matthew Lyle,  
James Thomson,  
John Davison,  
James Edmiston,  
Robert Houston,  
John Keys,  
John Stevenson,  
Jacob Gray,  
Nath. M'Cleur,  
Edmund Hearken,  
Samuel Paxton,  
William Lusk,  
Thomas Dryden,  
Edward Gaor,  
Samuel Davis,

William Davis,  
Charles M'Anelly,  
Neal M'Glistar,  
John Lowry,  
Andrew Fitzpatrick,  
Samuel Gray,  
John Lyle,  
Archibald Alexander,  
John Macky,  
Baptist M'Nabb,  
Moses Trimble,  
Magdalen Burden,  
Samuel M'Dowel,  
Widow M'Clung,  
John Mitchel,  
Daniel Lyle,  
Agnes Martin.

Mr. Brown became their pastor. He was united in marriage to the second daughter of John Preston, Margaret, born in Ireland, 1730, a lady of strong intellect, a cultivated mind, and much energy of character. The high esteem in which he was held by her parents, is chronicled in the saying of Mr. Preston, that "he devoutly thanked God that he had a Presbyterian minister connected with his family." For a succession of years he served the two congregations which were adjoining, each very extensive. Mr. Brown was of the new side in the division which then existed in the Synod. We have but few memoranda of his proceedings for a few years. His residence was about a quarter of a mile from the north end of the village of Fairfield, in the direction of New Providence, a very convenient position for his extensive charge. Of the course he pursued during the distresses of the Indian incursions in the Valley in Braddock's war, we have but one single notice, and that is in the journal of Hugh McAden, given in the Sketches of North Carolina, pp. 162, 163. Mr. Brown continued his ministrations throughout the whole Indian war. Mr. Craighead with his family and a large part of his congregation removed from their exposed position in the Cowpasture, and sought a residence in North Carolina. We have no historical data for an opinion as to his courage, but from his associations with Davies, cannot believe him less courageous than Craig.

The elders in Timber Ridge, in Mr. Brown's time, were, Wm. McClung, Archibald Alexander, Daniel Lyle, John Lyle, John McKay, Alexander McCleur, and John Davidson. In New Providence, John Houston, Samuel Houston, James Wilson, Andrew Steel, and John Robinson.

Before the time of Mr. Brown, there was a classical school at New Providence; and Mr. Robert Alexander taught in the bounds of Timber Ridge the first classical school in the Valley. Mr. Brown kept up a flourishing "grammar school" near his residence. His dwelling was about three-fourths of a mile from the south end of the present village of Fairfield, in a westward direction; and the Academy stood about a mile from his house, and about the same distance from



the north end of the village. In 1774 the Presbytery of Hanover adopted the school, and appointed William Graham teacher, under the care of Mr. Brown. In 1777 the school was removed to Timber Ridge. From thence it was removed to the neighborhood of Lexington. For a series of years its history is inwoven with the life of William Graham. It is now Washington College. (See the first series of Sketches of Virginia, Chapter 21st.)

The records of Hanover Presbytery, for October 11th, 1767, at Bird Meeting House, say, "Mr. Brown laid before Presbytery the extent of his charge, and the difficulties of performing the duties of his functions, and also declared to the Presbytery that he verily believes that his usefulness is at an end in Timber Ridge Congregation; and as he apprehends it would be for the good of said Congregation that the pastoral relation he sustains to them should be dissolved (the people of Timber Ridge in the mean time petitioning against his dismissal, and sending commissioners to oppose it), the Presbytery having maturely considered the affair, do not pretend to oblige Mr. Brown to continue with that people contrary to his inclination, but leave it to himself to continue with them, or confine himself to Providence, at his own discretion; but do earnestly recommend it to Mr. Brown not to give up his pastoral relation to Timber Ridge, and leave that people destitute, since there appears to be a mutual regard between them and him. But if he should leave Timber Ridge, the commissioners from Providence having represented to the Presbytery the earnest desire of that Congregation to have the whole of his labors, and the ease with which they can give him a comfortable support." What the difficulty between Mr. Brown and Timber Ridge Congregation was does not appear, but he withdrew from the ministerial care of that people, and confined his labors to New Providence the remainder of his active life.

The amount of salary promised by the commissioners to the Presbytery in 1753 is not known. The Congregation at New Providence in 1767 promised to give him \$80 per annum. There is a paper in Mr. Brown's handwriting purporting to be an account of money received from the congregations under his care, the only paper of its kind, relating to the salaries of ministers, of the last century, that is made public, except that giving the subscription in part for Mr. Waddell by Tinkling Spring.

*New Providence, 1754.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Joseph Kenedy	1	0	7½	Robert Weir	0	15	0
John Roseman	1	0	0	Wm. and Thos. Berry	1	12	0
Andrew Steel	2	3	4	John Stewart	0	15	0
John Montgomery	1	1	8	George Henderson	0	12	6
James Trimble	1	0	0	Alexander Walker (E.)	0	15	0
William Smith	0	15	0	Alexander Moore	0	13	0
Patrick Porter	0	5	8	Samuel Buchanan	1	1	5½
William Wardlow	1	0	0	John Houston	0	13	9
Mas. Houston	1	5	0	James Coulter	0	15	0
Alexander Miller	1	2	6	James Walker	1	4	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wm. Edmiston.....	1	0	0	John Handly.....	0	15	0
Andrew Steel.....	1	5	0	James Eaken.....	0	17	6
Robert Gamble, by John Logan	0	10	0	James Robinson.....	1	0	0
John Logan.....	0	15	0	Matthew Robinson.....	0	10	0
Edward McColgan.....	0	10	0	John Robinson.....	0	5	0
Robert Reagh.....	1	1	0	John Walker.....	0	15	0
James Lusk.....	0	10	0	Walker Eaken.....	1	5	0

In 1755 the same names, marked with \*, with the addition of:—John Edmiston, £1 4 4; Samuel Houston, £1 1 4½; Thomas Hill, £0 15 0; James Moore, £0 17 0; John McCroskey, £1 10 0; Robert Culton, £0 8; Ann Wilson, £1 0 0; Wm. Reagh, £1 17 8; Widow Smith, £0 15 0; John Logan, £0 12 0; Samuel McCutchan, £1 3 10; John Walker, £0 15 0.

*Timber Ridge, 1754.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Alexander McClure*.....	1	0	0	Samuel Gray*.....	0	12	0
Nathaniel McClure*.....	1	0	0	John McClure*.....	0	15	0
Halbert McClure.....	0	5	9	Moses McClure*.....	1	0	0
Wm. Caruthers*.....	0	11	6	James McClung*.....	1	0	0
Moses Trimble.....	0	12	0	James Greenlee.....	1	1	6
John Lowry*.....	0	0	0	Joseph Hays.....	0	10	0
David Dryden*.....	1	0	0	Wm. McClung*.....	1	0	0
Robert Alison*.....	1	0	0	John Keys.....	0	10	0
Wm. Lusk.....	1	10	0	Samuel Lyle* }.....	1	1	7½
Robert Houston*.....	1	0	0	John Davison* }.....	0	10	0
Mr. Boyer*.....	2	0	0	John Davison.....	0	10	0
Daniel Lyle*.....	1	5	0	Nathan People*.....	0	6	0
John Lyle*.....	1	6	0	Thomas Paxton*.....	1	5	0
John Stevenson*.....	1	0	0	George Stevenson*.....	1	1	0
John Patton*.....	0	10	0	John Smiley*.....	0	10	0
James Thompson*.....	1	0	0	Thomas McSpeden.....	0	15	3
Archibald Alexander*.....	1	5	0	Moses Whiteside*.....	0	12	0
John Macky*.....	1	0	0	Andrew Fitzpatrick.....	0	10	0
Baptist McNab*.....	0	15	0	Neal McCleaster*.....	0	10	0
James McClung, Jr.*.....	0	15	0	Wm. Davis*.....	0	10	0
Wm. Gray*.....	0	10	0	Samuel Davis*.....	0	10	0

The names marked \* for 1755, with additions, viz:—John Alison, £0 10 0; John Mitchell, £0 6 0; Samuel McDowel, £0 6 0; James McKee, £0 10 0; Wm. Young, £0 15 0.

These subscriptions were undoubtedly liberal for the circumstances of emigrants. The country was new, and their distance from market great; and few at the time wealthy, and none in possession of much money. Were the prices of grain and different kinds of stock preserved, the relative value of salaries at that and the present time could be estimated, and would show well for both periods. At the earnest entreaty of New Providence, Mr. Brown confined his labors to that congregation the latter years of his residence in Virginia.

After the Academy became established at Lexington, and that village grew in importance, and was supplied with regular preaching, Timber Ridge was greatly curtailed on that side, and by a similar increase of Fairfield it was lessened on the other side. But there has ever been, under the variety of pastors and supplies, since the time of Mr. Graham, a congregation of great worth assembling

in the Stone Church now giving evident signs of age. The associations with the house, and the very rocks around, remain vividly in the hearts of those accustomed in youth to assemble here on the Lord's Day. Governor McDowell passed this meeting house always with reverence, often in tears, and when he came in sight of the great rock, the landing place of his father and mother, and himself when a child, on the Sabbath day, he was known often to have raised his hat with a burst of emotion. What had God wrought from the time his ancestor was murdered by the savages, till he himself became Governor of Virginia! In 1796, Mr. Brown, weighed down with the infirmities of age, resigned his charge of New Providence, and welcomed Mr. Samuel Brown as successor in influence and usefulness. He soon followed his children to Kentucky, and in a few years closed his life. The inscription over his grave in Frankfort, is:—"The tomb of the Rev. John Brown, who, after graduating at Nassau Hall, devoted himself to the ministry, and settled at New Providence, Rockbridge County, Virginia. At that place he was stated pastor forty-four years. In the decline of life he removed to this country, to spend the feeble remainder of his days with his children. He died in the 75th year of his age, A. D. 1803." His wife preceded him to the grave, dying in 1802, in her 73d year. This worthy couple reared seven children:—1st. Elizabeth, who married Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, of Tennessee; 2d. John—a student at Princeton when that institution was broken up by the British—represented the district of Kentucky in the Virginia Legislature—and was in the old Congress of '87 and '88, and in the new of '89 and '91; married Margaretta Mason, sister of Rev. John M. Mason, of New York. 3d. William—educated at Princeton—a physician—died early, in South Carolina. 4th. Mary—married Dr. Alexander Humphreys. 5th. James—a lawyer; first Secretary of State in Kentucky, member of the United States Senate from Louisiana, six years American Minister in France; married Ann Hart, sister of Mrs. Henry Clay. 6th. Samuel—an eminent physician and professor in the Medical School of Transylvania. 7th. Preston—a physician.

The Alexander family formed a part of the Timber Ridge settlement and congregation. In giving farther specimens of the genealogies of the Scotch-Irish emigrants, of which numbers may be found, there are reasons why that of this family should be chosen for the public eye. The sons of a certain Archibald Alexander removed from Scotland to Ireland, in the great immigration in the early part of the 17th century. Their names were, Strong, William, and Thomas. One of these had a son William, remarkable for his corpulency. This William had four sons, Archibald, William, Robert and Peter. Peter died in Londonderry; the other three removed to America about the year 1736. Archibald, the eldest, born in the Manor of Cunningham, Ireland, Feb. 4th, 1708, married his cousin Margaret Parks, Dec. 31st, 1734, — "a pious woman, of a spare frame, light hair, and florid countenance." Their eldest

child Eliza, was born in Ireland, Oct. 1735. They took their residence in America in 1737, near Nottingham. Here their children, William, Ann, Joseph, and Hannah were born. Mr. Alexander being persuaded by his wife to hear Mr. Whitefield, became a convert. In the division of the Presbyterian Church which followed the great revival, the family was numbered with the *new side* — or *new lights*. Their place of worship was called Providence.

About the year 1747, this Mr. Archibald Alexander joined the settlement and congregation of Timber Ridge, Virginia, and took his residence on the South River, a tributary of the James, opposite the mouth of Irish Creek. The country is rough but well watered. It abounded in timber and was desirable for grazing. Here his children Phoebe and Margaret were born. Mr. Alexander formed a part of the first session of the Church of Timber Ridge. Rev. Samuel Davies visiting the congregation, lodged at his house; his daughter Hannah, that married James Lyle, used to tell of his gold-headed cane given him in England, and his gold ring presented by an English lady. Mr. Alexander went as the Elder from Timber Ridge, with Mr. Steel of Providence, to present the call for Rev. John Brown, in August 1753. Before his return his wife suddenly died of dysentery. In 1757, he was married to his second wife, Jane M'Clure. Their children were Isabella, Mary, Margaret, John, James, Samuel, Archibald and James. Of his fifteen children, three girls died young. Six sons and six daughters became heads of numerous families. His grandson Archibald Alexander D. D., says of his grandfather—"He was rather below the common height, thick-set, broad-breasted and strongly built. His face was broad, his eyes large, black and prominent. The expression of his countenance, calm and benignant his manner of speaking; was very kind and affectionate." Such a man, fearing God, could not fail to impress the community with a conviction of his personal bravery. Of course when the young men wanted a captain of Rangers, they naturally looked to "old Ersbell" Alexander; and he as naturally went along to tell the boys what to do, — when to march, — where to camp, — what was right, and what was wrong. As to the fighting, every man expected to do that, when it was wanted, without much order or direction. The authority of the father, the grandfather, the elder, the captain, and above all, the irreproachable man, was unlimited. Mr. Burden employed Mr. Alexander very extensively in his affairs; and at his death, left him to fill up the deeds for lands. This delicate business he performed to the entire satisfaction of the purchasers and the heirs. He entered into no speculations while settling the intricate affairs of Mr. Burden's estate. His stern honesty and calm uprightness, Archibald Alexander bequeathed to his children, baptized into the everlasting covenant of God the Redeemer. No one expected a descendant of "old Ersbell" to be greedy, or avaricious, or pinching, or unkind, or indolent, or ignorant, or very rich. But the public did expect them to know their catechism, to be familiar with their Bible, to keep the Sabbath, to

fear God, keep a good conscience, with industry and economy to be independent, and at last to die christianly. Mr. Alexander taught his children for a time himself; and to accommodate his neighbors and encourage his own children, he opened a night school in the winter — and thus supplied the deficiency of proper teachers. His brother Robert Alexander, was a fine classical scholar. He also removed to Virginia, and made his residence near the present village of Greenville, in Augusta. He taught the first classical school in the Valley.

William, the eldest son of this Archibald Alexander, born in Pennsylvania, near Nottingham, March 22d 1738, came to Virginia with his parents when about nine years of age, and grew up in the retirement and hardships of a frontier life. He was familiar with the Larger Catechism from his childhood, and could repeat the greater part of the Psalms and Hymns in Watts' version, and was well acquainted with Christian doctrine. He was married to Agnes Ann Reid, a young lady reared like himself in the simplicity of frontier life, and in the Presbyterian faith, retiring in her manners, and affectionate in her disposition. Her grandfather Andrew Reid, came from Ireland with two brothers, and settled in Octorara, Pennsylvania, having the Shawanese as their neighbors. Her father, Andrew, was born in Ireland and emigrated at the age of 14. He married his cousin Sarah, daughter of John Reid, and removed to Virginia. The children of William Alexander were Andrew, Margaret, Archibald, and Sarah, born on Irish Creek; Phœbe, Elizabeth, John, Nancy, Ann, and Martha, born on North River, near the present town of Lexington. His mercantile arrangements being broken up by the Revolutionary war, Mr. Alexander became deputy Sheriff of the county, his father being the High Sheriff. As an elder of the Church he was highly respected, though his children say he was not as impressive in religion as their grandfather. When the Academy, now Washington College, was removed to the vicinity of Lexington, the buildings were erected on his lands; and in the charter obtained in 1782, he was named one of the Trustees. In fostering that institution, he secured to his sons the best education the Valley of Virginia could afford.

ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, dear to the Presbyterian Church as the first Professor of Theology in the Assembly's Seminary, at Princeton, New Jersey, was the third child and second son of William Alexander and Agnes Ann Reid, born April 17th, 1772, on South River, Rockbridge County, Virginia. He grew to early manhood on the banks of North River, near Washington College, as it now stands. The early instruction of Mr. Alexander was at an "old field" school, and under very indifferent teachers. With these he saw or heard nothing to awaken desires for literary excellence. In his youth, he came under the instruction of his pastor, William Graham, whose teachings were not calculated to foster self-conceit; and in the estimation he formed of himself fell vastly below the grade of excellence assigned him by his venerable teacher. At

Liberty Hall, he also had the instruction of that surpassing teacher James Priestley. This man loved the classics passionately. Growing up on Timber Ridge, he attracted the attention of his minister, and by his aid and devotion acquired an education at Liberty Hall. His Greek and Latin approached the vernacular. The finest passages of the classics were lodged in his memory. He would declaim before the boys, in Greek, with the greatest vehemence. In various ways he inspired them with the most enthusiastic ardor in their pursuit of knowledge and literary eminence. He became to his pupils the standard of excellence in classic attainments; and measuring themselves and others by him, they cultivated a refined taste and a correctness altogether beyond the common standard. His influence on young Alexander remained through life, exciting to greater and greater acquirements in the languages. The memory of this man stimulated him in Spottsylvania and in Prince Edward. The standard of classical acquirements raised by that man has been as influential in Virginia and the Western States, as Graham's Philosophy. And how he became such a linguist no one can tell any more than how Graham became master of such a philosophy. The power of such men is never lost.

At the age of seventeen, young Alexander was employed as tutor in the family of General Posey, of Spottsylvania, about twelve miles from Fredericksburg. Here he became acquainted with the manners of the more refined of low Virginia, whose beauty was in part in that simplicity that ever characterized him in all his stations of life. Here, to preserve his character as tutor, he made great advance in his acquaintance with classic authors. Here, he began to feel his personal responsibility to God, and to act for himself. Here, by the instrumentality of a pious member of the family, he felt his own need of conversion; and here, as he fully believed in after life, he was born again. The examples and instructions of former years became, under the Spirit's influence, a quickening power. The human hand that applied the match to the train was a Baptist lady, of whom there remains on earth no other memorial; and Flavel was the instrument she used. Did that woman live in vain? The place in which the Spirit opened his eyes, might be found on the banks of the little creek near General Posey's dwelling. Soamme Jenyns came to his aid—"When I ceased to read, the room had the appearance of being illuminated," and the same blessedness, perhaps in a higher degree, came to his heart as he prayed in the arbor on the little creek. Having fulfilled his engagements with General Posey, he returned to Rockbridge, and was sensible, for the first time in his life, of the beautiful scenery around the place of his childhood. How should he know the excellence to which his childish mind had been accustomed, and assimilated, till he had looked on other things, and lost, in a manner, the vision of his earliest days? The place of his childhood, the purity of his father's house, the excellence of his academical instructors, the refinement of his first field of effort, the gentle influence of a pious lady—all prepared him, under the guid-

ance of the Holy Spirit, for that visit to Prince Edward and Charlotte, memorable in the history of many.

Rev. J. B. Smith, of Hampden Sidney, invited Rev. William Graham, of Liberty Hall, to visit him, and be a co-laborer at a communion, while the extensive revival was in progress. Mr. Graham had been the means of putting Liberty Hall far ahead of all the literary institutions in Virginia, except Hampden Sidney; and Mr. Smith had put Hampden Sidney above all except Liberty Hall. Some small collisions had taken place. Each with the other stood upon his dignity. When this invitation came, Mr. Graham resolved to go. God had revived his brother Smith, and in that blessing had exalted him above his head; and he meant to bow to the favored one of the Lord. Archibald Alexander, and some other young men, accompanied him. The journey was on horseback, and full of interest. It afforded the pupil a full and free conversation with his teacher, on the subject of justification by faith, and the work of the Spirit. The exercises of the communion season had commenced when they reached Briery. The excitement on religion was high, and its influence over the young people generally controlling. Legrand rejoicing in the success of his mission to North Carolina, was there with a company of professed converts from Granville County. The woods rang with the songs of praise as the companies of young people rode to and from public worship. The meeting of the two Presidents was touching. Smith rejoicing in the work of God, heartily welcomed, with Christian dignity, his brother Graham. Graham returned the salutation with urbanity, but evidently as depressed in mind as he was wearied in body from the ride through a long hot day. They lodged at the house of widow Morton, a convert of Davies. Mr. Smith called on William Calhoun to pray, and William Hill to exhort; both young converts. Young Alexander was greatly moved by Hill's address. Mr. Smith gave a warm address. Mr. Graham with great oppression of heart led in prayer. The young people thought Mr. Graham cold, and urged Mr. Smith to preach the action sermon on Sabbath morning, because Mr. Graham was not prepared, as they thought, for the occasion. Smith suffered himself to be persuaded, through fear that ill might come to the cause. Graham gladly listened to his brother as he preached from the words—"The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise!" The crowd was great. Preparation had been made to hold all the services in the open air. The coming of rain changed the purpose after sermon, and the sacrament was administered in the house. While the change of arraignment was going on, Mr. Legrand preached from the horse-block, and Mr. Samuel Houston did the same while the services were progressing in the house. After the sacrament, Mr. Graham preached in the house, from the words—"Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God." Smith had set forth the acceptable sacrifice; Graham held forth the comfort God gives when iniquity is pardoned and the warfare over, the

wonderful mercies God bestows on his church in revivals and gifts of grace. The cloud had gone from his mind, and the weight from his heart. The crystal fountain poured forth its living waters. Smith was amazed; the crowd enwrapped; and Graham scarce knew himself as he was borne along by the tide of feeling, and the vast truths of grace. The rain came on, and the house was crowded to its utmost capacity. Graham turned his address to the impenitent. Silent, motionless, almost breathless, all heard the sermon to the close. Was that the man, "too cold to preach the action sermon? Was that Mr. Graham, or an angel from heaven? Smith wept with thanksgiving. The sweet harmony of that hour was unbroken through life. After a half century, the survivors of that crowded assembly would talk of that sermon. The Womacs, the Allens, the Mortons, the Venables, the Spencers, the Watkinses, sinking with age would rouse upon mention of that text—Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people—"that was Mr. Graham's text." Mr. Smith repaid Mr. Graham's visit. His sermons in the Valley were remembered as Mr. Graham's were east of the Ridge, particularly the one on—"Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish."

Mr. Alexander was not prepared to commune. To see his cool, reasoning pastor all on fire amazed him. "Ye comfortless ones" met his ear as he entered the house. "Ye comfortless ones" prefaced many sentences, and rung for days and nights in the ears of sinners without hope, and of saints without joy. More distressed than ever, Mr. Alexander wondered he could not feel like his pastor. Mr. Smith told him his exercises as yet had been vain. He tried to give up all hope, but could not be exercised as those around him were. On his return home, he laid his case before Mr. Mitchel, of Bedford, who gave him counsel that led him to hope in Christ as his Saviour. The company tarried a few days in Bedford in the congregation of Messrs. Mitchel and Turner. A revival was in progress there, and many young people from the valley were assembled to partake, if possible, of its blessings. They all returned together, about thirty in number, and as they slowly crossed the mountains, the woods and valleys echoed with the songs of praise. The little village of Lexington was moved at their coming, and at night heard for the first time the voice of a youth in prayer, and that youth, Archy Alexander. There was no house for public worship in Lexington. The congregation had hitherto assembled at New Monmouth. The young converts were full of hope that a revival would be felt in Rockbridge. Legrand, with his sweet, earnest voice and pathetic exhortations, and Graham, with his entreaties, and tears, and clear sermons, were, with the news from abroad and the sight of the converts at home, the means of awakening multitudes. In the experience of a religious nature as related by the converts, were found distinct views of truth, deep conviction of sin and ill-desert, much distress in view of sinfulness and wrath, and a clear view of mercy by the cross of Christ in laying sin on Christ and reckoning righteousness to the sinner. Mr. Alexander had



many days of deep distress; and the coming of hope was like the shining light. Every one but himself believed that he was chosen of God for a minister of the gospel; and nobody but himself doubted of his conversion.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### HANOVER PRESBYTERY FROM 1770 TO ITS DIVISION, TO FORM THE VIRGINIA SYNOD, IN 1786.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL was presented to Presbytery, April 26th, 1770, by Mr. Thomas Jackson, as an—"acquaintance of all the members and of worthy character; and was licensed at the D. S. Oct. 10th, 1771, and sent to visit the vacancies, particularly the pastures, Timber Ridge, Forks of James, Sinking Spring, Hat Creek, and Cub Creek. Oct. 15th, 1772, at the same place, the Presbytery was informed of his death; and recommended that any dues for his services as a minister be sent to his parents.

Mr. Samuel Edmundson was received on trials for licensure Oct. 15th, 1772; and was licensed Oct. 14th, 1773, at Rockfish meeting-house; and sent to supply Cook's Creek, Linvel's Creek, Peaked Mountain, and Mossy Creek, made vacant by the death of Mr. Jackson. He soon removed to South Carolina, where he spent a useful life.

25th. CALEB WALLACE, the twenty-fifth member, born in Charlotte County, and graduated at Princeton, 1770, was received at Tinkling Spring, April 13th, 1774, as licentiate of New Castle Presbytery. On the 3d of October ensuing, he was ordained at Cub Creek, pastor of Cub Creek and Little Falling river, Mr. David Rice presiding, and Mr. Leake giving the charge. In 1779, he removed to Botetourt; and in 1783 emigrated to Kentucky. Abandoning the ministry, he entered upon the profession of Law, was successful, and became Judge of the Supreme Court.

26th. WILLIAM GRAHAM, the twenty-sixth member, has a place in the first series of Sketches of Virginia. His name is inseparable from Washington College, Lexington, Virginia.

James Templeton was received as candidate at Timber Ridge, April 13th, 1775, a graduate of Nassau Hall—"bringing recommendation from Dr. Witherspoon." He was licensed at the house of John Morrison, on Rockfish, Oct. 26th, 1775; and soon removed to South Carolina.

Samuel M'Corkle was, Oct. 26th, 1775, received as probationer from the Presbytery of New York. He was very acceptable to the

churches, and received calls from Oxford, High Bridge, and Falling Spring, but declined settling in Virginia. A sketch of his life may be found in "Sketches of North Carolina."

27th. SAMUEL STANHOPE SMITH, the twenty-seventh member of Presbytery, was received as probationer from New Castle Presbytery, Oct. 27th, 1775, at Rockfish, without the usual testimonials. The Presbytery recommended him—"to procure a dismission, and produce it to Presbytery as soon as he conveniently can." The Presbytery proceeded to ordain him—"and Mr. Smith now takes his seat as a member of Presbytery together with his elder, Mr. James Venable." The reasons given for this unusual course is—"seeing a call from the united congregations of Cumberland and Prince Edward has been presented to him, and he being encouraged to receive it by said Presbytery," (New Castle)—"which amounts to a dismission and recommendation, we judge it safe to receive him." He was installed Nov. 9th, 1775; and in May, 1776, he tells Presbytery he has his dismission, and will produce it at next meeting. Oct. 28th, 1779, he was released from his pastoral charge, and his duties as President of Hampden Sidney College, and immediately removed to Princeton to take the chair of Professor of Moral Philosophy, at Nassau Hall. He was the father of Hampden Sidney, in Virginia; and in his old age referred to it with deep emotion. He was the means of introducing his brother John Blair Smith, and also William Graham to the Presbytery and the institutions in Prince Edward and Rockbridge. He was President of Nassau Hall for many years. A sketch of his life belongs to the history of that College.

28th. JOHN B. SMITH, the twenty-eighth member, was received a candidate June 18th, 1777, and was licensed at the house of Dr. Waddell in Tinkling Spring Congregation, June 9th, 1778. An extended account of his services is given in the first series of these Sketches.

29th. EDWARD CRAWFORD a graduate of Princeton, 1775, was received a candidate in the fall of 1776. On the 31st of October, 1777, at Buffalo it was ordered—"that Messrs. Crawford, Scott and Doak be introduced to complete their literary trials, and after long and particular examination of each of them, in Science, Moral Philosophy, and Theology, and Mr. Crawford in the languages,—Resolved, that they (the examinations) be accepted as the conclusion of their trials previous to their being licensed. And the license of the Presbytery to them to preach the gospel in the churches was intimated to them accordingly, accompanied with a solemn charge from the Moderator." A call from Sinking Spring, and Spreading Spring was presented Mr. Crawford at Mountain Plains, October 27th, 1778, and by him accepted. At the division of the Presbytery 1786, he was one of the constituents of Lexington Presbytery.

He afterwards removed to Tennessee and became a member of Abingdon Presbytery.

80th. MR. ARCHIBALD SCOTT, the thirtieth member, was licensed with Messrs. Crawford and Doak. A notice of him appears with the history of Bethel, in this volume.

31st. SAMUEL DOAK was licensed with Messrs. Scott and Crawford. His history belongs to Tennessee, the scene of his labor, and object of his love. Some notices of him may be found in the Sketches of North Carolina, under the head of Emigrations to Tennessee.

32d. JOHN MONTGOMERY, the thirty-second minister, was received as candidate October 31st, 1777, Mr. Graham representing him — “a young gentleman of the County of Augusta, who had finished his education in the College of New Jersey, 1775.” He was licensed at Mountain Plains, with Mr Erwin, October 28th, 1778; and on April 26th, 1780, at Tinkling Spring — “Presbytery agree to ordain Mr. John Montgomery to the sacred work of the gospel ministry, that he may be more extensively useful.” Next day he was ordained. Three calls were put in for him, October 23d, 1781, at Concord; — one from Bethel, Washington County, — one from Concord and Providence, and one from Winchester, Cedar Creek and Opecquon. He accepted the last. After spending a few years with these congregations, he, to their great regret, removed in 1789, and made his residence in the Pastures, Augusta, where he inherited property. Here he passed the remainder of his life. Previous to his ordination he was associated with Mr. Graham in the instruction of Liberty Hall. He was a very popular preacher, a good scholar, an esteemed relative, and an amiable man. In the division of the Presbytery he was assigned to Lexington. In the latter part of his life, his ministry was interrupted by bodily infirmities.

33d. JAMES M'CONNEL, a graduate of Princeton, 1773, was received at Tinkling Spring April 29th, 1778, as probationer from Donegal. Having accepted a call from Oxford, High Bridge and Falling Spring, he was ordained at High Bridge June 18th, 1778. By indiscretion and want of family economy, he became involved in difficulties and ceased to serve the congregation. In the year 1787 he removed beyond the Alleghenies.

34th. BENJAMIN ERWIN, the thirty-fourth member, was a graduate at Princeton 1776, was received as candidate April 30th, 1778, and exhibited pieces of trial given him by Mr. Graham on account of his inability, by sickness, to attend a previous meeting of Presbytery; was ordained at Mossy Creek June 20th, 1780, pastor of Mossy Creek and Cook's Creek. On the formation of the Virginia Synod, he became a member of Lexington Presbytery. He died

pastor of his first charge. George A. Baxter, D. D. grew up under his ministry.

35th. WILLIAM WILSON, the thirty-fifth member of the Presbytery, grew up in New Providence, under the ministry of John Brown; but was born August 1st, 1751, in Pennsylvania. His father, an emigrant from Ireland, in his youth was a hearer of Mr. Whitefield in Philadelphia, and became, in consequence, a hopeful convert to Christ. When about forty years of age he removed to Virginia, and settled about twelve miles east of Lexington, and became a member of New Providence Church. His connexion was continued about fifty years. His devoted piety in his family, and his intercourse with his fellow-men, were remarked by people among whom professors of religion were common. "How I did delight," said the Rev. Samuel Houston, "when a young man, to hear the old man pray and read Flavel's Sermons. He numbered ninety-four years; his wife, religious like himself, survived him two years, and died at the same age. His eldest son William they brought with them from Pennsylvania; and away on these frontiers sought for him a classical education, that he might be, what he became, a minister of the gospel of Christ, and numbered him among the students at Mount Pleasant, that germ of Washington College. At that school he became a proficient in geography, mathematics and the classics. In his advanced years he exhibited a curious phenomenon of mental and physical organization. Under a severe attack of erysipelas he in a great measure, for a time, lost the memory of his mother tongue. He could not give the name of anything he wanted in English; but could readily give it in Greek or Latin. At times, almost unconsciously, he was running over his school exercises in Greek with great fluency and correctness. In his old age he often employed himself in solving algebraic questions to preserve the tone of his mind from the effects of age. An examination by him in Presbytery was considered by candidates an ordeal. For a time after he completed his course at the academy, he taught the Washington Henry Academy in Hanover County with great approbation. But finding the climate not favorable to his health, he returned to his native valley. When ordained to the ministry, he made the thirty-fifth member of Hanover Presbytery. He was received as candidate April, 1779, and in the fall of the same year, October 28th, was licensed in Prince Edward in company with James Campbell. On the last Wednesday of November, 1780, was ordained at the Stone Church, upon the hill, and installed pastor of the flock of Christ worshipping there, succeeding Mr. Craig after a vacancy of about six years. He prepared his sermons with care, writing short notes in his early ministry, not writing out in full any sermon. In later life he trusted his memory entirely. He was orthodox, instructive, interesting and evangelical. And with reluctance the people of Augusta listened to his proposition for a dissolution of the pastoral relation on account of infirmities, principally the effects of erysipelas

in the head. While he lived, and his life was protracted nearly a quarter of a century after he resigned his charge, the congregation listened with pleasure to his preaching. Dr. Speece said the last sermon the venerable man preached a little before his death, "was not inferior in vigor of thought, methodical arrangement, or animation of manner to any that he had ever heard him deliver." He believed in revivals of religion, and was blessed with them in his charge in common with his brethren in the Valley. In the awakening of 1801 and onwards, he was an actor. He visited the Little Levels where the revival was first felt in Virginia; and some of his young people that accompanied him, became, with himself, not only deeply interested in the religious, mental and heart excitements, but also felt something of the bodily exercise. Not knowing how to account for the exercises, and having felt them in his most devout approaches to God in worship, he was inclined to defend them as innocent, and for some unexplained reason a necessary appendage of the work of grace; after a time he joined with his brethren in discouraging their appearance, not by direct opposition, but by refusing to encourage them, while he cherished carefully every appearance of a gracious work. On principle he was an attendant upon the judicatories of the church, and a promoter of education. He encouraged and assisted two of his brothers in obtaining a liberal education; and in his old age adverted to this fact with great satisfaction. Thomas became a lawyer, and served in the Legislature and in Congress; Robert became a minister of the gospel, and removed to Kentucky; his piety was above the usual order—"he was great in the sight of the Lord." Each of these brothers gave a daughter to the cause of foreign missions. Mrs. Louisa Lowrie, daughter of Thomas, went to India; and Mrs. Andrews, daughter of Robert, to the Sandwich Islands. He excelled in pastoral visitations, having a great facility in accommodating himself to the mind and condition of people. "I have had a dream," said one of his flock—"an old man appeared to me, and gave me a rusty guinea, and told me to sprinkle water on it. I did so, and it remained rusty. He told me to pour water on it. I did so, and it remained rusty. Drop it in the stream, said he; I did so, and immediately it became bright. Now, what do you think of it?" "Why," said he very gravely, "if it had been a young man that appeared it might have been something—but it was an old man—and the Scriptures says 'put off the old man and his deeds.'" The perplexity of the poor man was gone in a moment: a causeless anxiety was removed by a play upon words. His successor, Dr. Speece, found him a warm and steady friend, and cherished for him the kindest feeling and most respectful regard.

Mr. JAMES CRAWFORD was received candidate at the same time with William Wilson, April, 1779, and licensed with him Oct. 28th, 1779. Mr. Davidson, in his History of Kentucky, pp. 79 and 80, gives all the memoranda concerning him that have been preserved:

Mr. Terah Templin was licensed by Hanover Presbytery, at Tinkling Spring, April 28th, 1780. He grew up near the Peaks of Otter, and received his preparatory education under his pastor, David Rice. He was ordained in Kentucky, in 1785, and died Oct. 6th, 1818. Davidson's Kentucky gives a short sketch of him.

36th. SAMUEL SHANNON was received as candidate, Oct. 26th, 1779, from Donegal Presbytery, a graduate of Princeton 1776, introduced to Presbytery by Mr. Waddell. After passing examinations in Greek and Latin, reading a Homily, and preaching a sermon, he was advised by Presbytery, at Falling Spring, Oct. 24th, 1780, to abandon preparation for the ministry, on account of the time he had been in study, and the manner he had acquitted himself in divinity and moral philosophy. The next year he appeared before Presbytery, Oct. 25th, 1781, passed his examinations with James Mitchel, and was licensed with him. Receiving a call from Windy Cove and Blue Spring, he was ordained on Cowpasture, Nov. 24th, 1784, at the house of Mrs. Lewis. In April, 1787, he was relieved from his charge, and removed to Kentucky. He died in Indiana, in 1822. For further notices of him, see Davidson's History, p. 83, *et alibi*.

37th. JAMES MITCHEL, the 37th member, has an appropriate sketch in this series.

38th. Of MOSES HOGE, the 38th member, there is a short memoir in Sketches of Virginia, and some further particulars in the chapter of this series, containing the history of Hampden Sidney, after the removal of Rev. Archibald Alexander from the Presidency of the College, to Philadelphia.

39th. JOHN McCUE was received candidate in the spring of 1781, and was licensed at Timber Ridge, May 23d, 1782. He was ordained the first Wednesday of August, 1783, having accepted a call from Camp Union near Lewisburg, and Good Hope, in Green Brier. In 1791 he was relieved from this charge to take the pastoral care of Tinkling Spring and Staunton. Further notices of him will be found under the Chapter, Tinkling Spring.

40. ADAM RANKIN, a native of Western Pennsylvania, was received candidate, November, 1781, at the Stone Meeting House, Augusta, and at New Providence was licensed, Oct. 25th, 1782, in company with Samuel Houston, Samuel Carrick, and Andrew McClure. October 29th, 1783, steps were taken preparatory for his ordination, and he was enrolled at Bethel, May 18th, 1784. He emigrated to Kentucky, and is the hero of many pages of Davidson's History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky. A man of fiery zeal, he believed himself called of God to reform the church, particularly in Psalmody.

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41st. SAMUEL CARRICK, the forty-first member, native of Adams County, Pennsylvania, was born July 17th, 1760. At an early period of his life he went to the Valley of Virginia; and prepared for the ministry under the instruction of William Graham. He was received as candidate the last Wednesday of November, 1781, at the Stone meeting-house, Augusta; was licensed at New Providence, October 25th, 1782, with Rankin, Houston, and McClure; and was ordained and installed pastor of Rocky Spring and Wahab meeting-house, on the Cowpasture, at the house of Mr. James Hodges, on the fourth Wednesday of November, 1783. He made frequent visits to the south-western frontiers as a missionary; and in the year 1789, removed to Tennessee, and took his abode on the Holston, about four miles from Knoxville, in sight of Boyd's Ferry. In 1794, at the opening of the Territorial Legislature, in February, he preached before that body by their invitation, on the second day of their session. He was chosen by the Legislature President of Blount College, named in honor of the Governor, now known as the

44th. The forty-fourth member, and the last ordained by the Presbytery before the formation of Virginia Synod, was JOHN D. BLAIR, son of John Blair, Professor of Theology in Princeton College, and nephew of Samuel Blair, the instructor of Davies and Rodgers. He was born 15th of October, 1759, and was graduated when quite young, in the year 1775, at Princeton. He made profession of religion at an early age. Before he left his minority he was elected tutor of his alma mater under Dr. Witherspoon. On the application of Edmund Randolph, Esq., to Dr. Witherspoon for a qualified teacher for Washington Henry Academy, in Hanover, Mr. Blair came to Virginia in the year 1780. He presided over the Academy with much usefulness and credit, for a number of years. Oppressed with the view of the spiritual desolations around him, his mind and heart were drawn to the subject of his early meditations and desires, the ministry of the gospel. He was received as candidate by the Hanover Presbytery, May 20th, 1784, at Bethel; and was licensed at Timber Ridge, October 28th, of the same year. He became pastor of the church in Hanover County, gathered by Davies on the ground where Morris had his reading-room, and his own father had preached with success. The record of his ordination is lost; but it necessarily took place previously to May, 1786, as he that year was enrolled a member of the Synod. About the year 1792, he was induced to remove to the city of Richmond, and open a classical school, and divide his ministerial services with Pole Green church in Hanover, and the city. Having no church building in the city, he held public worship at the capitol, alternating his Sabbaths with Rev. John Buchanan at the Episcopal church. These two ministers maintained the kindest relations through life. They were both remarkable for amiability of manners and purity of morals. Mr. Buchanan, being a bachelor, took frequent opportunities of manifesting his sympathy and respect for his brother Blair and his family, by kind and complimentary acts, such as sending marriage fees to Mrs. Blair, and encouraging the attentions of others. Mr. Buchanan manifested the same generous spirit to Mr. and Mrs. Rice. When the monumental church was built upon the ruins of the burned theatre, the tradition is—that Messrs. Buchanan and Blair were of the opinion, the building should be occupied as the capitol had been, and be a memorial and a place of worship for the two denominations most interested in the sad event of the night of the 26th of December, 1811, and the subsequent transactions. When by extraneous influence the discussion was going on, whether the church building should have a denominational character, and to which it should be given, Mr. Blair from motives of delicacy kept back from the discussion. It was believed that had he exerted the influence of which he was capable, and entered the arena of debate, his opinion would have prevailed, whether he had advocated the use of the building as open and free as the desolation of the event it commemorated had been wide and general, or whether he had contended that if any denomination should have the



preference it should be his own. He chose to keep silence, and after a long discussion, under various influences, on February 7th, 1814, one hesitating vote decided the character of the monumental church. That part of the congregation, worshipping in the capitol, that adhered to Mr. Blair, made preparations for the erection of a house of worship for their own special occupancy; and as church building in those days was a work of slow progress, in the most favorable circumstances, the design was not fully completed till the autumn of 1821. To this new house, called the Presbyterian church on Shockoe Hill, Mr. Blair transferred his services. But in a few months increasing infirmities brought his ministerial labors to a close. He united with the church in obtaining the services of Rev. John B. Hoge, who continued their pastor about four years. Mr. Blair lingered till the 10th of January, 1823, and departed in his 64th year, with these words upon his lips—"Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit." During his active life, his modesty put a seal upon his lips in reference to his religious experience. On his dying-bed he felt called upon to speak out his hopes. He declared that Christ was the only rock on which a sinner could build for eternity; and that trust in him was the best evidence of fitness for heaven; that his early convictions and experience retained their hold upon his heart. He was confined to his bed for several months previous to his death, and bore his pains with patience, waiting—"all the days of his appointed time." According to his request his body was taken to the church before interment, and an address made by his co-pastor, announcing his firm adherence in death to the doctrines he had preached through life, and the comfort these had given him in his near approach to the grave.

The estimation in which Mr. Blair was held as a teacher, by his brethren, may be known from the fact, that the Board of Trustees of Hampden Sidney College, in the year 1796, invited him to the Presidency. Upon his declining to leave Richmond, Mr. Alexander was prevailed upon to accept the office.

Rev. John Buchanan, the friend and fellow-laborer of Mr. Blair, died on the 19th of December, 1822, about three weeks before his friend. Of these two men Dr. Rice says—"They lived together in Richmond, in habits of closest intimacy, and most devoted friendship, for five and thirty years. No jealousy, no unfriendly collision of sentiment was ever known between them. They lived and loved as brethren; and interchanged in the pulpit and out of it, offices of unstinted, unreserved kindness." It is also related that when Mr. Buchanan, at the approach of death, requested that the prayers of the church should be offered up in his behalf, his friend was not forgotten; for in the most affecting accents he added—"Pray also for Blair."

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE HOLSTON.

THE enterprise and bravery of the pioneers of Washington County, Virginia, gave birth to events of romantic interest in politics, religion and war. Ex-Governor Campbell, near Abingdon, thus writes :

Montcalm, Nov. 12th, 1851.

DEAR SIR—I failed to take my intended journey to Tennessee, and will now endeavor to answer some of your inquiries, in your letter of the 7th of October. The first emigration to the Holston Valley, was about the year 1765—In that year John Campbell explored the country, and purchased land for his father David Campbell and himself. The first settlers were from Augusta, Frederick, and the other counties along the Valley of Virginia—from the upper counties of Maryland and from Pennsylvania, were mostly descendants from Irish stock, and were generally Presbyterians, where they had any religious opinions—a very large proportion were religious and many were members of the Church. There were however some families, and among the most wealthy, that were wild and dissipated in their habits. I send you enclosed by the same mail that carries this letter, a copy of the call to the Rev. Charles Cummings, signed by one hundred and thirty-eight heads of families. In my early life I knew personally, many of those whose names are signed to it—and I knew nearly all of them from character. They were a most respectable body of men; were all whigs in the revolution, and nearly all—probably every one of them, performed military service against the Indians—and a large portion of them against the British, in the battles of King's Mountain, Guilford court-house, and other actions in North and South Carolina. The Campbell family, from which I am descended, were originally from the Highlands of Scotland, and emigrated to Ireland about the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. John Campbell, my great-grandfather, with a family of ten or twelve children, came to America in 1726, and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He had six sons—three of whom, Patrick, Robert and David, emigrated with him from Pennsylvania, to what was then Orange, but afterwards Augusta County, about the year 1730. Patrick was the oldest child and grandfather of General William Campbell of the Revolution. David was the youngest, and was my grandfather. He married in Augusta County, Mary Hamilton, and had seven sons—John, Arthur, James, William, David, Robert and Patrick. All except William, who died when a young man, emigrated to Holston; John, Robert and Arthur before their father, the other three with him. The other sons of John Campbell had

families, and their descendants are scattered over many of the States of the West. William B. Campbell, a young man and lately elected Governor of Tennessee, is my nephew, and is the grandson of Margaret Campbell, one of the daughters of my grandfather, David Campbell. The Edmiston, or Edmondson family, that came to Holston, was a very large and respectable one, numbering some ten or fifteen families. They were zealous whigs, and William the eldest brother was Major in the regiment from this county, that behaved so gallantly in the battle of King's Mountain. Two of his brothers, Captain Andrew Edmiston and Lieut. Robert Edmiston, and a cousin Captain William Edmiston, were killed in that battle. The Vance, Newell and Blackburn connection was very large and respectable. The Rev. Gideon Blackburn once of Tennessee, and one of the most distinguished pulpit orators of his time, was of the same Blackburn stock. Col. Samuel Newell, son of Samuel Newell who signs the call, was a distinguished officer in the battle of King's Mountain and a man of fine talents. He died in Kentucky. The Buchanan family was a numerous one, all worthy people. There were four brothers of the Davises and three of the Craigs, all very worthy men — also several brothers of the Lowreys and Montgomerys, equally worthy. William Christian was from near where Fincastle now stands — was a man of fine intellect, and distinguished in western warfare. Benjamin Logan was the same man who went to Kentucky, and became a distinguished man there. There are on the list many others whose families have done well in the western country. I will omit at present going into more detail, and indeed I do not know that I can give you any information further that would deserve your notice. I have not given you any particular account of my immediate ancestors, supposing it would not be suitable from me.

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

DAVID CAMPBELL.

A call from the united congregations of Ebbing and Sinking Spring, on Holston's river, Fincastle County, to be presented to the Rev. Charles Cummings, minister of the gospel, at the Rev. Presbytery of Hanover, when sitting at the Tinkling Spring:

WORTHY AND DEAR SIR—We being in very destitute circumstances for want of the ordinances of Christ's house stately administered amongst us; many of us under very distressing spiritual languishments; and multitudes perishing in our sins for want of the bread of life broken among us; our Sabbaths too much profaned, or at least wasted in melancholy silence at home, our hearts and hands discouraged, and our spirits broken with our mournful condition, so that human language cannot sufficiently paint. Having had the happiness, by the good Providence of God, of enjoying part of your labors to our abundant satisfaction, and being universally well satisfied by our experience of your ministerial abilities, piety, literature, prudence

and peculiar agreeableness of your qualifications to us in particular as a gospel minister—we do, worthy and dear sir, from our very hearts, and with the most cordial affection and unanimity agree to call, invite and entreat you to undertake the office of a pastor among us, and the care and charge of our precious souls—and upon your accepting of this our call, we do promise that we will receive the word of God from your mouth, attend on your ministry, instruction and reproofs, in public and private, and submit to the discipline which Christ has appointed in his church, administered by you while regulated by the word of God and agreeable to our confession of faith and directory. And that you may give yourself wholly up to the important work of the ministry, we hereby promise to pay unto you annually the sum of ninety pounds from the time of your accepting this our call; and that we shall behave ourselves towards you with all that dutiful respect and affection that becomes a people towards their minister, using all means within our power to render your life comfortable and happy. We entreat you, worthy and dear sir, to have compassion upon us in this remote part of the world, and accept this our call and invitation to the pastoral charge of our precious and immortal souls, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray.

George Blackburn,  
William Blackburn,  
John Vance,  
John Casey,  
Benjamin Logan,  
Robert Edmondson,  
Thomas Berry,  
Robert Trimble,  
Wm. McGaughey,  
David Dryden,  
Wm. McNabb,  
John Davis,  
Halbert McClure,  
Arthur Blackburn,  
Nathl. Davis,  
Saml. Evans,  
Wm. Kennedy,  
Andrew McFerran,  
Saml. Hendry,  
John Patterson,  
James Gilmore,  
John Lowrey,  
Wm. Christian,  
Andrew Colvill,  
Robert Craig,  
Joseph Black,  
Jonathan Douglass,  
William Berry,  
John Cusick,  
James Piper,  
James Harrold,  
Samuel Newell,  
David Wilson,  
David Craig,

Robert Gamble,  
Andrew Martin,  
Augustus Webb,  
Samuel Brigg,  
Wesley White,  
James Dorchester,  
James Fulkerson,  
Stephen Jordan,  
Alex. Laughlin,  
James Inglish,  
Richard Moore,  
Thomas Ramsey,  
Saml. Wilson,  
Joseph Vance,  
William Young,  
William Davidson,  
James Young,  
John Sharp,  
John Long,  
Robert Topp,  
John Hunt,  
Thomas Bailey,  
David Gattgood,  
Alexr. Breckenridge,  
George Clark,  
James Molden,  
William Blanton,  
Chrisr. Acklin,  
James Craig,  
Joseph Gamble,  
John McNabb,  
Chrisr. Funkhouser,  
John Funkhouser,  
John Funkhouser, Jr.,

John Sharp,  
John Berry,  
James Montgomery,  
Samuel Huston,  
Henry Cresswell,  
George Adams,  
George Buchanan,  
James Dysart,  
William Miller,  
Andrew Leeper,  
David Snodgrass,  
Danl. McCormick,  
Francis Kincannon,  
Joseph Snodgrass,  
James Thompson,  
Robert Denniston,  
William Edmiston,  
Saml. Edmiston,  
Andrew Kincannon,  
John Kelley,  
John Robinson,  
James Kincannon,  
Margaret Edmiston,  
John Edmiston  
John Boyd,  
Robert Kirkham,  
Martin Pruitt,  
Nicholas Brobston,  
Andrew Miller,  
Alexander McNutt,  
William Pruitt,  
John McCutchen  
James Berry,  
James Trimble,

William Berry,  
Moses Buchanan,  
David Carson,  
Samuel Buchanan,  
William Bates,  
William McMillin,  
John Kennedy,  
Robert Lamb,  
Thos. Rafferty,  
Thomas Baker,  
John Groce,  
Robert Buchanan,

Thomas Evans,  
William Marlor,  
Wm. Edmiston,  
Thos. Edmiston,  
John Beaty,  
David Beaty,  
George Feator,  
Michl. Halyacre,  
Stephen Cawood,  
James Garvill,  
Rob. Buchanan, Jr.,  
Edward Jamison,

Richard Heggons,  
John Lester,  
Hugh Johnson,  
Edward Pharis,  
Joseph Lester,  
Saml. White,  
William Lester,  
William Page,  
Saml. Buchanan, Jr.,  
Thomas Montgomery,  
Samuel Bell,  
John Campbell.

Montcalm, Nov. 29, 1851.

DEAR SIR—I had the pleasure of receiving by the last mail your letter of the 18th inst.—and on further consideration have concluded to comply with your views. I do not know that what I have written will be worthy of notice, and I am not in sufficient health to revise. You must make what you can of it.

Yours most respectfully,

DAVID CAMPBELL.

*The Campbells of Holston.*

JOHN CAMPBELL, the great ancestor of the Campbells of Holston, came from Ireland to America, with a family of five grown sons and several daughters in the year 1726, and first settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. About the year 1730, he removed to what was then Orange, afterwards Augusta County, where he resided until his death; and where his numerous descendants lived for many years. The Campbells above named were the descendants of his oldest son Patrick, and his youngest son David—Patrick had a son Charles, and he a son William, who was the General William Campbell, of the Revolution, and the grand-father of Mrs. Gov. M'Dowell. David, the youngest son of John, married Mary Hamilton, and had a family of thirteen children, seven sons and six daughters, the youngest of whom was eleven years old when the family removed to Holston—John Campbell, the elder, and all his descendants, were raised and educated after the strictest manner in the Presbyterian church, and a large portion of them became members in that church. In 1765, John, the oldest son of David Campbell and Mary Hamilton, in company with Dr. Thomas Walker, explored the western wilderness, and purchased for his father and himself an ancient survey near the head-waters of the Holston, called the Royal Oak—and a few years afterwards the family removed to it. John and Arthur, the two oldest sons, preceded their father, and accompanied by one sister, Margaret, and making improvements. The father and mother then followed, accompanied by their sons James, David, Robert, and Patrick—and daughters Mary who was then married to William Lochart, and Martha, Sarah and Ann, single. In a few years after this removal Margaret, who had been a pioneer with her two oldest brothers, married David Campbell, the pioneer who erected Campbell's station fifteen miles

below Knoxville, Tennessee. James lost his eye-sight with the small-pox, and died at 50 years of age—John, Arthur, David, Robert and Patrick, were active men and rendered some service to their country. John Campbell, the oldest son of David, was born in 1741, and received a good English and mathematical education. He was raised a farmer, inured to hard labor from boyhood, and accustomed to Indian warfare. He came to Holston when twenty-five or six years of age—and shared in nearly all the campaigns against the Indians until the close of the revolution. He was a Lieutenant in Wm. Campbell's company in Col. Christian's regiment against the Shawnees in 1774. He commanded a company, and was second in command in the battle of the Long Island flats, of Holston, in July 1776, where his company sustained the centre charge of the Indian chief Dragon-canoe, made with such boldness that the Indians for a few minutes, were actually intermixed with his men—and where the victory over the Indians was most decisive. He also commanded a company in October of that year, under Col. Wm. Christian against the Cherokee towns, and up to the year 1781, he was in almost constant service. In 1778, he was appointed clerk of Washington County, which office he held until 1824, being forty-six years. His great fondness for farming and a rural life induced him many years before his death to place his office under the charge of a deputy and to remove to a farm. Here for more than thirty years he enjoyed himself in tranquillity, surrounded by his wife and children, and receiving and entertaining educated strangers, or old acquaintances who often called upon him. Such visits were most frequent from young Presbyterian preachers who were then often passing through the country. I recollect two, John and James Bowman, from North Carolina, of whom he was very fond as worthy good men and agreeable companions. They often called on him. He died in December, 1825, in the 85th year of his age. Arthur, the next brother, was a talented and distinguished man; and a very good sketch of him may be found in How's History and Antiquities of Virginia, under the head of Washington County. In the sketch there are one or two small errors. He died in his 69th year—and he came first to Holston with his brother John.

David, the fourth brother of those who came to Holston, was educated for the bar, and practised law a few years in Washington County after it was established. He then married, and removed to what afterwards became the State of Tennessee—was first Federal Judge in the Territory, and when the State was formed he was made one of the Judges of their Supreme Court, and held the office for many years. A year or two before his death, which took place in 1812, he was appointed Federal Judge in the Territory, which afterwards formed the State of Alabama, but died of fever, before he removed his family to the country, in the 62d year of his age.

Robert, the next brother, came to Holston in 1771—when nineteen years of age, he made his first military campaign, as a volun-

teer against the Shawanee Indians in 1774, as is supposed, in the company of Capt. Wm. Campbell. In the summer of 1776, he again volunteered, joined Capt. John Campbell's company, and acted with distinguished bravery and presence of mind in the battle of the Island Flats. He was also in Christian's campaign in October, 1776—and in 1780, he was an ensign under Col. Campbell at the battle of King's Mountain, and distinguished himself in that battle. In December of the same year, he performed another campaign against the Cherokee Indians, under Col. Arthur Campbell. His education was not equal to that of his older brothers, nor was his capacity—but he was a brave, active, and patriotic whig, and a man of much energy through life. He acted as a magistrate in Washington County for upwards of thirty years, and until he removed to the vicinity of Knoxville, Tennessee, where he died in 1831, in the 77th year of his age.

Patrick, the youngest brother, performed less military service than the others, and had less capacity. He was a volunteer in the battle of King's Mountain, and performed his duty well. He remained with his father on the farm and inherited it after his death—married—had a large family of children—and in his old age removed to Williamson County, Tennessee, where he died in about the 80th year of his age. He was a good man through life, with indolent habits and very little energy of character.

Such is a brief sketch of the five brothers, sons of David Campbell, and grand-sons of John Campbell, who emigrated from Ireland.

I have named General Wm. Campbell. His father, Charles Campbell, died in Augusta County—and he removed to Holston with his mother and sisters. The oldest, Elizabeth, married John Taylor, from whom Judge Allen Taylor, of Botetourt, and the Taylors of Montgomery County, descended. The second daughter, Jane, married Thomas Tate. The third daughter, Margaret, married Colonel Arthur Campbell—and the youngest, Ann, married Richard Poston. All had families—and are very respectable.

I intended, before closing the sketch of David Campbell's family, to have spoken more particularly of his two daughters, Margaret and Ann—as they were both remarkable women, and were both most exemplary Christians and members of the Presbyterian church through life.

Margaret, when a girl of eighteen, accompanied, as I have before stated, her brothers John and Arthur to Holston, and managed their household affairs for two or three years without a murmur, and without, in that time, seeing a single female friend. In two or three years after the removal of her father and mother, she married David Campbell, and in 1781, removed to the country, afterwards forming the State of Tennessee, and in 1784, to the place where her enterprising husband erected first a block-house, and afterwards Campbell's Station. She was a most intelligent, mild, and placid woman; always thoughtful, and always calm and prepared for every emergency. So conspicuous were these traits in her cha-

racter, whenever any difficulty occurred, or any alarm took place, she was first looked to and consulted, not only by the women in the block-house and Station, but even by the men.

To show this trait, I will relate one instance. On one occasion, when the frontier was quiet and the men had left the block-house, her husband and a hired man were in the field ploughing among the corn, the Indians fired upon them, but doing no damage, they unloosed their horses and made their way to the house. She heard the guns, and suspecting it was from the Indians, collected her little flock of children around her in the house—chained the door—took down a rifle well loaded, and taking her seat calmly awaited the event, expecting every moment to hear the Indians approaching, or the men from the field, if not killed or wounded. In this situation she remained until they arrived. As soon as night came on, they saddled horses, took up the family, and quietly retreated to White's Fort, fifteen miles into the settlements.

This excellent lady died, with cancer in the breast, in 1799, at the age of fifty-one, universally beloved and regretted, and lies buried in the Presbyterian Church burying ground near Campbell's Station. What I have written is communicated by Mrs. Campbell, her youngest daughter, and who was one of the children in the block-house.

Ann the youngest daughter married Archibald Roane, a young lawyer who came from Pennsylvania, and commenced the practice of his profession in the territory afterwards Tennessee. He was, I always understood, a descendant of the Rev. Mr. Roane of Lancaster County, who taught in the Neshaminy Academy after Tenant left it. He first came to Liberty Hall in Rockbridge, I think, and then went to Tennessee. He was a man of fine talents and most exemplary in every respect, and was one of the first Judges elected to the Supreme Court, after the State was formed. In 1801 he was elected Governor of the State—served one term of two years, and was again made a judge, which office he held until his death in 1814. His widow soon after followed to the grave four as promising children as were ever raised in any country, two sons and two daughters—all grown and carried off with consumption—all this she bore with humble Christian fortitude, and ended her own life in the house of her eldest son Dr. James Roane at Nashville, in 1831, in the 71st year of her age.

The other branches of the family of John Campbell the ancestor, removed from Augusta County, very early in the settlement of the western country—some to Kentucky and some to West Tennessee. Patrick, a younger brother of Charles, and uncle of Gen. William Campbell, went to the south of Kentucky, and has left numerous and most respectable descendants.

I will enclose you, in a few days, an account of the battle of King's Mountain, prepared from the official report of Cols. Campbell, Shelby and Cleveland, and from the testimony of eye-witnesses. A silly jealousy on the part of some of the officers who partook in



that victory and of their friends, has induced a perversion of some of the facts, so that the public has never yet seen an entirely correct account. You must accept the foregoing, my health not permitting me to labor very much.

Yours most respectfully,

DAVID CAMPBELL.

*Rev. Charles Cummings.*

Until his residence in Lancaster County, Virginia, little is known of the early life of the Rev. Charles Cummings, the first minister of the gospel on the Holston. An Irishman by birth, he in early manhood emigrated to America. Whether his classical education was completed before, or after, he left Ireland is uncertain; the time of his emigration is equally unknown. He resided for a length of time in the congregation of the noted James Waddell, D. D., in Lancaster County, Virginia. The Carters, Gordons and others in that congregation were in the habit of employing, as teachers, young gentlemen, of classical education, from the mother country. A number of these became ministers in the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Cummings appeared before Hanover Presbytery at the Stone Meeting House in Augusta, May 3d, 1765. The records say, "the Presbytery intend to encourage Mr. Cummings and appoint him a discourse on the words — Be not desirous of vain glory — to be delivered at discretion; and that he stand extempore trials." This "discretion" was granted probably on account of the distance he must travel to meet the Presbytery. In November 1765, he met the Presbytery at Providence, Louisa County. On the 7th, the records say, at the house of Mr. Todd, Mr. Charles Cummings delivered a discourse from Galatians 5. 26, according to appointment, and an exegesis on this question — Num justificamus sola fide — which the Presbytery sustains as part of trials: And having examined him on his religious experience, in the Latin and Greek languages, Rhetoric, Logic, Geography, Philosophy, and Astronomy, they sustain his answers to the several questions proposed on these subjects, and appoint him a sermon on Rom. 7th, 9th, and a Lecture on the 23d Psalm, 1st — 4th, to be delivered at our next, as popular trials." Mr. Samuel Leak at the same time underwent similar examinations and had similar popular trials assigned him.

At Tinkling Spring meeting house, April 17th, 1766, Mr. Cummings delivered a sermon on Rom. 7. 9, and Mr. Leak one on Acts 13. 26, according to appointment, which were sustained as parts of trial. Mr. Leak also delivered a lecture on John 3. 1—8, and Mr. Cummings one on Psa. 23. 1—5, which were also sustained. These two candidates were examined on some points in divinity; and gave satisfactory answers to the questions proposed therein. On the next day the candidates were licensed, and directed, "to spend their time till our next, in the vacancies in Augusta, Albemarle and Amherst." At Cub Creek Oct. 15th, 1766, three calls were put in for Mr. Cummings. One from Forks of James, now

Lexington and Monmouth, one from D. S. in Albemarle, and one from Major Brown's meeting house in Augusta. This last he accepted; "and Messrs. Black, Craig, Brown and Rice, with as many other members as can attend, are appointed a Presbytery to meet at Major Brown's meeting house, the first Wednesday of March next, to receive the trials of Mr. Cummings—viz. a sermon "on Rom. 10. 4, and a lecture on the 3d Epistle of John throughout, as preparatory to ordination; and if they see fit, to ordain and instal him; at which Mr. Craig is appointed to preside." The ordination did not take place, only one of the committee named, Mr. Black, attending at the appointed time and place. By order of Presbytery, the ordination took place on May 14th, 1767, the Rev. Messrs. Sankey, Craig, Brown and Rice, with Elders George Moffat, Alexander Walker and John M'Farland being present, Mr. Craig presiding. In April 1772, he applied for a dismissal from that Church, on account of its inability to support him. "Both parties avowing that as the only reason for dissolution of the relations." The Presbytery granted the request, and then recommended to Mr. Cummings to take a tour through the vacancies, and commended him to the brethren of Orange Presbytery, should he travel in their bounds. He also was recommended by the Presbytery at its fall session, Oct. 1772, at D. S., to supply eight Sabbaths on Green Briar and in Tygart's Valley. At Brown's meeting house June 2d 1773, a call was presented to Presbytery by Samuel Edmonson, a candidate, from the congregations of Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring on Holston, for the services of Mr. Cummings, which he accepted. There is no word made of any installation services being appointed or performed. The call was prepared to be presented at the sessions of Presbytery held at Tinkling Spring, in the preceding April, but the presentation was delayed until the intermediate meeting in June.

While residing in the Northern Neck, he was united in marriage with Miss Milly Carter, daughter of John Carter of Lancaster County. Being in the congregation of Dr. Waddell, it is probable that he pursued his theological studies under his care. In his early ministry he became possessed of a valuable library; and appears to have been devoted to his work as a minister of the gospel. His call from the Holston, was signed by one hundred and twenty heads of families, all respectable men, many of whom afterwards became distinguished; a fact as remarkable as true.

The following sketch is from the pen of the ex-Governor of Virginia, David Campbell. Having accepted the call, he removed with his family, purchased land in the neighborhood of where Abingdon now stands, and settled upon it. His first meeting house at Sinking Spring, was a very large cabin of unhewn logs, from eighty to a hundred feet long, by about forty wide; and it stood about the middle of the present grave yard. It was there for some years after the second meeting house was built, and had a very remarkable appearance. Mr. Cummings was of middle stature, about five

feet ten inches high, well set and formed, possessing great personal firmness and dignity of character. His voice was strong and had great compass; his articulation was clear and distinct. Without apparent effort he could speak to be heard by ten thousand people. His mind was good without any brilliancy. He understood his own system well; spoke always with great gravity, and required it from all who sat under the sound of his voice. He could not tolerate any movement among the congregation after preaching commenced. He uniformly spoke like one having authority, and laid down the law and the gospel with great distinctness as he understood them. When he came to Holston, he was about forty years of age.

At this time the Indians were very troublesome, and continued to be so for several years; and generally during the summer months, the families for safety were obliged to collect together in forts. The one to which he always carried his family was on the land of Capt. Joseph Black, and stood on the first knoll on the Knob road, south of Abington, and on the spot where David Campbell's gate stands. In the month of July, 1776, when his family were in the fort, and he with a servant and wagon and three neighbors were going to his farm, the party were attacked by Indians, a few hundred yards from the meeting-house. Creswell, who was driving the wagon, was killed at the first fire of the Indians, and during the skirmish the two other neighbors were wounded. Mr. Cummings and his servant-man Job, both of whom were well armed, drove the Indians from their ambush, and with the aid of some men from the fort, who hearing the fire, came to their relief, brought in the dead and wounded. A statement has been published in a respectable historical work, that on this occasion Mr. Cummings lost his wig. I speak from the information of an eye-witness when Mr. Cummings came into the fort, in saying that the story has no truth in it.

From the time Mr. Cummings commenced preaching at Sinking Spring, up to about the year 1776, the men never went to church without being armed, and taking their families with them. On Sabbath morning, during this period, it was Mr. Cummings' custom, for he was always a very neat man in his dress, to dress himself, then put on his shot-pouch, shoulder his rifle, mount his dun stallion, and ride off to church. There he met his gallant and intelligent congregation, each man with his rifle in his hand. When seated in the meeting-house, they presented altogether a most solemn and singular spectacle. Mr. Cummings' uniform habit, before entering the house, was to take a short walk alone whilst the congregation were seating themselves; he would then return, at the door hold a few words of conversation with some one of the elders of the church, then would walk gravely through this crowd, mount the steps of the pulpit, deposit his rifle in a corner near him, lay off his shot-pouch, and commence the solemn worship of the day. He would preach two sermons, having a short interval between them, and go home. The congregation was very large, and preaching was always well attended. On sacramental occasions, which were generally about twice a year,

the table was spread in the grove near the church. He preached for many years, and until far advanced in life, to one of the largest, most respectable, and most intelligent congregations ever assembled in Western Virginia. His congregation at Ebbing Spring was equally respectable and intelligent, but not so large. It included the families at the Royal Oak, and for twenty miles in that direction. The meeting-house was built in the same manner as that at Sinking Spring, but not so large.

Mr. Cummings was a zealous whig, and contributed much to kindle the patriotic fire which blazed forth so brilliantly among the people of Holston in the war of the Revolution. He was the first named on the list of the Committee of Safety for Fincastle County. And after the formation of Washington County, 1776, he was chairman of the Committee of Safety for that County, and took an active part in all its measures. Mr. Cummings died in March, 1812, in about the eightieth year of his age, leaving many and most respectable descendants. He was a sincere and exemplary Christian, and a John Knox in his energy and zeal in support of his own church. He never lost sight of his object, and always marched directly up to it with a full front. He performed a great deal of missionary labor through an extensive district of country, beyond his own large field. The fruits still remain. He was a Presbyterian of the old stamp, rigid in his Calvinistic and Presbyterian faith, strict in the observance of the Sabbath, and faithful in teaching his children and servants the Catechism. In the expedition against the Cherokees, in 1776, Mr. Cummings accompanied the forces from the Holston, and preached at the different stations now included in the State of Tennessee; and in this way he was the first minister of the gospel in that State.

Mr. Cummings had some trouble on the subject of Psalmody. That fruitful subject of debate, which should be sung in public worship, the version of Rouse or of Watts, interested his people; and caused the first and only disturbance in his large charge. He was in favor of using Watts. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Hanover, in Bedford County, October, 1781, a complaint from some members of both congregations of his charge, Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring, came under consideration. It was resolved that the malcontents on that subject be dismissed from his pastoral care, when all arrearages were paid up. And as different congregations were in trouble on this subject, Presbytery—"Recommend to all their members that much care be taken to preserve the peace and harmony of particular churches, in their attempts of this nature (introducing Watts' version); and especially that they take particular pains to inform the minds of the people as fully as possible upon the subject, and that they gain the approbation of the elders, and of the people of the particular church where such Psalmody is desirable, before it be prosecuted to a decided practice. Still, however, reserving to each member the right of conscience in particular cases as prudence shall direct." The uneasiness in his charge not

being settled by this act of Presbytery, Mr. Cummings asked the next year, at Timber Ridge, May 28d, to be released from the pastoral charge of the two congregations. As a peace measure, it was granted. Mr. Adam Rankin, licensed in the fall of 1782, visited the Holston, and became the earnest defender of the exclusive use of Rouse's version in the worship of the sanctuary. In a few years he became the leader of a schism of the church on the subject of Psalmody. The history of that schism occupies many pages in Davidson's History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky. In a little time the controversy died away on the Holston; and Mr. Cummings continued to preach the gospel with spirit while his strength lasted. In the congregation on the Holston, both versions were used by compromise. In May, 1784, in reply to the petition from some members of the Sinking Spring and the Knobs congregation—Presbytery "give it as their opinion, that there will be no danger in attending upon the word preached by Mr. Cummings, or any other regular member of our Presbytery; and recommend it to them to lay aside prejudice and party spirit, so that they may hear him, and other supplies that may be sent them to their spiritual advantage." In many congregations in Virginia, the singing was performed on the Sabbath, and other public occasions, from both versions, by agreement; the Psalms and Hymns for a certain part of the day were from Rouse, and the other part from Watts.

At Falls Meeting House, May 22d, 1783, this minute was made: "The western members of this Presbytery requested our concurrence in soliciting Synod to constitute them into a distinct Presbytery, it being so exceedingly inconvenient for them to attend Presbytery at such a distance. Presbytery concur accordingly, provided they can procure another member. At the same meeting of Presbytery, on May 21st, Mr. David Rice was dismissed from his congregation in Bedford County, and accepted a call from Kentucky. In May, 1785, a request was made to Synod by Messrs. Hezekiah Balch, Charles Cummings and Samuel Doak, that a Presbytery to be called Abingdon, be formed, embracing the territories of the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky. By act of Synod this was formed. In the arrangement of Synods and Presbyteries to constitute a General Assembly, the Presbytery of Abingdon was divided to form two Presbyteries—Messrs. Cummings, Balch, Casson, Doak and Houston to be the Presbytery of Abingdon, and be a constituent part of Synod of the Carolinas; and Messrs. Rice, Craighead, Rankin, McClure and Crawford to be the Presbytery of Transylvania, and form part of the Synod of Virginia. By this arrangement Mr. Cummings ceased to be connected with a Virginia Presbytery, and continued a member of Synod of Carolinas until the year 1802, when the Presbytery was transferred to the Synod of Virginia, having parted with the greater portion of her original area to form other Presbyteries.

Montcalm, Dec. 1, 1851.

DEAR SIR—I concluded this morning to copy for you an account of the battle of King's Mountain, but before commencing took down your volume of Sketches of North Carolina, and read over Gen. Graham's account of it—and I confess I have read it with a good deal of surprise. There are one or two small errors in the general account, but it is substantially correct. But when the troops are about to go into action, the Washington regiment from Virginia is lost sight of, and although it is admitted in the account that Col. William Campbell was selected to command in chief, he is lost sight of too, and Col. Shelby is made the conspicuous commanding officer. Even he and Sevier are made to receive the surrender. Now, as to this last point, I can state to you that Col. David Campbell, of Campbell's Station, Tennessee, a man whose character for truth and integrity stands as high as any man who was in the battle, furnished a statement in his life-time of what he was an eye-witness—and in that statement he declares that he was within a few steps of the British officer, Capt. De Poisture, when he surrendered, and that the surrender was made to Col. Campbell. This would not be a very material matter, in the confusion of a surrender, were it not that there has been an effort on the part of Governor Shelby and his friends to depreciate the conduct of Col. Campbell in that battle, and to enhance his own.

This is a piece of history with which I have made myself long since well acquainted, but I am not willing to engage in any particular investigation about it. I will, however, send you a copy of the official report of the action, made and signed by William Campbell, Isaac Shelby and Benjamin Cleveland, in which you will see it stated that Campbell's regiment, as well as Shelby's, began the attack—and the truth is, these two regiments began it, because, from their positions, they were nearest the enemy.

*A statement of the proceedings of the western army, from the 25th day of September, 1780, to the reduction of Major Ferguson and the army under his command.* On receiving intelligence that Major Ferguson had advanced up as high as Gilberttown, in Rutherford County, and threatened to cross the mountains to the western waters, Col. Campbell, with 400 men from Washington County of Virginia, Col. Isaac Shelby, with 240 men from Sullivan County, North Carolina, and Lieut. Col. John Sevier, with 240 men from Washington County, North Carolina, assembled at Watanga, on the 25th of September, where they were joined by Col. Charles McDowell, with 160 men from the counties of Burke and Rutherford, who had fled before the enemy to the western waters. We began our march on the 26th, and on the 30th we were joined by Col. Cleveland on the Catawba river, with 350 men from the counties of Wilkes and Surry. No one officer having properly a right to command in chief, on the first day of October we despatched an express to Major General Gates, informing him of our situation, and requested him to send a general officer to take the command of the whole. In the meantime

Col. Campbell was chosen to act as commandant till such general officer should arrive. We marched to the Cowpens, on Broad river, in South Carolina, where we were joined by Col. James Williams, with 400 men, on the evening of the 6th of October, who informed us that the enemy lay encamped somewhere near the Cherokee ford of Broad river, about 30 miles distant from us. By a council of the principal officers, it was then thought advisable to pursue the enemy that night with 900 of the best horsemen, and leave the weak horse and foot-men to follow as fast as possible. We began our march with 900 of the best horsemen about 8 o'clock the same evening, and marching all night, came up with the enemy about 3 o'clock, P. M., of the 7th, who lay encamped on the top of King's Mountain, twelve miles north of the Cherokee ford, in the confidence that they would not be forced from so advantageous a post. Previous to the attack, on the march, the following disposition was made: Col. Shelby's regiment formed a column in the centre on the left; Col. Campbell's regiment another on the right; part of Col. Cleveland's regiment, headed in front by Major Winston, and Col. Sevier's regiment formed a large column on the right wing; the other part of Col. Cleveland's regiment, headed by Col. Cleveland himself, and Col. Williams' regiment, composed the left wing. In this order we advanced, and got within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before we were discovered. *Col. Shelby's and Col. Campbell's regiments began the attack, and kept up a fire while the right and left wings were advancing to surround them*, which was done in about five minutes; the greatest part of which time a heavy and incessant fire was kept up on both sides; our men in some parts, where the regulars fought, were obliged to give way a small distance, two or three times, but rallied, and returned with additional ardor to the attack. The troops upon the right having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge to where Col. Cleveland commanded, and were there stopped by his brave men. A flag was immediately hoisted by Captain De Poisture, their commanding officer, (Major Ferguson having been killed a little before,) for a surrender. Our fire immediately ceased, and the enemy laid down their arms, the greatest part of them charged, and surrendered themselves to us prisoners at discretion.

It appeared from their own provision returns for that day, found in their camp, that their whole force consisted of 1125 men, out of which they sustained the following loss: Of the regulars, one major, one captain, two sergeants, and fifteen privates killed; thirty-five privates wounded, left on the ground not able to march. Two captains, four lieutenants, three ensigns, one surgeon, five sergeants, three corporals, one drummer and 49 privates taken prisoners. Loss of the Tories: two colonels, three captains and 201 privates killed; one major and 127 privates wounded, and left on the ground, not able to march; one colonel, 12 captains, 11 lieutenants, two ensigns, one quartermaster, one adjutant, two commissaries, 18 sergeants and

600 privates taken prisoners. Total loss of the enemy, 1105 men,  
at King's Mountain. Given under our hands at Camp.

Signed

WM. CAMPBELL,  
ISAAC SHELBY,  
BENJ. CLEVELAND.

The despatch, a copy of which I here send you, can be found in the Virginia Gazette of the 18th of Nov., 1780. The copy I send was taken from an original, sent to Col. Arthur Campbell, as county Lieutenant of Washington County.—See 1st vol. Marshall's Life of Washington, p. 397.

If I can think of any other facts worth communicating to you, and which relate to the first settlement of this part of Virginia, you shall have them—and I shall be greatly obliged by hearing from you as you progress with your work. Your Sketches of North Carolina have greatly interested me—and all you may say about Parson Graham and Liberty Hall must be interesting. When a boy, I often saw at my father's, John Campbell's, such young preachers as Allen, who died in Kentucky—Freeman, Blythe and others—all very interesting men. But they have all gone, I believe. I was married by the second husband of Allen's widow—and knew her intimately. She was a most interesting woman—and Mr. Ramsey was the pastor of the congregation around Campbell's station, and the intimate friend of Col. Campbell's and Judge Roane's families. He preached the funeral service at the burial of Mrs. Margaret Campbell. I believe he died before Judge Roane.

Most respectfully your obt. servt.,

DAVID CAMPBELL.

I will omit the account of the battle of King's Mountain which I had intended sending you. The official account is sufficient. There is, however, one fact which I ought to state in justice to the Virginia regiment, and which shows the part they took in the battle. Col. Newell, in a letter in 1823, informs me that of our men in that battle 30 were killed and 60 wounded. He was badly wounded himself—but fought through the action by procuring a horse, although a lieutenant, and commanding and encouraging his men until the surrender. Of those killed, 13 were from the Washington Virginia regiment, and here are their names:—Captains Andrew Edmondson and William Edmondson; Lieutenants Reece Brown, William Blackburn, Thomas McCulloch and Robert Edmondson—and Ensigns John Beatie, James Corry, James Laird, Nathaniel Dryden, James Phillips and Nathaniel Guist—and private Henry Henigar. The names of the wounded are not known, but Col. Newell says there were twenty, so that Col. Campbell's regiment lost in killed nearly one half, and in wounded one-third of the whole.



COLONEL PATRICK FERGUSON  
OF THE  
BRITISH ARMY.

One of the heroes of King's Mountain, and a victim of the battle upon its summit, was Col. Ferguson, of the British army. Fighting bravely and coolly, though wounded, he fell by a gunshot from the American militia, pressing on with unexcelled courage to ascend the mountains and surround the British and tory foes on the top. It is hardly possible, that, unharmed by powder and ball, he could have escaped a surrender in a few minutes, as flight was impracticable, and victory scarcely in the bounds of possibility, even for the brave, and enterprising, and skilful Colonel. In the immediate relief felt, in the upper counties of the Carolinas, by his fall, and in the important consequences connected with his defeat, the rejoicing was so great and universal, that history has seemed to forget, or at least overlook his real worth, in filling up its pages. He fell fighting as bravely for his king as Wolfe on the plains of Abraham. The events following in both cases were immeasurable; and from first to last equally beyond human skill, or the events of chance or weakness. The fall of Montcalm and Wolfe was the beginning of the loss of America to France; and the death of Ferguson, with Williams and Chronicle, the beginning of the loss of the Southern States to the Royal army, and of the whole United States to Great Britain. King's Mountain, the field of the militia of the Carolinas and Virginia, followed in succession by the Cowpens, the theatre of the gallant Morgan with his regulars and militia, and Guilford, the chosen battle-field of Greene with Cornwallis, accumulated an amount of loss upon the Royal army, and infused a power of enthusiasm into the breasts of the hitherto discouraged patriots; the tide of war was changed, and the current of events rushed on to the surrender of the British army at Yorktown. He must have been no ordinary man, whose loss on an expedition through the western counties could, as the British writers say, change the whole course of Lord Cornwallis in his proceedings against the Carolinas. The following facts collected by the "Senior Member of the Abingdon Literary Club," present Col. Ferguson in a more favorable light as a man and an officer, than the traditions of border war, and tory and patriotic encounters have hitherto thrown around him. He was something more noble than the maraudings connected with his expeditions have portrayed him to the southern people.

Patrick Ferguson was a Scotchman. His father, James Ferguson of Pitfane, was a Judge of eminence. His uncle, Patrick Murray, a nobleman, held a high rank for his literary accomplishments. The nephew was esteemed of—"equally vigorous and brilliant powers." He sought distinction in the army, and at eighteen was a subaltern in the German wars, distinguished for his cool and deliberate courage. When the troubles with America assumed a warlike

aspect, young Ferguson turned his attention to the construction of a rifle that might, by its use in the British army, remove somewhat of the dread the reports of the skill of the American riflemen cast upon the spirits of the soldiery. He produced a rifle that might be loaded six times in a minute, by an ingenious contrivance to thrust in the charges of powder and ball, at the breech of the barrel, without changing the position of the rifle or the marksman. Lord Townsend, Master of Ordinance, expressed his approbation of this improved instrument of war. The regiment to which Ferguson belonged not being called to active service in the colonies, he sought an introduction to the Commander-in-chief, and from him received an appointment to discipline a corps, drafted from different regiments, to the use of his rifle. This corps was first engaged in action at the battle of Brandywine in Sept. 1777; and the service, rendered by it to the forces under General Knyphausen, received the commendation of the Commander-in-chief, and by his order was publicly attested, and acknowledged by the whole army—"having scoured the ground so effectually, that not a shot was fired by the Americans to annoy that column in its march." Secured by this corps, Knyphausen advanced and obliged the Americans to cross the river—"and opened the way to the rest of the army."

"Ferguson"—says a British writer—"in a private letter of which Dr. Adam Ferguson transmitted me a copy, mentions a very curious incident, from which, it appears that the life of the American General was in imminent danger." While Ferguson lay with a part of his riflemen on a skirt of wood in front of General Knyphausen's division, the circumstance happened of which the letter in question gives the following account:—

"We had not lain long, when a rebel officer, remarkable by a hussar dress, passed towards our army, within a hundred yards of my right flank, not perceiving us. He was followed by another, dressed in dark green and blue, mounted on a good bay horse, with a remarkable high cocked hat. I ordered three good shots to steal near to them, and fire at them; but the idea disgusted me. I recalled the order. The hussar, in returning, made a circuit, but the other passed within a hundred yards of us; upon which I advanced from the woods towards him. Upon my calling he stopped, but after looking at me, proceeded. I again drew his attention, and made sign to him to stop, levelling my piece at him; but he slowly continued his way. As I was within that distance, at which in the quickest firing, I could have lodged half a dozen balls *in or about him* before he was out of my reach, I had only to determine; but it was not pleasant to fire at the back of an unoffending individual, who was acquitting himself very coolly of his duty. So I let him alone. The day after, I had been telling this story to some wounded officers, who lay in the same room with me, when one of our surgeons, who had been dressing the wounded rebel officers, came in and told us that they had been informing him that General Washington was all the morning with the light troops, and only

attended by a French officer in a hussar dress, he himself dressed and mounted in every point as above described. *I am not sorry that I did not know at the time who it was.*"

In the year 1779, Colonel Ferguson was employed in several expeditions which called forth a great degree of British valor and ability, but were unimportant in their results. He was engaged in the incursions upon the North, or Hudson's River. He was in the expedition to Charleston, South Carolina, and is mentioned with great praise by Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief of the British army. After the reduction of Charleston, in 1780, the writer, quoted by the senior member, goes on to say—"When Lord Cornwallis was attempting by justice and mildness to restore harmony between the provinces and the mother country, he called for the assistance of Ferguson. To the valor, enterprise, and inventions, which are so important in war, Ferguson was known to add the benignant disposition and conciliatory manner which generate good-will and cement friendship in situations of peace. Among the propositions of Cornwallis for the security of the recovered colony, one scheme was to arm the well affected for their own defence. Ferguson, now a Lieutenant-Colonel in America, was entrusted with the charge of marshalling the militia throughout a wide extent of country. Under his direction and conduct, a militia at once numerous and select, was enrolled and disciplined. One of the great tests of clearness and vigor of understanding is ready classification, either of things or men, according to the qualities which they possess, and the purposes they are fitted or intended to answer. Ferguson exercised his genius in devising a summary of the ordinary tactics and manual exercises for the use of the militia. He had them divided in every district into two classes—one of the young men, single and unmarried, who should be ready to join the king's troops to repel any enemy that infested the province; another, of the aged and heads of families, who should be ready to unite in defending their own townships, habitations, and farms. In his progress amongst them, he soon gained their confidence by the attentions he paid to the interests of the well affected, and even by his humanity to the families of those who were in arms against him. We come not, said he, to make war upon women and children; and gave them money to relieve their distresses. The movements of the Americans having compelled Lord Cornwallis to proceed with great caution in his Northern expedition, the genius and efforts of Ferguson were required for protecting and facilitating the march of the army, and a plan of collateral operations was devised for the purpose. In the execution of these schemes he had advanced as far as Ninety-Six, about two hundred miles from Charleston; and with his usual vigor and success, was acting against different bodies of the Colonists that still disputed the possession, when intelligence arrived from the British officer, Colonel Brown, commander of his Majesty's forces in upper Georgia, that a corps of rebels, under Colonel Clarke, had made an attempt upon Augusta, and being repulsed was retreat-

ing by the back settlements of Carolina. Colonel Brown added, that he meant to hang on the rear of the enemy, and that if Ferguson would cut across his route, he might be intercepted, and his party dispersed. This service seemed to be perfectly consistent with the purposes of his expedition, and did not give time to wait for fresh orders from Lord Cornwallis. Ferguson yielded to his usual ardor, and pushed with his detachment, composed of a few regulars and militia, into Tyson County.

"In the meantime numerous bodies of back settlers, west of the Allegheny Mountains, were in arms, some of them intending to seize upon the presents intended for the Creek and Cherokee Indians, which they understood were slightly guarded at Augusta, Georgia. Others had assembled upon the alarm of enemies likely to visit them from South Carolina. These meeting with Colonel Clarke secured his retreat, and made it expedient for Brown to desist from the pursuit, and return to his station at Augusta; while Ferguson, having no intelligence of Brown's retreat, still continued the march which was undertaken at his request. As he was continuing his route, a numerous, fierce, and unexpected enemy suddenly sprang up in the woods and wilds. The inhabitants of the Allegheny assembled without noise or warning, under the conduct of six or seven of their militia colonels, to the number of 1600 daring, well-mounted and excellent horsemen. Discovering these enemies, as he crossed King's Mountain, Ferguson took the best position for receiving them the ground would permit. But his men, neither covered by horse nor artillery, and likewise being dismayed and astonished at finding themselves so unexpectedly surrounded and attacked on every side by the cavalry of the mountains, were not capable of withstanding the impetuosity of their charge. Already 150 of his soldiers were killed upon the spot, and a greater number was wounded; still however the unconquerable spirit of this gallant officer refused to surrender. He repulsed a succession of attacks from every quarter, until he received a mortal wound. By the fall of Colonel Ferguson, his men were entirely disheartened. Animated by his brave example, they had hitherto preserved their courage under all disadvantages. The second in command judging all further resistance to be vain, offered to surrender, and sued for quarter. From the ability and exertions of Colonel Ferguson, very great advantages had been expected. By his unfortunate fall, and the slaughter, captivity, or dispersion of his whole corps, the plan of the expedition into North Carolina was entirely deranged, the western frontiers of South Carolina were now exposed to the incursions of the mountaineers, and it became necessary for Lord Cornwallis to fall back for their protection, and wait for a reinforcement before he could proceed further on his expedition. On the 14th of October, he began his march to South Carolina. His Lordship was taken ill, but nevertheless preserved his vigor of mind, and arrived on the 29th of October, 1780, at Winnsborough, to wait for fresh reinforcements from Sir Henry Clinton." Such is the British account of this daring

and accomplished officer, whose army was entirely destroyed on the summit of King's Mountain, on the 7th of October, 1780.

Colonel Ferguson was apprised of the gathering of the militia to oppose his progress, and had dispatched a messenger to Cornwallis for reinforcements. But the messenger, fearing the patriots living on his route, travelled only at night, lying by through the day, and compelled to take a circuitous route, reached the camp of his lordship only the night before the attack on Ferguson. The news of the defeat reached the royal camp before any reinforcement could be sent off to aid the Col. His fall was a loss his lordship could not repair. Rawdon and Tarlton were brave and enterprising, and admirable for a daring expedition or a bold stroke. Webster was a gentleman and an honorable soldier of great courage, unequalled in the camp or in action. O'Harra was brave and capable of the post next his lordship. But Ferguson for managing the affairs of the country in the unsettled state of things in the Carolinas, had no equal in the army of Cornwallis. Charleston was taken by the British forces, on the 12th of May, 1780; Buford was defeated on the Waxhaw, on the 29th of the same month; Gates was defeated at Camden, August 16th; Sumpter surprised on the 18th; and South Carolina appeared to be a conquered State. On the 7th of October, Ferguson was defeated on King's Mountain; January 17th, 1781, Morgan gained over Tarlton the battle at the Cowpens; on March 15th, was the battle at Guilford C. H., followed by the retreat of Cornwallis to Wilmington; and the Carolinas were in the course of the summer rescued from the power of the British army.

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## CHAPTER X.

REV. MESSRS. JAMES MITCHEL AND SAMUEL HOUSTON.

At the meetings of the Virginia Synod, for about the first forty years of the nineteenth century, might have been seen a wrinkled, white-haired man of low stature, with head and shoulders large enough for a taller frame; his manners simple, his dress approaching the antique, always neat and becoming; whom all called father Mitchel; and no one could tell when he was not so called. To him the members of Synod were especially kind and attentive and respectful, beyond what age from its own gravity might demand. A stranger might inquire—Is he the accredited head of the Seminary?—a leading Theologian?—a debater?—a principal man in some of the great enterprises of benevolence?—a pleader of the cause of humanity in some interesting department?—no none of these. He pleads a cause, and has pleaded but one all his active life;

pleads it in simplicity and earnestness and with success; pleads it in his daily life, and from the pulpit. That cause is the cause of the Lord Jesus Christ, the message of mercy to sinful man; that he pleads always, and every where, with a warm heart and trumpet voice. Boasting no great stores of learning of any sort, he preached the gospel from the year 1781 in his 34th year, till the year 1841 in his 95th year. All the men that grew old with Rev. Archibald Alexander knew Mr. Mitchel as a man of God, whose congregations had been visited many a time from on high, and to many of them he had been a chosen physician of their souls. He loved his God, and loved his fellow-men, and loved to preach the gospel; and in his "quietness and confidence was his strength." A laborious old man, he accomplished all through life more than his youth, or his abilities, or his acquirements, or physical strength, ever promised. John B. Smith, President of Hampden Sidney, said that Mr. Graham, on his visit, preached the greatest sermon he had ever heard, except one, and that was preached by this powerful and weak, gentle and strong old man, James Mitchel. As pastor of the Church in Bedford he saw rise, within the shadow of the Peaks of Otter, great and good men, before whose intellect and acquirements he bowed in sincerity and respect. Simple-hearted as a child, God chose him to cherish the childhood of gigantic men. A pastor, God chose him to be one of those laborious missionaries that sowed, over south-west Virginia, seed now springing up under other laborers, into churches of the living God. Few men have been more useful, and yet no one act of his life attracted the attention of the Church and the world. A succession of every-day duties of a minister of the gospel filled up his life.

If ever he kept a diary, or a journal, the manuscript has perished, or gone into seclusion beyond the keenness of present research. Long before his death, no one could be found that knew his childhood, and but few recollected his early manhood. His narratives of former days are remembered by many. He trusted his memory as a faithful servant, and she gave forth her treasures at his command. No written memorial from his hand, testifies to those that come after him the faithfulness of God to his soul. His acts remain in their influence, and here and there a tradition, and some sentences in the record of ecclesiastical courts; all else is passed from earth, and remains written in the book of God for the high purposes of another day. The Rev. Jacob D. Mitchell says, under date — "Lynchburg, Nov. 1st 1854: Brother Foote — I am now able to reply to your enquiries concerning the Rev. James Mitchel (he preferred this orthography) and I believe the statements may be relied on as authentic. James Mitchel was born at Pequa, Pennsylvania, Jan. 29th 1747. His father Robert Mitchel, was born in the north of Ireland, but emigrated to America while yet a youth. He is reputed to have been a man of vigorous intellect and devoted piety, well instructed in religion, and a devoted and thorough Presbyterian. His wife, whose maiden name was Mary Enos, was, it seems,

of Welsh extraction. She, like her husband, was an eminently pious Presbyterian. This excellent pair resided in Bedford County, for many years, and were members, the husband being ruling elder, of the Church, of which their son was pastor. They both lived to a good old age. He lived to be 85; of her age I am not informed. They had 13 children, of whom not one died less than 70 years old. The Mitchel family seems to have been remarkable in former times for piety and longevity. Robert Mitchel it seems was converted while yet a boy. The immediate means of his awakening was the fact of overhearing his great-grandmother, at her secret devotions, praying for him. She was then more than 100 years old; she lived to the age of 112." We may add — that this Robert Mitchel, tradition says, was very fond of music, and did much to promote singing in the congregation. He talked much of Derry and the affairs of that noted town, and the sufferings of the Mitchel family in that famous siege. The peculiar dialect of his countrymen was marked in his speech. As an elder he was worthy of double honor.

"The Rev. James Mitchel," the letter resumes, "made a public profession of religion and became a communicant in the Church, in his 17th year, though his mind underwent a saving change considerably earlier. He was licensed to preach the gospel in 1781, (October) for I have often heard him say, that while the Presbytery was in session taking measures for his licensure, a courier came by the Church and made proclamation of the surrender of Cornwallis." His preparations for the ministry were commenced after his youth had passed. About his Christian exercises and desires for the ministry, little is known; one circumstance is remembered. At a sacramental meeting at Cub Creek old meeting house, he was in attendance as a preacher. After a prayer-meeting in the Church, first one and then another was attracted by the voice of earnest prayer, in the woods. The loud tones precluded the idea of secrecy. Father Mitchel was found on his knees, with his arms around the body of a small decaying old persimmon tree dead at the top, the tears rolling down his cheeks. When he arose, a little surprised to find any one near, he remarked, "there, under that tree I found peace in believing in the Lord Jesus; and I can't visit this Church without coming to that tree." It is probable that his experience of the love of Christ, was under the preaching of Mr. Henry, who was at that time the pastor. Of the circumstances of his classical education, little is known; and as little of his studies in preparation for the ministry, except for a time he was tutor in Hampden Sidney College. During the war he made a short tour of military duty. Though a man of courage, the two months' service satisfied him of the undesirableness of camp life, unless under the greatest necessity. At a meeting of the Presbytery at Tinkling Spring, April 27th, 1780, immediately after Mr. John Montgomery had been ordained evangelist to meet the exigencies of the vacancies, Mr. Mitchel was proposed as candidate; and after the usual enquiries, "and having had a specimen of his ability in composition," he was

received for further trials for licensure. An *infantes illorum qui negligunt institutiones Christi vulgo baptizantur* — was given him for an exegesis; and 1st John 4. 13, for a sermon “to be delivered at our next.” At Falling Spring, in October, the sermon met the approbation of the Presbytery; and the exegesis was put over; and a lecture on Heb. 6. 1—9, appointed for the next meeting. The records of “that next meeting” in the spring of 1781, are lost. At Concord, in October 1781, his trial sermons from Colossians 1. 14, delivered at the opening of Presbytery, gave entire satisfaction. His examinations were all sustained, and he together with Samuel Shannon was licensed to preach the gospel. Messrs. Moses Hoge, Adam Rankin, and John M’Cue exhibited parts of trial at the same meeting; all of whom finally entered the ministry; also a day of thanksgiving for the surrender of Cornwallis was appointed.

Mr. Mitchel was advised by Presbytery to take a tour to the Western territories. At New Providence, October 23d, 1782, a supplication, from the united congregations of Concord and Little Fallings, for Mr. Mitchel’s services, was considered; and Messrs. J. B. Smith and David Rice were appointed to inquire into the provision made for Mr. Mitchel’s support; and an appointment for a year was made dependent upon its being satisfactory. “This year,” continues the letter from Rev. J. D. Mitchel, “he was married to Francis, daughter of Rev. David Rice, her mother Mary Rice, originally Mary Blair, was daughter of that distinguished scholar and man of God, the Rev. Samuel Blair, of Fogg’s Manor, the theological teacher of Samuel Davies and John Rodgers. After marriage, Mr. Mitchel removed to Kentucky, where he preached the gospel and supported his family by teaching school.” His stay in Kentucky was short, for in October, 1783, supplications coming up to Presbytery for supplies from the Peaks, in Bedford, from which Mr. Rice had been dismissed, in the spring, to remove to Kentucky, and from Hat Creek and Cub Creek, the Presbytery agreed to send Mr. Mitchel to the latter churches, and appointed a day in the succeeding February for his ordination at Cub Creek. On account of inclement weather, this appointment failed. The Presbytery then fixed upon the 1st Tuesday of August, 1784, and Hampden Sidney as the place for the ordination. On the day appointed, only two members of Presbytery assembled, Messrs. Smith and Irvin; these adjourned to meet the next day at Buffalo, to accommodate Mr. Sankey, who, on account of infirmities, could not go far from home. The services were performed on the 4th of August. Mr. Mitchel continued to preach to the congregations of Cub Creek and Hat Creek about these years. By appointment of Presbytery, he met Messrs. David Rice and Adam Rankin at Cane River, in Kentucky, November, 1785. The object of their meeting was not accomplished. However, a conference of churches was held which led to the formation of Transylvania Presbytery. In March, 1786, the congregation of the Peaks put in a call for Mr. Mitchel; and the Presbytery gave him leave to supply the congregation for the summer, and keep



the call under consideration. In the May succeeding, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in preparation for forming a General Assembly of the Church, divided the Presbytery of Hanover, constituting the Blue Ridge the dividing line. That portion east of the Ridge, retained the name of Hanover; that on the western side was named Lexington. At the first meeting of Hanover as thus constituted, Mr. Mitchel is set down as pastor of the Peaks. By mistake his acceptance of the call is not recorded till April 27th, 1787. There is no record of installation services. In the spring of 1787, Hampden Sidney College conferred on him the degree of A. B. Why so long out of course, is not known. With the congregation covering an indefinite space of country around the Peaks, he passed his long ministerial life. Sometimes he had a colleague, and sometimes he labored alone. Old age, with its weaknesses, at last compelled him to resign the oversight of the people, with whom he yet remained, and labored on according to his strength, till he had passed fifty-five years in their midst. A length of time unparalleled in the history of Virginia churches.

Soon after the removal of Mr. Mitchel to Bedford, that great awakening to the realities of gospel truth commenced in Charlotte, making its first appearance among the Baptists, and in a few years by the agency of Smith, Pattillo, Lacy, and Mitchel, spreading over a large portion of Hanover Presbytery, and a part of Orange in North Carolina. Then, by the aid of additional laborers, that came into the field, fruits of the revival, and Graham from the Liberty Hall Academy, the blessed influences were extended over the greater part of the Valley of the Shenandoah and the mountains; around and beyond the head waters of the James. The young men gathered in from this revival, Alexander, Calhoon, Hill, Grigsby, Marshall, Stewart, Houston, Baxter, and Turner, the Lyles and others fixed the standard of orthodoxy, and the tone of piety in the Synod of Virginia, and throughout much of the West, for generations. The usual sacramental meeting was held at the Peaks, embracing the Friday and Saturday previous to the communion Sabbath, and the Monday preceding—and when necessary the following days—all occupied in acts of worship in connection with the Lord's Supper. Mr. Lacy attended one of those meetings. James Turner, the leader of the Beefsteak Club, came out openly on the Lord's side; and many others followed the example. It was in the congregation of Mr. Mitchel, the protracted meeting was held by Mr. Graham, on his return from Prince Edward, assisted by J. B. Smith and young Legrand, of which Dr. Alexander speaks—when he says he had some private conversation with the pastor, which was of great importance to him. And from that meeting the young company went home rejoicing in the Lord, and singing praises in the mountains, carrying along with them, in the mercy of God, a happy influence to Rockbridge. It was in this congregation, the meeting was held by the ministers of different denominations, as related by Lacy, to find out the common bond of Christians, and the common ground

of fellowship. To this congregation Baxter came to be refreshed, when the reviving influences were felt in the beginning of the 19th century. Mr. Mitchel was connected, in the minds of all the active clergymen and laymen of the last quarter of the 18th, and first quarter of the 19th century, with revivals of religion; and considered as skilful in cases of conscience and of Christian experience. In Bedford was held the first meeting of the Commission of the Virginia Synod, April 2d, 1790; an organization blessed with great success in sending effective missionaries to new settlements, and to the Indians on the frontiers. Mr. Mitchell was a member.

As the Baptists were the first agents in the revival in Charlotte, in 1787, and onwards, and were co-laborers there and every where else east of the Ridge, during its whole influence, the manner and subjects of Baptism were, sooner or later, everywhere, discussed. Mr. Mitchel gave many hours of reflection to these subjects, and wrote out his thoughts, and prepared a treatise for the press. The ministers acquainted with its contents pronounced it admirably well fitted for the times. This treatise never saw the light. The author's means were narrow, and Boards of Publication unknown. It cannot now be found. Mr. Mitchel was heard to say about it, that he had revised it and put it into the hands of a friend to read, and to dispose of as he thought best, believing him fully competent to decide, and of pecuniary ability to publish. The name of this friend he did not give. As the workings of the mind of a simple-hearted man, on a subject involving matters of conscience and his communion with God, the production would be interesting at least as a part of his mental and spiritual history.

When past his fiftieth year he suffered from nervous derangement and mental spiritual depression. He was not confined to his house, for he said on his death-bed he had been sick but half a day in his life; but his depression rendered him unhappy. He began to think himself unfit to preach the gospel of Christ. He somewhat reluctantly set out with some young friends to attend the Synod at Winchester. Stopping to spend the night in New Market, Shenandoah County, he was with much urgency prevailed on to preach in the evening, at short notice. He took for his text the words addressed to our sinning father—"Adam, where art thou?" His heads of discourse were—1st. All men had a place like Adam in which they ought to be; 2nd. All men like Adam were found out of their place and where they ought not to be; 3d. All men, unless they took warning, would soon find themselves in a place they would not want to be. As he proceeded he became greatly excited in feeling, and vehement in delivery. The effect was great. He went on his way the next day rejoicing. Many years afterwards, at an ecclesiastical meeting, a gentleman approached Mr. Mitchel with expressions of gladness—"Do you remember preaching in New Market of a night, years ago, on the words—Adam, where art thou?—I do very well replied the old gentleman. Well sir, that sermon found me a poor ungodly sinner, and by the blessing of God effectually aroused me;

I had no peace till I found it in Christ the Lord." The speaker was an elder in the Church and a member of the judicatory. Tradition also says, an old man whose christian name was Adam, an unbeliever, had gone into the meeting. His attention was aroused, and as Mr. Mitchel often cried out, "Adam, where art thou now?" the old man felt as if the strange preacher was after him, hunting him up in all his hiding-places. He was out of his place he knew; and, alas, would soon be in that dreadful fire from which he could not escape. He could not rest till he bowed to the Lord Christ.

Mr. Mitchel was fond of missionary excursions, of weeks and months at a time, in the south-western counties of Virginia. For these he was admirably prepared. Active, cheerful, vehement in his public addresses, and perfectly fearless, he commanded the attention and impressed the hearts of the somewhat scattered population of those mountains. His rides to Presbytery and Synod, and to assist his brethren in communion seasons, were made by him opportunities of preaching the gospel in families and neighborhoods, often greatly blessed to the hearers. He was a preacher always, and every where, endeavoring to do his Master's will to the best of his abilities. His sermons were rich in experience, and often overflowing from the treasury of God. Never dull, in his pulpit services, often lifting up his voice like a trumpet, with most energetic gestures; never assuming, he maintained his self-respect and the respect of others. Strictly orthodox, and equally kind, he was jealous of all innovations in the practices, as well as the doctrines, of the Church; for he believed that modes and forms had much to do with the purity of doctrine. When the members of Hanover Presbytery began to omit the use of tokens at the Lord's table, he was alarmed. He thought the practice of giving to each communicant, a day or two, or the morning, before the Lord's Supper, a printed card, or a small medal, to be delivered to the elders at the table, had a happy effect, as it prevented persons coming to communion without the approbation of the officers of the Church; and also gave the opportunity of speaking to each communicant particularly; and should there be any kind of necessity, of making enquiries or administering counsel, and warning, which, in scattered congregations, is of importance. When he discovered that the leading members of Presbytery were laying them aside as unnecessary and cumbersome, and that the omission was likely to become general, he appeared before his brethren in Synod and administered a grave rebuke with the authority of a father. The Rices, Speece, Baxter, Calhoun, Hill and others, listened with the reverence becoming the place and the old man. To avoid every thing that might wound his feelings in a debate, the subject was put over for consideration, and in the progress of business was not called up in time for discussion before adjournment. No other man could have administered a reproof of equal severity to the Virginia Synod, and have escaped a suitable reply, from the readiness of Calhoun, the humor of Speece, the gravity of Rices and Baxter, and the spirit of Hill.

Mr. Mitchel was the father of thirteen children, two sons and eleven daughters. Of these, one son and four daughters died before him, all giving decided evidence of preparation for the kingdom of heaven. His widow, twenty years his junior, confined by bodily weakness, to her bed — “the most devoted and happiest of Christians,” still lives possessing mental vigor and a retentive memory.

The Rev. J. D. Mitchell, who was with him the last days of his life, thus wrote: — “Few men ever understood more thoroughly than he, the system of doctrine contained in our excellent Confession of Faith and Catechisms, or loved it more cordially, or knew better the evidence by which its varied parts are sustained. While firm and decided in his own views, he was no bigot. The writer has never known a man who gave stronger evidence of love to the Redeemer’s image wherever found. His deep sense of his own depravity, helplessness and guilt as a sinner, his adoring views of the grace, power, faithfulness, and suitableness of the Lord Jesus as a Saviour from sin and condemnation, his simple obedience to whatever he believed God had commanded, his unwavering confidence in his heavenly father, and joyful submission to his will, when prospects seemed darkest, and when his affections were most severe, could escape the attention of none who knew him; and proved beyond all doubt that he was a man who walked with God; and had made extraordinary attainments in meetness to dwell with him in his upper sanctuary. He was dead to the world; for things seen and temporal, it was manifest he cared little or nothing except as connected with things unseen and eternal. It was impossible to be with him five minutes, without being convinced that his affections were set on things above, and his speech eminently fit to minister grace to the hearers. The writer enjoyed the high privilege of being with this eminent servant of God almost the whole of the last three weeks of his earthly pilgrimage. And what he witnessed, it is alike impossible for him ever to forget, or adequately to describe. Though the aged Christian was now in his first sickness, as well as his last, not a word, not a look betrayed any emotion incompatible with entire patience, full contentment, and joyful submission to his heavenly father’s will. When a hope was expressed that he should recover, his reply was, “I am in the hands of God, that is just where I want to be.” Frequently he would speak of his friends who had gone before, especially his children, who had died in the Lord, and express his joyful hope of meeting them in heaven; and his early associates in the ministry, especially Drury Lacy, and Dr. Moses Hoge. One morning a little more than a week before his death, at the close of a conversation on some of the topics already mentioned, he remained silent for some minutes. Then looking around on the members of his family, who were present, he spoke as nearly as can now be remembered — “I do now affectionately commit to my covenant God, my wife, my children, my grand-children, and all connected with me, and all my descendants to the latest generation;”

after which he appeared to resume the exercise of silent prayer in which he was previously engaged. To the last moment of his life, the placid expression of his countenance, and the few words he was able occasionally to utter evinced that his joy was uninterrupted and increasing. One of the last sentences he was heard to speak was — "I want to live just so long, as my living will be for the glory of God, but no longer." On waking from a gentle slumber, on the afternoon of his dying day, his breath grew shorter, his countenance was lighted up with a more joyful expression. In a few moments he calmly folded his arms, closed his eyes and resigned his spirit into the hands of his beloved Lord. Thus went to his rest James Mitchel, on Saturday, Feb. 27th, 1841, aged ninety-four years and one month.

His last sermon was preached at the house of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Margaret Mitchel, on the last Sabbath of December, 1840, from the same text taken by his venerable colleague for his last sermon nearly thirteen years before, Luke's Gospel 2d: 13, 14, And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. Three of his sons-in-law, and one grand-son are Presbyterian ministers.

⊙ *Rev. Samuel Houston.*

Mr. Houston was born on Hay's Creek, in the congregation of New Providence. In his letter to Mr. Morrison, he gives a few pleasant facts respecting his ancestry. His parents' names were John Houston and Sally Todd. His father was for many years an elder in New Providence. In his old age he removed to Tennessee, and died at about fourscore years. While an infant, Mr. Samuel Houston was exceedingly feeble; on more than one occasion he was laid down supposed to be dying. As he increased in years he became vigorous; and through a long life enjoyed almost uninterrupted health. In his manhood he was tall, erect, square shouldered, spare and active; particular in his dress, and dignified in his deportment. After he became a minister, he seemed never to forget that he was a minister of the Lord Jesus, and that all parts of his office were honorable. All duties devolving on him by custom, or by the voice of his brethren, he cheerfully performed to the utmost of his ability. From his deference to those of greater acquirements, or more ample endowments of mind, or more maturity of age, and his inobtrusiveness upon the public, strangers might have concluded that he was a timid man. And when called to act, and his line of duty led him to face opposition, in whatever form it might come, his imperturbability might, by a casual observer, have been considered want of feeling. But his kindness and benevolence in the relations of life demonstrated the depth of feeling in his heart; and his acquaintances knew him to be pure in his principles, warm in his affections, and unflinching in his bravery. A man was sure

of a firm friend, if he could convince Samuel Houston it was his duty to stand by him. His whole appearance and bearing were those of an honest man.

His classical education was completed during the troubles and confusions of the American Revolution, and about the time of the removal of Liberty Hall Academy to the neighborhood of Lexington. In 1781 a call came for militia to assist Greene against Cornwallis. The memorable battle of the Cowpens had been fought, and Morgan, under protection of Greene's retreating army, had escaped with the prisoners to Virginia. Cornwallis had encamped at Hillsborough, and Greene was waiting near the Virginia line for reinforcements to drive his pursuer, Cornwallis, back to South Carolina, or overcome him in battle. Samuel Houston was called to go as a private from the congregation of New Providence, in his 23d year. Arrested in his studies preparatory to the ministry, he went cheerfully, with others, to try the labors and exposures of the camp. After his death there was found among his papers a manuscript of foolscap, folded down to sixteen leaves a sheet, on which were memoranda of his campaign, covering about the one half of a sheet of the large size, then in use. He notices all that appeared to him worthy of special mention, and as remembrancers of all that occurred. No better description of a militia force in its weakness and efficiency has been left us from the experience of the Revolution. The beginning is abrupt; no mention being made of the draft, or the officers in command, or the object of the expedition.

*February 26th, '81.*

*Monday, Feb. 26th.* — We marched from Lexington to Grigsby's, and encamped.

*Tuesday, 27th.* — Marched fifteen miles, and encamped at Purgatory. I saw the cave.

*Wednesday, 28th.* — Marched from Purgatory to Lunies' Creek, twelve miles.

*Thursday, March 1st.* — Marched from Lunies' Creek to a mile beyond Howard's; total seventeen miles. Drew liquor in the morning. I paid fifteen dollars for beer to Mrs. Brackinridge.

*Friday, 2d.* — Marched from near Howard's past Rag Hall, governed by President Slovenly; three or four of our men got drunk in the evening. Our march continued fifteen miles; encamped at Little Otter, Bedford.

*Saturday, 3d.* — Marched from Little Otter to within two miles of New London; nineteen miles.

*Sabbath, 4th.* — Marched two miles beyond New London to Mr. Ward's; in which march we pressed a hog, which was served without scraping. On this day I kept guard No. 16. The day's march was twenty miles.

*Monday, 5th.* — Marched from Major Ward's; crossed Staunton river into Pittsylvania. I was on the fatigue to drive steers, but

happily they had broken out of the pasture. Our march was eight miles, and encamped.

*Tuesday, 5th.* — Marched from Ward's about fourteen miles. We were searched, and Mr. Ward's goods found with James Berry and John Harris, who were whipped. The same were condemned to ten lashes for disobeying the officer of the day on Monday.

*Wednesday, 7th.* — Marched from near Shelton's to Col. Williams' mill, about twelve miles; crossed Bannister, into which James McElroy fell; John Harris deserted, and James Berry was taken and sent to prison.

*Thursday, 8th.* — Marched from Col. Williams' to near three miles from Dan river. Some of the boys set the woods on fire, which the Major put out. Our day's journey nineteen miles.

*Friday, 9th.* — Marched from beyond Dan to the borders of N. C., six miles; we crossed Dan, where Gilmore's wagon had nearly sunk by the chain of the flat breaking. At this river some mean cowards threatened to return. This morning, Lyle, Hays and Lusk went to Gen. Green and returned. The same day deserted at Dan, Geo. Culwell.

*Saturday, 10th.* — Marched from near three miles of Dan to head quarters, which we entered at twelve o'clock at night. In the evening we encamped six miles from H. Q. Soon after we decamped. Thirty miles.

*Sabbath, 11th.* — Lay in camp. In the evening we were ordered to prepare for a march; after we were ordered to stay; after our orders for the future were read out, we cooked two days' provisions.

*Monday, 12th.* — Marched first S. W. to the end of camp, then turned directly back, and stood some hours; at last we left camp at the High Rock, and marched near six miles. Again we turn back about a mile, and encamp near Haw river.

*Tuesday, 13th.* — We paraded several times, and at last fired in platoons and battalions; in doing which one of the North Carolina militia was shot through the head; a bullet glancing from a tree, struck Geo. Moore on the head — of our battalion. In the evening we marched from Haw river about three miles, and encamped.

*Wednesday, 14th.* — Decamped at Reedy Creek, and marched to Guilford Court House, ten miles.

*Thursday, 15th.* — Was rainy in the morning. We often paraded, and about ten o'clock, lying about our fires, we heard our light infantry and cavalry, who were down near the English lines, begin firing with the enemy. Then we immediately fell into our ranks, and our brigades marched out, at which time the firing was ceased. Col. McDowell's battalion of Gen. Stephens' brigade was ordered on the left wing. When we marched near the ground we charged our guns. Presently our brigade major came, ordering to take trees as we pleased. The men run to choose their trees, but with difficulty, many crowding to one, and some far behind others. But we moved by order of our officers, and stood in suspense. Presently

the Augusta men, and some of Col. Campbell's fell in at right angles to us. Our whole line was composed of Stephens' brigade on the left, Lawson's in the centre, and Butler's, of N. C., on the right. Some distance behind were formed the regulars. Col. Washington's light horse were to flank on the right, and Lee on the left. Standing in readiness, we heard the pickets fire; shortly the English fired a cannon, which was answered; and so on alternately, till the small armed troops came nigh; and then close firing began near the centre, but rather towards the right, and soon spread along the line. Our brigade major, Mr. Williams, fled. Presently came two men to us and informed us the British fled. Soon the enemy appeared to us; we fired on their flank, and that brought down many of them; at which time Capt. Tedford was killed. We pursued them about forty poles, to the top of a hill, where they stood, and we retreated from them back to where we formed. Here we repulsed them again; and they a second time made us retreat back to our first ground, where we were deceived by a reinforcement of Hessians, whom we took for our own, and cried to them to see if they were our friends, and shouted Liberty! Liberty! and advanced up till they let off some guns; then we fired sharply on them, and made them retreat a little. But presently the light horse came on us, and not being defended by our own light horse, nor reinforced, —though firing was long ceased in all other parts, we were obliged to run, and many were sore chased, and some cut down. We lost our major and one captain then, the battle lasting two hours and twenty-five minutes. We all scattered, and some of our party and Campbell's and Moffitt's collected together, and with Capt. Moffitt and Major Pope, we marched for headquarters, and marched across till we, about dark, came to the road we marched up from Reedy Creek to Guilford the day before, and crossing the creek we marched near four miles, and our wounded, Lusk, Allison, and in particular Jas. Mather, who was bad cut, were so sick we stopped, and all being almost wearied out, we marched half a mile, and encamped, where, through darkness and rain, and want of provisions we were in distress. Some parched a little corn. We stretched blankets to shelter some of us from the rain. Our retreat was fourteen miles.

*Friday, 16th.* — As soon as day appeared, (being wet) we decamped, and marched through the rain till we arrived at Speedwell furnace, where Green had retreated from Guilfordtown, where the battle was fought, sixteen miles distant; there we met many of our company with great joy, in particular Colonel M'Dowell; where we heard that we lost four pieces of cannon after having retaken them, also the 71st regiment we had captured. After visiting the tents, we eat and hung about in the tents and rain, when frequently we were rejoiced by men coming in we had given out for lost. In the evening we struck tents and encamped on the left, when the orders were read to draw provisions and ammunition, to be in readiness, which order struck a panic on the minds of many. Our march five miles.



*Saturday, 17th.* — On account of the want of some of our blankets, and some other clothing, many proposed returning home, which was talked of in general in M'Dowell's battalion, till at last they agreed, and many went off; a few were remaining when General Lawson came and raged very much; and about ten o'clock all but M'Dowell came off. We marched twelve miles to the old Surry towns on Dan where we encamped.

*Sabbath, 18th.* — Crossed Dan, in our march touched on Smith's River on our left, at which place we received a little bacon and a bushel of meal. A little afterward, many went to a tavern where some got drunk and quarrelled. We marched through the lower end of Henry County, and encamped on the borders of Pittsylvania, which evening I opened the clothes in possession of Jo Weir. That same night Robert Wardlaw burned the butt of his gun. Our march was fifteen miles.

*Monday, 19th.* — Marched into Pittsylvania, and encamped with a Dutchman, where we got some meat. Our mess bought ten quarts of flour and some hoe-cake. The day's journey twenty-two miles. Our sick were lodged in the house, and Dr. Brown took care of them.

*Tuesday, 20th.* — In the morning Dr. Brown and Captain Alexander disputed about the wagons. Near the middle of the day we left the wagons, and took off the great road under the direction of a pilot, whom some fearing he was leading us into a snare, they charged their guns. We crossed Stanton River, and dined, fifteen of us, at Captain Chiles, from which we marched two miles and encamped. In all fifteen miles.

*Wednesday, 21st.* — We paid Murphy one dollar a man, for horses to carry us over Goose Creek. Had breakfast with Mr. Butler, and three pints of brandy. In the evening I was sick; came to Mr. Rountrees, where we lodged. I got a little milk and peach-dumpling, the rest a dinner of meat and so on. I lay in a bed with Jas. Blair, and the rest on the floor. Our day's march was twenty-one miles.

*Thursday, 22d.* — My brother and I hired Mr. Rountrees' horses, and his son came with us to Mr. Lambert's, where, after he received forty-three dollars, he returned. We eat with Mr. Lambert, and paid him ten dollars each. I bought five books from him, and paid him four hundred and twelve dollars and a half. We crossed the mountain, and in the valley saw the wonderful mill without wheels, doors, or floors. In that same valley Jos. Boagle met us with brother's horses, and he with one of them went back for Robert McCormic. We proceeded to Greenlee's, got dinner, and when they came up crossed the river and came to Boagle's, where we lodged. Our day's march was thirty-two miles.

*Friday, 23d.* — Left Boagle's and came to brother William's. Here I conclude my journal of the expedition under Colonel M'Dowell against Cornwallis, the British General in North Carolina. Rock-bridge County, Virginia, in the year 1781, March 23d.

SAMUEL HOUSTON.

Occasionally in speaking of this battle among his friends he related two circumstances respecting himself; one was that on the morning of the battle, he got an opportunity for private prayer in an old tree top, and with unusual freedom committed himself to the wise and protecting providence of God; the other was that in that battle of two hours and twenty minutes, he discharged his rifle fourteen times, that is once in about ten minutes from the time he heard the first fire of the approaching enemy, till his company joined the retreat of Greene. Others in the battle said — that Mr. Houston was the first in his line to answer the command "fire," and that he was quite in advance when he discharged his rifle. It is easy to find the position of the Rockbridge militia in the battle from the diagrams and statements in the life of General Greene. Greene with the regulars were at the Court House; some distance in front, crossing at right angles the great Salisbury road, on which the British forces were advancing, were stationed the Virginia militia; some distance in front, and across the same road lay the North Carolina militia. The Virginia line was in the forest; the Carolina partly in the forest and partly on the skirts of the forest, and partly behind a fence inclosing the open space across which the British force was advancing with extended front. According to orders the Carolina line, when the enemy were very near, gave their fire, which on the left of the British line was deadly, and having repeated it retreated; some remained to give a third fire, and some made such haste in retreat as to bring reproach upon themselves as deficient in bravery, while their neighbors behaved like heroes. The right wing of the Virginia line was soon turned by the British regulars pressing on to the position of Greene, and like the Carolina line gave vivid examples both of timidity and heroic courage; the left wing, in which Houston was, maintained its position till Greene retreated, almost constantly engaged, but not pressed so hard as they might have been by the regulars occupied with the main body of the American army.

The greatest loss of the Rockbridge and Augusta forces, was experienced after they commenced their retreat. Lee's light-horse were not ready to cover them, and their retreat became a flight, exposed to the sabres of the British light-horse. Mr. Samuel Steele, that died an old man, near Waynesborough, in that retreat shot one horseman that followed him. Two others came upon him before he reloaded, and he surrendered himself a prisoner — "Give us your gun." "Oh, no," said he, "I can't think of that." "I say, give us your gun!" "Oh, no, I can't think of that." Bursting into a laugh at his simplicity — "Well, carry it along, then," motioning him to follow in the rear. He went along some distance, when suddenly springing into the thick top of a fallen tree he commenced loading his gun. The horsemen unable to get at him with their swords, put spurs and rode out of reach of his shot. He took advantage of their disappearance, and was soon out of danger. David Steele, of Medway, where Waddell addressed the militia before their march, was cut down in the retreat, and left for dead. The scar of

a deep wound over one of his eyes, was frightful to strangers, through his long life. Judge Stuart, of Staunton, was in the battle, a messmate of Houston, and retained a friendship for him till his death; excelling in talents, he could not, in the opinion of the soldiers, surpass him in the cool facing of danger. Captain James Tate, of Bethel, was killed in the early part of the battle. Captain Andrew Wallace, from near Lexington, was in the regular service, and had always shown himself a brave man. That morning he expressed a mournful presage that he would fall that day. In the course of the action, he sheltered himself behind a tree with some indications of alarm. Being reproached, he immediately left the shelter, and in a moment received his death wound. A brother of his, Captain Adam Wallace, was with Buford at the terrible massacre on the Waxhaw; after killing many of the enemy with his espartoon, he died bravely fighting. A third brother, Captain Hugh Wallace, in the regular army, died in Philadelphia, of small-pox. Major Alexander Stuart, of whom Mr. Houston says — "We lost our Major," — was mounted on a beautiful mare. A shot was fatal to her, on the hasty retreat. As she fell, the Major was seized, and surrendered. His captors plundered him, and left him standing in his cocked-hat, shirt, and shoes. He was unwounded. Cornwallis took him and other prisoners with him in his retreat to Wilmington. For a time Greene greatly harassed Cornwallis in his daily marches. Mr. Stuart said, the prisoners suffered severely, particularly from thirst. So great was the haste of flight, and the unkindness of the guard, that the prisoners were not suffered to intermit their speed even to drink in crossing the runs; those that attempted to drink were warned by the bayonet point to go on. He dipped water with his cocked-hat; and others with their shoes. Archibald Stuart was commissary, but at Guilford he took his musket and entered the ranks as a common soldier. Major Stuart said, that Greene afterwards told him, that there was a turn in the battle in which, if he could have reckoned upon the firm stand of the left wing of Virginia militia, he could have annihilated the army of Cornwallis. He knew they were good for a short fight, but was not prepared to see them stand it out as regulars. The defect of the militia system, was apparent. The second day after the battle — when they must either march further from home in pursuit of Cornwallis — "to offer the British force more cannon and another regiment of recaptured prisoners, on the same terms as on the 15th" — or return home; they all, the very men who called those that flinched at the Dan, "cowards;" all, in face of their Colonel, and the displeasure, "the fury" of the General of Brigade, all marched off home. Some, both of the Carolina and the Virginia militia, fled from the battle-ground on the 15th, and never rested till they reached their homes. Some of the Virginia men that fled thus, in the fear lest they should be called to account for their flight retreated into the western ridges of the Allegheny — and even to old age dreaded the approach of a stranger, as perhaps an officer for

their arrest for desertion. The American Generals soon learned to object to short terms of service, and at the same time had full confidence in the courage of their countrymen.

At a meeting of Hanover Presbytery at the Stone meeting house Augusta County, November 1781, Messrs. Samuel Houston, Andrew M'Clure, Samuel Carrick and Adam Rankin, were on examination received as candidates for the ministry. In May 1782, at Timber Ridge, on the 22nd, Mr. Houston read a lecture on Colossians 3d, from the 1st to the 8th verse; and also a presbyterial discourse on 1 Tim. 1. 5, which were sustained as parts of trial. Messrs. Rankin, Carrick and M'Clure, exhibited parts of their trials for licensure. At this Presbytery Mr. John M'Cue was licensed, and on parts of his examination Messrs. Houston and Rankin were associated. October 22d, 1782 at New Providence, the Presbytery was opened with a sermon by Adam Rankin, from 2 Cor. 5. 14, and Samuel Houston John 17. 3; both candidates for licensure. These were sustained. Messrs. Andrew M'Clure and Samuel Carrick, also produced their pieces of trial. And the four candidates having passed acceptably all their trials, were licensed to preach the gospel. At Hall's meeting house May 20th, 1783, Mr. Houston accepted a call from the Providence congregation in Washington County. The third Wednesday of August was fixed for the ordination; Mr. Houston to preach from Col. 3. 4; the ordination services to be performed by Messrs. Cummings, Balch and Doak, the second to preach the ordination sermon, the third to preside, the first to give the charge. In August 1785, the Presbytery of Abingdon was formed, and Mr. Houston made a constituent part. In May 1786, he took his seat in the Synod as the first in attendance from the Presbytery. In the events of a few succeeding years Mr. Houston in common with his fellow citizens, took an active part. He advocated the formation of a new State to be called Franklin. After some years of commotion, the State of Tennessee was formed and made one of the Union. Unfortunately the Presbyterian ministers were divided in their opinions in the course of the procedure, and suffered, many of them, much uneasiness on a subject the particulars of which it is not necessary to record, except in a history of Tennessee in its settlement and progress. For various reasons Mr. Houston determined to return to Virginia, and on the 24th of October, 1789, he was admitted a member of Lexington Presbytery.

In September 1791, at Augusta Church on the 20th, when A. Alexander opened Presbytery with his trial sermon, he accepted a call from Falling Spring for two-thirds of his time. At this place and High Bridge he performed the duties of a minister of the gospel, faithfully and diligently, till the infirmities of age made it necessary for him to throw the labor on younger men. For many years he taught a classical school with success, mingling firmness and kindness in his discipline. He took great delight in meeting his brethren in the judicatories of the Church. His last attendance on the Virginia Synod was at Lexington, October 1837. Bent with

age, almost blind, his long gray locks falling upon his shoulders, he sedulously attended the sessions and listened to the debates, and finally gave his vote to sustain the action of the Assembly of '37. None that saw him could forget his appearance. Cheerful through life, he was glad when his end came. His works remain. He was one that cherished Washington College in the days of its greatest weakness and depression. When his infirmities came upon him, he resigned his pastoral charges, and employed himself in going out into the highways and hedges.

About two miles from the Natural Bridge, and sixteen from Lexington on the road to Fincastle, is a brick church on a hill, surrounded by a grave-yard. At the western end of the church, is a marble slab inscribed

SACRED  
to the memory  
of the  
REV. SAMUEL HOUSTON,  
who in early life was a soldier of the  
Revolution,  
and for 55 years a faithful minister of the  
LORD JESUS CHRIST.  
He died on the 20th day of January 1839,  
aged 81 years,  
in the mature and blessed hope of a  
glorious resurrection  
and of immortal life, in the kingdom of  
his Father and his God.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### THE CAPTIVITY AND ESCAPE OF MRS. INGLIS IN 1756.

CAPTIVITY by the Shawanees, or their confederates in Ohio, was not a singular event in the progress of civilization in the Valley and mountains of West Virginia. Commencing in murder, plunder, and the burning of habitations, it was a continued series of exposures, privations and dangers, ending in adoption, ransom, or escape. Sometimes the captive remained cheerfully, to share the joys and sorrows of the barbarians. In all these particulars there is a sameness in the histories of Indian captivities, while each narrative is diversified with some personal display of courage, activity and endurance of suffering. The circumstances of some are so full of thrilling interest and exciting events that the narrative may be a

fair specimen of the almost innumerable instances of loss of freedom, of property, and of friends by savage hands. One of these types is the captivity of the Draper family, embracing the surprise, bloodshed, plunder, house-burning, exposure, kindness, escape, ransom, and naturalization to Indian life, the prolonged bondage and the caprice of the savages in their cruelty and kindness to their captives.

Mr. George Draper removed from Pennsylvania about the year 1750, and took his residence, in advance of the wave of population moving south-westwardly, on the top of the great Allegheny Ridge, in the present bounds of Montgomery County. The place he chose for a residence was, for a length of time, called Draper's Meadows. Passing into other hands it took the name of its owner and was called Smithfield; and is now in the possession of the Preston family. Draper's residence or fort, stood between the residence of ex-Governor Preston and his son. On top of the main Ridge of Virginia mountains, the meadows presented a beautiful extent of rolling country, very fertile, and healthy, and containing within its bounds abundant springs of pure water, some of which find their way to the Atlantic through the James, and the Chesapeake Bay; and others that mingle their streams with the Ohio and Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. In the space of a few moments one can drink of waters that flow eastward through the "ancient dominion," and turn and wash himself in those that wander by the numerous Western States, to make a part of the mysterious Gulf-stream.

To this beautiful spot his son John with his wife, and his daughter Mary with her husband, William Inglis, accompanied him. The "meadows" were glades with few trees or marshes, and fed herds of buffalo and deer. For seclusion, abundance of the means of living, and the pleasure and excitement of hunting, Draper's meadows might have been an enviable spot. And some few years passed away in quietness and enjoyment. At a distance, other families, drawn by the same inducements, took their abode, following each other at intervals. Proximity of residence encroached upon the freedom and abundance of the chase; and the families that chose the Allegheny top for a home, like Moore in his valley, preferred solitude to the sight of human habitations. In this situation of the family, Mr. George Draper died.

The Shawanees in their expeditions against the Catawbias frequently passed the Draper settlement, which was in the direct line of one of their great war paths, without molestation or signs of displeasure, till the year 1756. Excited by the French, and jealous of the rapid encroachment upon their hunting grounds, the Alleghenies being already scaled, the Shawanees made a sudden descent upon Draper's meadows in the midst of harvest, while the men were all in the field securing their crop unarmed and unsuspecting of danger. The savages surrounded the dwelling, in which were the women and children, and the arms of the families, and of the men who had come to aid in the harvest; and murdered the widow of

George Draper, and also Colonel James Patton from Tinkling Spring, in Augusta, who was on an exploring expedition, and spending a few days at the meadows to refresh himself from his journey and some illness that had come upon him. The wife of John Draper, and Mrs. Inglis and her two sons, Thomas of four years of age, and George of two years, were made prisoners to be taken to the Indian towns. Mr. Inglis hearing the noise at the house hastened home in alarm. He approached very near the dwelling before he discovered the Indians; hoping to aid his family he drew still nearer. Two stout Indians discovered him and rushed at him with their tomahawks. He fled to the woods; they pursued, at a little distance from each other, one on each side of Mr. Inglis to prevent his secreting himself by turning aside. He perceived that the Indians were gaining upon him, and attempting to jump over a fallen tree he fell, and gave himself up for lost. Owing to the underbrush, the pursuers did not see him fall, and passed by on each side of him as he lay in the bushes. In a few moments he was upon his feet and escaped in another direction. The harvest hands deprived of their arms, believing resistance ineffectual, left the Indians unmolested and secreted themselves in the woods around the meadows.

The savages taking what plunder they pleased and the four prisoners, moved off towards New River, advancing slowly on account of the thick underbrush, and not apprehending any pursuit from the circumstances of the families in and around the meadows; and striking that river they leisurely proceeded down the stream. The captors were partial to Mrs. Inglis, and having several horses permitted her to ride most of the way and carry her two children. Mrs. Draper, who was wounded in the back and had her arm broken in the attack upon the settlement, was less kindly cared for. As usual all the prisoners suffered from exposure, and privations, and confinement on their march. Mrs. Inglis had more liberty granted her than Mrs. Draper. The Indians permitted her to go into the woods to search for the herbs and roots necessary to bind up the broken arm and the wounded back of her fellow captive, trusting probably to her love for her children for her speedy return. They kept the little boy of four years, and his little brother of two, as her hostages; and were not mistaken. She stated afterwards that she had frequent opportunities of escaping while gathering roots and herbs, but could never get her own consent to leave her children in the hands of the savages, and was always cheered by the hope of recapture or ransom. When the party had descended the Kenawha to the salt region, the Indians, as was usual, halted a few days at a small spring to make salt. After about a month from the time of their captivity the party arrived at the Indian village at the mouth of the big Scioto. The partiality for Mrs. Inglis exhibited by the captors, during the march, was more evident upon reaching the village. She was spared the painful and dangerous trial, of running the gauntlet; while Mrs. Draper with her wounds yet unhealed was compelled to endure the blows barbarity might

inflict. When the division of the captives took place, Mrs. Inglis was subjected to the great trial of being parted from her children, and prohibited the pleasure of intercourse with them, or even of rendering them any assistance.

Some French traders from Detroit visiting the village with their goods, Mrs. Inglis at her leisure moments made some shirts for the Indians out of the checked fabrics. These were highly prized by savages as ornaments, and by the traders as a means of a more rapid sale of their articles, at a high price; and both waited on the captive to exercise her skill as a seamstress. When a garment was made for an Indian, the Frenchmen would take it and run through the village, swinging it on a staff, praising it as an ornament, and Mrs. Inglis as a very fine squaw; and then make the Indians pay her from their store at least twice the value of the article. This profitable employment continued about three weeks; and the seamstress besides the pecuniary advantage secured the admiration of her captors. Mrs. Draper's wounds preventing her from sharing in the employment or advantage, she was held in less estimation, and employed in more servile offices.

Mrs. Inglis was soon separated entirely from Mrs. Draper and the children. A party setting off for the Big Bone Licks, on the south side of the Ohio River, about 100 miles below, for the purpose of making salt, took her along, together with an elderly Dutch woman captured on the frontiers, and retained in servitude. This entire, and in her view, needless separation from her children, prompted by a desire in the savages to wean them from the mother, brought her to the determination of attempting an escape. The alternative was sad, to endure lonely captivity among barbarians, or the dangers and sufferings of a flight through a wilderness, with exposure to enraged Indians, hunger, and wild beasts. After mature consideration, she resolved to make the attempt to reach home, preferring death in the wilderness to such captivity. She prevailed upon the old woman to accompany her in the flight. The plan was to get leave to be absent a short time; and proceed immediately to the Ohio River, which was but a short distance from the Licks, and follow that river up to the Kenawha, and that river to New River, and so to the meadows, or some nearer frontier. They must travel about one hundred miles along the Ohio before they passed the village at the mouth of the Scioto, and consequently be in danger hourly of the severities that might follow a recapture. Their resolution was equal to the danger and trial. They obtained leave to gather grapes. Providing themselves each with a blanket, tomahawk, and knife, they left the Licks in the afternoon, and to prevent suspicion took neither additional clothing nor provisions. When about to depart, Mrs. Inglis exchanged her tomahawk with one of the three Frenchmen, that accompanied the Indians to the Licks, as he was sitting on one of the Big Bones, cracking walnuts. They hastened to the Ohio, and proceeded unmolested up the stream, and in about five days came opposite the village at the mouth of the



Scioto. Here they found a cabin and a cornfield, and remained for the night. In the morning they loaded a horse, found in an enclosure near by, with as much corn as they could contrive to pack on him, and proceeded up the river. In sight of the Indian village, and during the day within view of Indian hunters, they escaped observation, and passed on unmolested. It is not improbable their calm behavior, and open unrestrained action, prevented suspicion in any keen-sighted savage that might have seen them from the village, as they were plucking the corn and loading the horse. This route being on the south side of the Ohio, was unexposed to savage interference, except an occasional hunting-party, and none of these crossed their track after they left the mouth of the Scioto.

After the Indian depredations connected with Braddock's war had ceased, and friendly intercourse was again established, the Shawanees could scarcely be made to believe that Mrs. Inglis was alive. They said the party at the Licks became alarmed at the prolonged absence of the grape-gatherers, and hunted for them in all directions, and discovering no trail or marks of them whatever, had come to the conclusion that they had become lost, and wandering away, had been destroyed by the wild beasts. There had been no suspicion of any escape, the difficulties in the way had appeared so insurmountable; on the north side of the Ohio were the Indian tribes and villages, and on the southern side, obstructions too great, above Kentucky, to encourage hunting-parties, or permit war paths. It seemed to them impossible, that two lone women, unprovided with any necessaries for a march, or arms for defence or to obtain provisions, could possibly have accomplished so uninviting a journey.

The fugitives travelled with all the expedition their circumstances would permit, using the corn and wild fruits for food. Although the season was dry, and the rivers low, the Big Sandy was too deep for them to cross at its entrance into the Ohio. Turning their course up the river for two or three days, they found a safe crossing for themselves on the drift-wood. The horse fell among the logs and became inextricable. Taking what corn they could carry, they returned to the Ohio, and proceeded up the stream. Wherever the water courses that enter that river, were too deep for their crossing at the junction, they went up their banks to a ford, and returned again to the Ohio, their only guide home. Sometimes, in their winding and prolonged journey, they ventured, and sometimes were compelled to cross the crags and points of ridges that turned the course of the rivers with their steep ledges; but as speedily as possible they returned to the banks of the Ohio. The corn was exhausted long before they reached the Kenawha; and their hunger was appeased by grapes, black walnuts, pawpaws, and sometimes by roots, of whose name or nature they were entirely ignorant. Before they reached the Big Kenawha, the old Dutch woman, frantic with hunger, and the exposure of the journey, threatened the life of Mrs. Inglis, in revenge for her sufferings and to appease her appetite. On reaching the Kenawha, their spirits revived, while their sufferings and

exposures continued, and their strength decreased. Day after day they urged on their course, as fast as practicable, through the tedious sameness of hunger, weariness, and exposure by day and by night; yet unmolested by wild beasts at night, or the savages by day.

When they had gotten within about fifty miles of Draper's meadows, the old woman in her despondency and suffering, made an attack upon Mrs. Inglis to take her life. It was in the twilight of evening. Escaping from the grasp of the desperate woman, Mrs. Inglis outran her pursuer, and concealed herself under the river-bank. After a time she left her hiding-place, and proceeding along the river by the light of the moon, found the canoe in which the Indians had taken her across, filled with dirt and leaves, without a paddle or a pole near. Using a broad splinter of a fallen tree, she cleared the canoe, and unused to paddling contrived to cross the river. She passed the remainder of the night at a hunter's lodge, near which was a field planted with corn, but unworked and untended, and destroyed by the buffaloes and other beasts, the place having been unvisited during the summer on account of the savage inroads. In the morning she found a few turnips in the yard which had escaped the wild animals. The old woman, on the opposite side of the river, discovered her, and entreated her to recross and join company, promising good behavior and kind treatment. Mrs. Inglis thought it more prudent to be parted by the river. Though approaching her former home, her condition seemed almost hopeless. Her clothing had been worn and torn by the bushes until few fragments remained. The weather was growing cold; and to add to her distress a light snow fell. She knew the roughness of the country she must yet pass; and her strength was almost entirely wasted away. Her limbs had begun to swell from wading cold streams, frost, and fatigue. Travelling as far as possible during the day, her resource at night was a hollow log filled with leaves. She had now been out forty days and a half, and had not travelled less than twenty miles a day, often much more. In this extremity she reached the clearing made in the spring by Adam Harman, on New River. On reaching this clearing, seeing no house or any person, she began to hallo. Harman and his two sons, engaged in gathering their corn and hunting, were not far off. On hearing the hallo, Harman was alarmed. But after listening a time, he exclaimed, "Surely, that is Mary Inglis!" He had been her neighbor, and knew her call, and the circumstances of her captivity. Seizing their guns, as defence if the Indians should be near, they ran and met her, and carried her to their cabin; and treated her in a kind and judicious manner. Having bathed her feet, and prepared some venison and bear's meat, they fed her in small portions; and the next day they killed a young beef, and made soup for her. By this kind treatment, she found herself in a few days able to proceed. Mr. Harman took her on horseback to the Dunkards' Bottom, where was a fort in which all the families of the neighborhood were gathered. On the morning

after her arrival at the fort, her husband and her brother John Draper came unexpectedly. They had made a journey to the Cherokees, who were on friendly terms with the Shawanees, to procure by their agency the release of the captives. On their return they lodged about seven miles from the Dunkards' Bottom, in the woods, the night Mrs. Inglis reached the fort. The surprise at the meeting was mutual and happy. Thus ended the captivity and escape, embracing about five months. Of this time, about forty-two and a half days were passed on her return.

Mrs. Draper was released after about six or seven years, when friendly relations had been restored; and the frontiers were relieved from the inroads of barbarians.

While Mrs. Inglis was at Harman's lodge, she entreated her host to go, or send for the old woman. He positively refused, both on account of her bad treatment of his guest, and also that he knew she would come to a cabin on her side of the river. To this cabin she came, and found in it a kettle nearly full of venison and bear's meat, the hunters had prepared and just left. She feasted and rested herself a day or two; and then dressing herself in some clothing left by the hunters, and making a bark bridle for an old horse left there, she mounted him, and proceeded on her way. When within about fifteen or twenty miles of the Dunkards' Bottom, she met some men going in search of her. They found her riding, carrying the bell she took from the horse left in the river, and had brought along through all her journey, and halloing at short intervals, to attract the attention of hunters. Nothing is known of her after her arrival at the fort; the only remarkable event in her life was her escape with Mrs. Inglis.

Having remained at the Dunkards' Bottom till spring, Mr. Inglis, on account of the unwillingness of his wife to remain on the frontiers, removed to a stronger post on the head of Roanoke, called Vause's fort, where a number of families were collected. For the same cause he afterwards removed east of the Blue Ridge, and took his residence in Botetourt County. This was a very providential movement, as in the fall of the year a large force of French and Indians surprised and took the fort, and murdered or made prisoners of all the families. John and Matthew Inglis, connexions of William, had their families in the fort at the time it was taken. When the attack was made, John was out. Hearing the noise, he rushed to the fort, and notwithstanding it was surrounded by the enemy, he attempted to get in. The savages closed upon him. He fired his gun, and used it as a club, and beat off the assailants. The stock breaking, he used the barrel with great force, and approached very near the fort; but before he could enter, he was overpowered and killed. Matthew was taken prisoner. The Indians having secured what plunder they desired, encamped near the fort. Matthew was unbound, and being offended by some of the Indians, seized a frying-pan, twisted off the handle, and began laying about him with great effect. The savages were so pleased with his bold-

ness, that they treated him afterwards more kindly than the other prisoners. After remaining some years in Bedford, William Inglis and family returned to New River. Some families having ventured to settle further west, the meadows and New river were considered comparatively safe. Mr. Inglis' house became a fort, to which, in times of alarm the neighbors gathered; and from the brave men there assembled the savages received an effectual check. A party of eight or ten passed the fort, and went to Smith's river, east of the Blue Ridge, and returned with a woman and three children prisoners, and a number of horses loaded with plunder, encamped about six miles from Inglis' fort. Being discovered by a person hunting horses, some eighteen men were rallied, and, with Mr. Inglis, set off to attack the savages. On reaching the encampment in the morning they found it deserted; pursuing the trail, they came upon the party cooking their breakfast; approaching unobserved, they fired, and rushed in upon the enemy. But two or three escaped. The prisoners and plunder were all recovered, but with the loss however of one of the assailants. The New River settlements were never again disturbed.

William and Mary Inglis had six children. Before the captivity, Thomas and George were born; after the captivity, Susan, Rhoda, Polly and John. George died in captivity while a young child. The other five became heads of families. Of these children, Thomas was left in captivity when his mother escaped — the separation of himself and brother from her being the immediate cause of her flight. He remained thirteen years among the Indians. Frequent efforts were made for his recovery, but in vain. After peace was concluded, a Mr. Thomas Baker, who had been a prisoner among the Indians, visited the tribe at the solicitation of the father, and purchased the lad for about \$150. The squaws greatly opposed the return of the boy, and used every exertion to persuade him to remain. Mr. Baker kept him in partial confinement till he had passed the villages some forty or fifty miles, and then set him entirely free. At night he lay down to sleep with the boy in his arms. In the morning he found himself alone. He returned in search of him, but the squaws refused to give him up, or disclose the place of his concealment. Some two years after, Mr. Inglis, accompanied by Mr. Baker, went by Winchester to Pittsburg, on their way to visit the Shawanees, in quest of his son. There the journey was ended on account of fresh hostilities all along the frontiers. When peace was restored, the father, accompanied by Mr. Baker, made another journey in quest of his son, and to propitiate the Indians, took with him a number of small kegs of rum. The first village he entered was greatly excited upon hearing of the rum, and persuaded the anxious father to gratify their appetites. In the intoxication which followed, his life was in danger, and his preservation was owing to the kindness of the squaws. On reaching the Scioto, where his son had been living, he learned, to his sorrow, that the old Indian father had taken the boy to Detroit. While waiting about a fort-

night for his return, Mr. Baker renewed his acquaintance with the Shawanees, and Mr. Inglis became very popular, and matters were in a favorable train before the old man and boy came back. When the boy heard his father was come, his feelings were greatly moved; and finding which was he, expressed a fondness for him, and a willingness to return home with him. The old Indian gave him up upon receiving a second ransom for him; and the son set off with his father very cheerfully. On the journey he gave evidence of an increasing fondness for his father, without the least desire to return to the Scioto. The mother's joy was great on recovering her long lost eldest son, who was now seventeen years of age, small in stature, unable to speak English, and an entire savage in his manners and appearance. The habits of civilized life were not pleasing to him, and with difficulty he was persuaded to remain with his parents. He would sometimes go to the woods, and remain for days, his parents fearing he would never return. By continued kindness he was persuaded to leave off his Indian dress, the use of the bow and arrow, and to learn the English language. His father placed him at school in Albemarle County, in the family of Dr. Walker. In the course of three or four years of study he acquired what was esteemed a good English education, and was greatly improved in manners. He never did, perhaps never could, entirely put off his Indian habits.

In the campaign against the Shawanees, he belonged to the regiment of Col. Christian which reached Point Pleasant the night after the battle. Remaining at the Point till the treaty of peace was signed, he found among the Indians many of his old acquaintances, and went with them on a visit to their towns. After his return he married Miss Ellen Grills, and settled on Wolfe Creek, a branch of New River. From this place he removed to a valuable tract of land on the head of Bluestone; but being annoyed by the Indians passing and repassing, during the war of the revolution, on their plundering expeditions, he removed to Burke's garden, with settlements around him at the distance of ten or twelve miles, and but one white person in the garden, an old bachelor about two miles off, by the name of Hix, with whom lived a black boy. Here he was unmolested till the spring of the year 1782. While with his black boy in a field ploughing, his house was surrounded by Indians. Perceiving he could render no assistance, he mounted a horse and went with speed across to the head of Holston for help. Here meeting a militia muster, some fifteen men immediately volunteered and went with him. Old Mr. Hix had come on a visit to the family, and was in sight when the attack was made; he hastened in another direction and gave the alarm, and returned with volunteers, about the same time Mr. Inglis came. From the smoking ruins of the house they pursued the marauders, who had gone through a part of the Clinch settlements to go down the Big Sandy. When clear of the settlements the Indians moved carelessly and left marks of their trail. At this time their pursuers were about twenty, under the command of Capt. Maxwell of the militia. On the seventh day in

the evening the spies discovered the Indians. Before they were completely surrounded the Indians saw their pursuers. Mr. Inglis with a part of the men had approached very near and was waiting for Capt. Maxwell coming up on the other side. According to custom the Indians began tomahawking the prisoners. Mr. Inglis was very near and rushed to save his wife and children; but the efforts were vain. All were tomahawked. The boy about three years of age soon died, the girl about five lived a few days. Mrs. Inglis had many wounds which were not fatal. The Indians in flying came suddenly upon Capt. Maxwell's company; and in rushing past, one of them discharged his gun at the Captain, conspicuous by his white hunting-shirt, and gave him a mortal wound. They all escaped. The Captain soon died, and was buried with the little boy. His name was given to the Gap where he was slain. At the head of Clinch, Mr. Wm. Inglis met his son, and wife, and infant, having a Doctor in company. The little girl died soon. Mrs. Inglis was able to return to New River. Before she recovered thirteen pieces of skull bone were taken from her head.

In about a year, Thomas Inglis removed to Tennessee, and settled on the Watauga, a tributary of the South Fork of Holston; in a position exposed to the incursions of the Cherokees. But in a few years, though comfortably situated, dissatisfied that the country was filling up so fast, he removed further down the river to Moasy Creek, in the midst of grass-fields and cane-brakes. The coming of settlers caused him once more to remove, and he took his residence near where Knoxville now stands. Here he seemed to be fixed for life, owning several tracts of land, and having a daughter married. But in pursuit of a debtor he visited Natchez, and although meeting with losses by the upsetting of his boat at the Muscle Shoals, every thing being left in the river but his saddle-bags, and failing to get any satisfaction from his debtor, he was so pleased with that country, that he speedily sold his possessions and removed to Mississippi. There he ended his days, an inveterate lover of frontier life, and never under any circumstances losing the tastes and habits he acquired in his thirteen years of captivity when a boy. The Shawanees loved him when a captive for his bravery and endurance; and in after life the Cherokees admired and feared him for the same cool adventurous bearing, and never disturbed him in Tennessee, though exposed in his lonely habitations.

Susan, the eldest daughter of William and Mary Inglis, married General Trigg, a man well known in public life; her two daughters, Mrs. Charles Taylor, and Mrs. Judge Allen Taylor, died at an advanced age, eminently pious members of the Presbyterian Church, and noted for their amiable qualities. Polly married a brother of John's wife. The youngest son, John, had eight children, was a member of the Presbyterian Church, of which he was long an elder in Montgomery County; and part of his children were members. Mr. William Inglis died in 1782, aged 53; Mrs. Mary Inglis enjoyed good health till far advanced in years, and died in 1813, aged

84. Her descendants are numerous, and they contemplate, with wonder and admiration, the energy, boldness, and endurance manifested by the subject of this chapter in her eventful captivity. And it will ever be a matter of surprise that murders, captivities, and plunderings multiplied to an extent almost incredible, did not stop the tide of emigration in Western Virginia. The boldness and rapidity of its extension before the Independence of the United States was acknowledged, was but a precursor of that unresisted tide that has already broken the barrier of the Rocky Mountains.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### ○ CORNSTALK—AND THE BATTLE AT POINT PLEASANT.

THE name of Cornstalk, the Shawanee Chief, once thrilled the heart of every white man in Virginia, and terrified every family in the mountains. He was, to the Indians of Western Virginia, like Pocahontas to the tribes on the sea coast, the greatest and last chief. In the days of his power, the Shawaness built their cabins on the Scioto. They had once dwelt on the Shenandoah, and covered the whole valley of Virginia. At the approach of the whites to the mountains they had retreated beyond the Alleghenies. The names of the various smaller tribes that once were scattered over the country west of the Blue Ridge, and east of the Ohio, have not been preserved. No historical fact of importance depends upon their preservation. There was a name applied to all the tribes, whether it was generic, or from conquest, or a confederacy, or from all combined none can tell. The eastern Indians called the western tribes Massawomacs, their natural enemies. Under whatever name they existed, or from whatever parts composed, these savages were represented by chiefs that owned the authority of Cornstalk, and were at the time the Valley was settled by the whites called Shawanees. The last battles fought along the Shenandoah or Potomac, were between the Catawabas from the South, and the Delawares from the North, on fields abandoned by their savage owners.

Cornstalk, like other savages, has no youth in history. The first we know of him is in plundering and massacre in 1763. In that year he exterminated the infant settlements on Muddy Creek and the Levels, in Greenbrier. The Indians were received as friends, and provisions given them in profound security. Unprovoked they suddenly massacred the males and took the women and children captives. Cornstalk passed on to Jackson's River, and finding the families on their guard, hastened on to Carr's Creek, and doomed some unsuspecting families to the tomahawk and captivity. In the same year depredations were made near Staunton, with the same

secrecy and ferocity. Col. Bouquet marched to Fort Pitt, with a regiment of British soldiers and some companies of militia. The Shawanees made a treaty, on the Muskingum, and delivered up their prisoners to return to desolate homes. The massacre on Carr's Creek was terribly visited on Cornstalk, when a defenceless hostage, after the lapse of more than twenty years. All savages seem alike, as the trees in the distant forest. Here and there one unites in his own person the excellencies of the whole race, and becomes the image of savage greatness. Cornstalk was gifted with oratory, statesmanship, heroism, beauty of person, and strength of frame. In his movements he was majestic; in his manners easy and winning. Of his oratory, Col. Benjamin Wilson an officer in Lord Dunmore's army, says—"I have heard the first orators in Virginia, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk." Of his statesmanship and bravery there is ample evidence in the fact that he was head of the confederacy, and led the battle at Point Pleasant.

The whole savage race was alarmed at the attempts of the white-men to occupy Kentucky; and the preparations to lay off the bounty lands, for the soldiers of Braddock's war, near Louisville, at the falls of the Ohio, drove them to exasperation. A confederacy was formed, and the Shawanee chief was not backward in the excitements and preparations for war. Mutual aggravations on the frontiers followed by plunderings and murders, of which the whites could no more say they were innocent than the savages, brought on the war. In the progress of the confederacy and the war, events took place that have left the impression in Virginia, that Governor Dunmore was more anxious to secure to his majesty George 3d, the friendship of the numerous tribes of Indians bordering the colonies, than to avenge the wrongs Virginia was suffering from savage hands, either as the fruits of his own misdoings, or the overflowing of savage ferocity. In April of 1774, Col. Angus M'Donald of the Valley of the Shenandoah, led a regiment against the Indians on the Muskingum. He destroyed their towns and secured some hostages; and the hope was indulged that the frontiers would be safe. The Indians fully convinced that acting by tribes, or small companies, they would all share the fate of the Muskingums, made the last effort of savages, and acted in concert. The Governor now had no alternative; he must meet the Indians with a force becoming a Governor of a Province and the officer of a powerful king.

An expedition into the Indian country was planned. Point Pleasant, at the junction of the great Kanawha with the Ohio, was the place of rendezvous. The Governor was to collect forces in the lower part of the Valley of the Shenandoah and the mountains, and proceeding to Fort Pitt go down the Ohio in boats. Gen. Andrew Lewis was to lead the force, raised in Culpepper, Augusta, Bedford, and all the upper part of the Valley, and on the head of Holston, and proceeding down the Kanawha to meet the Governor



at the Point. Gen. Lewis made his rendezvous at Camp Union, Lewisburg, about the 4th of September. His brother Charles Lewis, led the Augusta regiment under the Captains, George Matthews, Alexander M'Clenachan, John Dickinson, John Lewis, Benjamin Harrison, William Paul, Joseph Haynes and Samuel Wilson. Col. William Fleming commanded the Botetourt companies, under Captains Matthew Arbuckle, John Murray, John Lewis, James Robertson, Robert M'Clenachan, James Ward and John Stuart. Col. John Fields, a lieutenant in Braddock's war, and one that escaped the massacre of Cornstalk's inroad on Greenbrier, led the men from Culpepper. Captains Evan Shelby, William Russell and Harbert led companies from Washington County, and Captain Thomas Buford those from Bedford, and east of the Ridge, and west of the James: these four were to be under the command of Col. William Christian. On the 11th of September, General Lewis began the march, with about eleven hundred men. Captain Arbuckle was the pilot through the mountains and down the river. There was no track of any kind for the army; few white persons had ever gone down the Kanawha. The distance, about one hundred and sixty miles, was passed over in nineteen days. Provisions were supplied from pack-horses, and from the cattle driven along for the purpose. After waiting for some days, and hearing nothing from the Governor, Lewis despatched two messengers to Fort Pitt for intelligence. On Sabbath, the 9th of October, three men came to Lewis's Camp, express from the Governor, to give information of his march, by land, from the mouth of the Hockhocking directly to the Shawnee towns, with orders for the forces at the point to join him there. Lewis was surprised and vexed at this movement of Dunmore; and began to indulge suspicions, that never left him, greatly derogatory to the purity of the Governor's motives. One of the express, by name M'Cullough, enquired for Captain John Stuart, afterwards Col. Stuart of Greenbrier, who was on guard. He renewed an acquaintance he had formed with him in Philadelphia. "In the course of the conversation," says Stuart in his narrative, "he informed me he had recently left the Shawnee-towns, and gone to the Governor's Camp. This made me desirous to know his opinion of our expected success in subduing the Indians; and whether he thought they would be presumptuous enough to offer fight to us," as we supposed we had a force, superior to anything they could afford us. He answered, "Aye, they will give you grinders, and that before long. And repeating swore, we should get grinders very soon." The express returned to the Governor. While Lewis and his men were thinking only of the Shawnees, and perhaps a few allies, M'Cullough was giving notice to Stuart of a fact, he appears not to have noticed at the time, that the confederacy was strong enough to meet them all in the field, and would soon make trial of their strength. On the next morning the battle at Point Pleasant was fought. Two young men going out on a deer hunt, very early happened to ramble up the river Ohio, and after proceeding a few miles came suddenly

upon a camp of Indians making preparations to march. The young men were discovered, fired upon, and one killed. The other fled in all haste for the camp, and entered it at full speed, at about sunrise. "He stopped," says Stuart, "just before my tent; and I discovered a number of men collected around him as I lay in my bed. I jumped up and approached him to know what was the alarm, when I heard him declare that he had seen above five acres of land covered with Indians as thick as they could stand one beside another."

The camp of Lewis was in motion. A battle was about to take place, the most fierce ever waged with savages by the forces of Virginia, on her own soil. A braver company of men had never been assembled, in the colony, than that which was encamped, the second Sabbath of October, 1771, on the banks of the Ohio and Kanawha, under the command of General Andrew Lewis. "It consisted," says Captain Stuart, "of young volunteers well trained to the use of arms, as hunting in those days was much practised, and preferred to agricultural pursuits, by enterprising young men. The produce of the soil was of little value on the west side of the Blue Ridge; the ways bad, and the distance to market too great to make it esteemed. Such pursuits inured them to hardships and danger. They had no knowledge of the use of discipline, or military order, were in an enemy's country, well skilled in their own manner of warfare, and were quite unacquainted with military operations of any kind. Ignorance of their duties, together with high notions of independence and equality of condition, rendered the service extremely difficult and disagreeable to the commander, who was by nature of a lofty and high military spirit." One of the Augusta companies that took its departure from Staunton, excited admiration for the height of its men, and their uniformity of stature. In the bar-room of Sampson Matthews, a mark was made upon the walls, which remained till the tavern was consumed by fire, about seventy years after the measurement of the company was taken. The greater part of the men were six feet two inches, in their stockings; and only two were but six feet. Patriotic and brave, these valley boys submitted to the rigid discipline of Lewis, whom they had known from childhood, with a reluctance that, under a foreigner, would have been rebellion. Travelling through an untried wilderness, they out marched Dunmore on a beaten track, repulsed the Shawanees, and were on the march for the Indian towns when arrested by an order from the Governor. Their General had seen service. A Captain in 1752, he was with Washington at the Little Meadows, and received two wounds. In 1755, he was Major under Washington, and in endeavoring to rescue Grant from his rash adventure, was taken prisoner. While in captivity, he quarrelled with Grant for abusing the Americans; and to show his contempt, spit in the English Major's face. "In person," says Stuart, "upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and his form of the most exact symmetry that I ever beheld in human being. He had a stern and invincible countenance."

tenance, and was of a reserved and distant deportment which rendered his presence more awful than engaging." The Governor of New York observed about him, while acting as Commissioner from Virginia, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix—"the earth seemed to tremble under him as he walked along." Of his bravery and general fitness to command, his troops never expressed a doubt; but of his severity of discipline they loudly complained. Their insubordination and thoughtlessness coming in contact with his sense of honor and propriety, gave rise to clamor, but never produced ill-will.

Cornstalk led the Indians. His band of warriors was made up of the entire forces of the Shawanees, of the young warriors of the Wyandots, the Delawares, the Mingoos, and Cayugas, and the smaller tribes under their control. "Of all the Indians," says Stuart, "the Shawanees were the most bloody and terrible, holding all other men, as well Indians as whites, in contempt as warriors, in comparison with themselves. This opinion made them more fierce and restless than any other savages; and they boasted they had killed ten times as many whites as any other Indians. They were a well-formed, ingenious, active people, were assuming and imperious in the presence of others not of their nation, and sometimes very cruel. It was chiefly the Shawanees that cut off the British under General Braddock, in the year 1755, only nineteen years before our battle, when the General himself, and Sir Peter Hacket, the second in command, were both slain, and the mere remnant only of the whole army escaped. They too defeated Major Grant and his Scotch Highlanders, at Fort Pitt, in 1758, where the whole of the troops were killed or taken prisoners." The number of warriors assembled could never be ascertained. They have been estimated variously from one thousand down to four hundred. Cornstalk led his force across to the east bank of the Ohio, on Sabbath evening, October 9th, about the time the express left the camp of Lewis, desiring a battle with Lewis before the forces of the Governor were united; and to surprise the camp at the Point, at its breakfast hour, halted for the night at the distance of about two miles. It is scarcely possible the express should not have known something of the Indian movements. While Lewis was unconscious of the near approach of his enemy, Cornstalk, almost within sight of the Point, held a council of his chiefs and principal warriors, and proposed to go into camp and ask for peace. Whether he designed merely to try the spirit of his braves now about to be engaged in a hard battle, or whether convinced, from the past movements of the whites, and the little the Shawanees had gained, by their victories and massacres, for a series of years, of the impossibility of arresting the progress of the Virginians, the hated "long knives," to the West, he desired now, with a show of savage power, to settle an advantageous peace, cannot now be known. He was capable of doing either. The council unanimously demanded battle. Preparations were then made to surprise Lewis at sunrise. The deer hunters prevented a complete surprise. The unwounded one fled to the camp and gave the alarm.

The savages, as speedily as possible, pressed on after the fugitive, not to lose their advantage by this discovery.

General Lewis, on hearing of the near approach of the enemy, deliberately lighted his pipe, and proceeded to give his orders with entire self-possession and decision. The camp was put in order for immediate battle. Col. Charles Lewis and Col. Fleming were directed to detail a part of their forces, under their oldest Captains, and advance in the direction of the reported enemy. The Colonels hastening on as directed, sent forward scouts, and while yet in sight of the camp-guards, heard the discharge of musketry and saw the scouts fall; and in a few moments received a heavy fire along their whole line. The two Colonels fell badly wounded; Lewis having discharged his piece, and as he said "sent one of the savages before him to eternity," fell at the root of a tree. The preparations to bear the Colonels to the camp, together with the suddenness of the attack, threw the detachments into confusion, and they began to fall back. Meeting Colonel Fields and his company they immediately rallied, and drove the assailants some distance beyond the ground of the first fire. The Indians disappeared. Colonel Fleming was borne into camp entirely disabled. Colonel Lewis, supported by Captain Murray, his brother-in-law, and Mr. Bailey of Captain Paul's company, unwillingly returned to his tent. The Indians speedily rushed on again with their yells and their fire; and soon yielded the ground to the advancing Virginians. Then forming a line, from the Ohio to the Kenawha, enclosing the Virginia forces, and stationing a band of warriors on the opposite bank of the Ohio to intercept any fugitives, by alternately advancing and retreating, they carried on the battle without cessation and with unremitting ardor. Early in the forenoon Colonel Lewis breathed his last while the battle was raging around him. The wound of Colonel Fleming, though severe, was not mortal. When the confusion of the first attack had subsided, the forces of Lewis, unaccustomed as most of them were to war and discipline of armies, became prompt in their obedience to orders, alert in their movements, cool in their bearing, and daring in their advance to meet the foe, and firm in meeting their onsets. Coming near the lines the savages would sometimes cry out, "we are eleven hundred strong, and two thousand more coming." This gave rise to the suspicion that either the Governor or his express had given the Indians information respecting Lewis's camp. One voice was heard, during the day, shouting above the din of battle. Captain Stuart, attracted by its singular strength and tone, asked of a soldier who had been much among the Indians, if he knew that voice. "It is Cornstalk's," replied the soldier. "And what is he shouting?" said Stuart—"He is," said the soldier, "shouting to his men—*Be strong!—Be strong!*" Cornstalk was often seen with his warriors. Brave without being rash, he avoided exposure without shrinking; cautious without timidity in the hottest of the battle, he escaped without a wound. As one of the warriors near him showed some signs of

timidity, the enraged chief, with one blow of his tomahawk, cleft his skull. In one of the assaults, Colonel Fields, performing his duty bravely, was shot dead. His men, having on the march declined, with their Colonel, the command of Lewis, were now, though reconciled to the General, greatly dispirited by the loss of their own beloved commander. The faltering of the ranks encouraged the savages. "Be strong! Be strong!" echoed through the woods over the savage lines in the tones of Cornstalk; and as Captain after Captain, and files of men after files of men, fell, the yells of the Indians were more terrific and their assaults more furious. The bravery of Lewis never wavered. Equal to the occasion, he was seen moving majestically from place to place; and wherever he appeared, his "stern invincible countenance," and calm bravery, aroused his brave men to higher and still higher heroism. Early in the battle he contrived to despatch two runners up the Kenawha, to hasten the advance of Colonel Christian. Throughout the whole day the Indians continued their assaults with unabated, rather increasing, fury; and the "long knives" showed the terrible Shawanees, they could avenge the fall of their companions. Towards evening, Lewis, seeing no signs of retreat, or even cessation of battle, despatched Captains Shelby, Matthews and Stuart, at their request, to attack the enemy in the rear. Going up the Kenawha, under cover of the banks, to Crooked Creek, and up that Creek, under cover of the bank and weeds, they got to the rear of the Indians unobserved, and made a rapid attack. Alarmed at this unlooked for assault, and thinking the reinforcement of Colonel Christian was approaching, before whose arrival they had striven hard to finish the battle, the savages became dispirited, gave way, and by sundown had recrossed the Ohio. Colonel Christian entered the camp about midnight; and found all things in readiness for a renewed attack. But the battle had been decisive, and the retreat of the Indians rapid and complete. The loss of the Virginians on this day, 2 Colonels, 6 Captains, 3 Lieutenants and 64 subalterns and privates, was in all seventy-five killed, and 140 wounded. About one-fifth of the whole force was disabled. The loss of the Indians could not be known. Colonel Christian marched over the field, the next morning, and found thirty-three dead, left by the Indians, in their rapid flight, probably those killed in the assault on their rear which decided the battle.

Upon reaching a place of safety, the Indians held a council. They had been defeated in their long expected great battle. The "long knives" were pressing on. Cornstalk enquired, what should be done. No one spoke. After a solemn pause, Cornstalk arose. "We must fight, or we are undone. Let us kill our women and children, and go and fight till we die." He sat down. After a long pause, he rose again and striking his tomahawk into the council post, said—"Then I'll go and make peace." The warriors around replied, "ough! ough! ough!" Runners were immediately despatched to the Governor to solicit terms of peace, and to ask for

protection from "the long knives;" and Cornstalk and his sister, the grenadier squaw, set out to meet the Governor. The time and place of conference were agreed upon. The chiefs were speedily to meet the Governor near Chillicothe.

After burying the dead and making suitable accommodations for the wounded, Lewis began a rapid march for the Scioto. Messengers from the Governor arrested his march. At Killicanie Creek, the Governor accompanied with the chief, White Eyes, had an interview with General Lewis. Requesting a particular introduction to the officers of the Valley forces, he paid them high compliments for their general bravery and for their personal conduct in the late battle. Lewis very reluctantly let pass the opportunity of avenging upon the Indian villages, one of which was in sight, the massacres and murders committed by Cornstalk at Muddy Creek, the Levels, and Carr's Creek, and the death of the brave seventy-five, that had just fallen in battle. The Governor's course impressed more deeply on Lewis's mind the prejudice, probably unfounded, that the interests of Virginia were less cared for than became a patriot Governor. It was retorted upon the General, that severity in camp and cruelty to Indians, might be more agreeable to his ideas of propriety than to the feelings of community at large.

On the third, the appointed day, Cornstalk, with eight chiefs, met the Governor, near the Scioto; and it was agreed mutually that hostilities should cease, the prisoners be delivered up, and that a treaty should be ratified the next summer at Fort Pitt. The conference lasted a number of days. Some of the Mingoes being present, Dunmore sent two interpreters to Logan requesting his attendance. He replied — "I am a warrior and not a counsellor. I will not go." The conference was opened by Dunmore's reading from a paper, to be interpreted, his charges against the Indians, for their infractions of former treaties and their many and unprovoked murders. "When Cornstalk rose to reply" says Col. Wilson — "he was in no wise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His looks while addressing Dunmore were truly grand, yet graceful and attractive." As he became excited he was heard through the whole camp. He sketched in lively colors the once prosperous condition of his tribe when some of its divisions dwelt on the Shenandoah. He inveighed against the perfidiousness of the whites, most particularly exclaiming against the dishonesty of the traders. He proposed that no one be permitted to trade with the Indians on private account; that fair prices should be agreed upon, and the traffic be committed to honest men; and finally that no spirits of any kind should be sent amongst them; because *fire-water brought evil to the Indians.*" In this conference, as in the battle, Cornstalk won the highest praise from the English officers. His design to cut off his approaching enemies in detail, and the platform he proposed for a treaty were worthy of a commander and a diplomatist.

Of the persons engaged in the battle at the Point, some became eminent in succeeding years, and are remembered—as Colonel Fleming who suffered from his wound during life; Isaac Shelby, Governor of Kentucky and Secretary of War; William and John Campbell, heroes of King's Mountain; Evan Shelby of Tennessee, Andrew Moore the first member of the United States Senate, west of the Blue Ridge; John Stuart of Greenbrier; General Tate of Washington County; Col. Wm. M'Kee of Kentucky; John Steele, Governor of Mississippi territory; Col. Charles Cameron of Bath; General Bezaleel Wells of Ohio; and General George Matthews, distinguished at Guilford and Brandywine, and Governor of Georgia.

We hear no more of Cornstalk, till in the spring of 1777, he visited Point Pleasant and sought an interview with Captain Arbuckle, the commander of the Fort. The Chief Redhawk and a few attendants accompanied him. In this interview he informed Captain Arbuckle, that the coalition of the tribes west of the Ohio, formed by the English against the colonies, was nearly complete; that the young Shawanees, thirsting for revenge for their companions slain in the battle at the Point, were eager to join the confederacy; that he had opposed the whole proceeding, believing that the safety of the Shawanees was in the friendship of "the long knives;" that he believed his tribe and nation "would float with the stream in despite of his endeavors to stem it;" and that hostilities were about to commence. Captain Arbuckle detained the chief, and sent a messenger to Williamsburg. Under orders from the Governor, Colonel Skillern, of Rockbridge, with difficulty raised a volunteer force in the Valley, and Captain John Stuart raised a small company in Greenbrier, composed chiefly of militia officers serving as privates, of whom he was one. At the Point the Colonel waited for General Hand, from Pittsburg, to lead against the Indian towns. While waiting for the General the officers held frequent interviews with Cornstalk. One afternoon, as he was delineating upon the floor the geography of the country between the Shawanee towns and the Mississippi, and showing the position and course of the various rivers, that empty into those mighty streams, a shouting was heard from the opposite banks of the Ohio. Cornstalk arose deliberately, and went out, and answered the call. Immediately a young chief crossed the river, whom Cornstalk embraced with the greatest tenderness. It was his son Elinipsico. The young man, distressed at his long absence, had come to seek his father. At a council of officers held the next morning Cornstalk was present by invitation. He made a speech, recounting his course since the battle of 1771; his proposing to kill the women and children, and for the warriors to fight till they were all killed; of his propositions and negotiations for peace; and of the present prospect of war; and his own views of the position of things. "He closed every sentence of his speech," says Stuart—"with—when I was a young man and went to war, I thought it might be the last time, and I would return no more. Now I am here among you; you may kill me if you please; I can die but once; and it is all one to me, now,

or another time." His countenance was dejected as he declared that he "would be compelled to go with the stream; and that all the Indians were joining the British standard.

About the time the council closed, two of the volunteers, returning from a deer hunt on the opposite side of the Ohio, were fired upon by some Indians concealed upon the bank. "Whilst we were wondering," says Stuart, "who it could be shooting contrary to orders, or what they were doing over the river, we saw that Hamilton ran down to the bank, who called out that Gilmore was killed. Young Gilmore was from Rockbridge; his family and friends had been mostly cut off by the incursions headed by Cornstalk in 1763; he belonged to the company of his relative Capt. John Hall. His companions hastily crossed the river, and brought back the bloody corpse, and rescued Hamilton from his danger. The interpreter's wife, lately returned from captivity, ran out to enquire the cause of the tumult in the fort. She hastened back to the cabin of Cornstalk, for whom she entertained a very high regard for his kind treatment to her, and told him that Elinipsico was charged with bringing the Indians that had just killed Gilmore, and that the soldiers were threatening them all with death. The young chief denied any participation, even the most remote, in the murder. "The canoe had scarcely touched the shore," says Stuart, "until the cry was raised—*let us kill the Indians in the fort*, and every man, with his gun in his hand, came up the bank pale with rage. Capt. Hall was at their head, and their leader. Capt. Arbuckle and I met them and endeavored to dissuade them from so unjustifiable an action. But they cocked their guns, threatened us with instant death if we did not desist, and rushed by us into the fort." Elinipsico hearing their approach, trembled greatly. Cornstalk said, "My son, the Great Spirit has seen fit that we should die together, and has sent you here. It is his will. Let us submit. It is best;" and turned to meet the enemy at the door. In a moment he fell, and expired without a groan. He was pierced with seven bullets. Elinipsico sat unmoved upon his stool; and, like his father, received the shots of the soldiers, and died without motion. Redhawk endeavored to escape by the chimney, which proved too small. He was shot, and fell dead in the ashes. Another Indian present was cruelly mangled, and murdered by piece-meal. The fort was covered with gloom. The soldiers gazed in sadness on the dead bodies of Cornstalk and his son. Col. Skillern did not arrest the murderers. General Hand arrived without forces or supplies, and took no notice of the deed. The militia received orders to return home. The civil authorities made some investigations, but the county court of Rockbridge, after ascertaining with some degree of certainty the actors in the bloody deed, proceeded no further. Some of the witnesses died, and others fled; and the distresses and vexations of the seven years' war diverted the public attention. The exasperated Shawnees took ample vengeance for that cruel and unexpiated slaughter. The blood of multitudes along the frontiers flowed for Cornstalk and Elinipsico and Redhawk, before the peace of 1788.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## REV. WILLIAM HILL, D. D., FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS SETTLEMENT IN WINCHESTER.

WILLIAM HILL was born March 3d, 1769, in Cumberland County, Virginia. His parents were of English descent. When five years old he was deprived of his father by death. After a few years of widowhood, his mother was married to Daniel Allen, a widower with children, an elder in the church of which Mr. John B. Smith was pastor. He could not remember when his mother began to treat him in a pious, godly manner. Before her marriage with Mr. Allen she was considered as belonging to the Established Church, as all persons were that did not express dissent; after her marriage, she united with the Presbyterian Church. For a few years young Hill enjoyed the instructions and example of his pious mother; all the recollections of whom were intensely sweet to her son, and those also of a godly step-father, whom he revered. In his twelfth year he was deprived of his mother's care and counsel, and left an orphan, that never found one to take the mother's place in his heart.

From about his tenth year till his fourteenth he was favored with the instruction of Drury Lacy, employed by Mr. Allen to teach his children. This gentleman possessed some peculiar capabilities as a teacher, and gave young Hill and Cary Allen an uncommonly good English education. While residing with Mr. Allen, Mr. Lacy made profession of religion, and was connected with the church under the care of Mr. Smith. By the counsel of that man he commenced a course of classical study; went to reside in the family of Judge Nash; became a sub-tutor in college; and subsequently prepared for the ministry. Mr. Lacy retained through life the affections of his pupils, Hill and Cary Allen, and heard them preach the gospel he loved.

Young Hill had for the guardian of his property the brother of his father. By him he was encouraged to efforts for a classical education, with the design of pursuing the study and practice of the law, a course of life presenting at that time great inducements to aspiring young men; and was placed at Hampden Sidney College. His uncle induced the young man to hope that his small patrimony would, by economy and judicious management, be made sufficient for his education and entrance upon his profession. While a member of college the revival of religion, with which Charlotte, Prince Edward and Cumberland were visited, arrested his attention and agitated his heart. This revival, as has been noted in the Sketches of Virginia already published, began in the Baptist Church in Charlotte, and in a little time was felt under the preaching of the Methodists and Presbyterians. Mr. Smith set up prayer-meetings in his congregation, and began to see among his charge evidences of the

presence of the holy spirit. Cary Allen openly professed conversion in circumstances so peculiar as to excite the fear of Mr. Smith lest there had been a mistake in the young man. The earnestness and frankness of Allen, however, removed all apprehension from his pastor's mind, and arrested more particularly the attention of the students. This was in the fall of 1787.

After the students were returned to College, one and another felt the necessity of religion. Young Hill, who was with Allen at the time of his conversion, was greatly troubled. During the whole of the preceding summer he had been in perplexity and distress. The talk about awakening and conversion called up the instructions of his mother, deeply impressed on his feelings and memory. She had prayed for him, and with him; and often, with her hand upon his head, blessing him she had expressed her hope that he would become a Christian, and a minister of the gospel to others. He seemed to himself to hear again his mother's prayers, and to feel her hand upon his head. Often would his conscience cry out to him, "is this your mother's little preacher for whom she so often prayed?" He would weep and fall on his knees and pray; and then go among the thoughtless boys of College and become merry. He did not wish them to know that he was enquiring after religion. He had not read much in his Bible after his mother's death. He had no copy of that book with him. He knew of no student that had a Bible; and was ashamed to enquire of them any thing about it. He finally applied to the steward, Major James Morton, a godly man with a kind heart, and obtained, for a Saturday, the use of his family Bible. In the deep woods he read through the gospel according to Matthew, passing the day without refreshment and in entire seclusion. After this day he felt his determination to seek his salvation greatly strengthened, yet he had not courage to disclose it openly.

A sedate young lad, member of College, William Calhoun, was in the habit of returning, on Saturday, to his parents who lived near. His father was an elder in the Church and esteemed by all a godly man; a number of his family were professors of religion. As this youth was about to return home on a certain Saturday, young Hill asked him to bring a good book on religion for him to read, when he returned. On reaching home young Calhoun told his father in presence of the family, that William Hill said "he wanted a good book on religion to read." His sister Peggy, a young lady of much intelligence and warm piety, said at once, "I have the very book he ought to read." On Monday she sent him an old and much worn copy of Allein's Alarm to the Unconverted. This book young Hill locked in his trunk till the next Saturday. His room-mates having gone out for the day, he locked the door and began to read his old book. He went on with tears and sighs. His distress of soul was greater and greater. He had no appetite for his dinner. One and another gentle rap at his door had been made and unanswered. At length a violent rapping, accompanied with a threat of breaking

in induced him to open the door. There stood a student from North Carolina, James Blythe. He had suspected that Hill was serious, and was determined to know the certainty for himself. Looking around he saw the old book upon the bed. Taking it up and reading the title, he exclaimed — "Hill, are you reading this book?" Hill was agitated. Should he confess the truth and become the sport of the College boys, or should he deny the fact and hide his sorrows in his bosom? A strong temptation came upon the youth to turn the subject into a laugh. Blythe stood trembling with remorse of conscience, for he had come from North Carolina a professor of religion, and had been induced to conceal his professions to avoid notoriety, and finally to escape the ridicule of the students who generally were very far from religion. After a violent struggle, Hill at length said — "Yes, Blythe, I have been reading it." "Are you anxious about your soul?" said Blythe with great emotion. "Yes," replied Hill, "I am. I have neglected it too long, I fear too long. I am resolved to be more earnest hereafter." "Oh, Hill," exclaimed Blythe with a flood of tears, "what a sinner I am, would you believe I came from Carolina a professor of religion! Here I have neglected my Bible, and have become hard and cold." He wept and groaned aloud and threw himself upon the bed; crying out, "Oh Hill, seek your soul's salvation — you may be saved — I fear I cannot. I have denied the Lord, I fear I am lost." The two youths wept and talked and confessed and read together. It was a precious day to both.

Cary Allen soon came to know the condition of things, and made them acquainted with another youth, a resident graduate, Clement Read, who was under deep religious impressions. The next Saturday they retired to the deep woods in company, and held a prayer-meeting; each one, in his turn, read a chapter, gave out a hymn, and prayed. On the next Saturday on account of the weather they procured a room in College, and locking the door began their prayer-meeting in suppressed tones. But the singing and prayers were overheard, and speedily a crowd of wild youth assembled at the room, shouting, swearing and thumping the door. The noise and confusion attracted the attention of the officers of College; they quelled the riot and dispersed the mob, who were rejoicing in having broken up the prayer-meeting. After prayers in the evening, President Smith called for an explanation of the disturbance. Some of the ringleaders at once arose, and said, that they heard singing and praying in one of the rooms, like the Methodists; and had broken up the disorderly proceeding. Until that moment neither the President nor the tutors, Lacy and Mahon, had any idea that, besides Cary Allen, there was a praying youth in College. "And who are the culprits?" enquired the President. The four youth confessed themselves guilty of the charge. Looking at them with tears in his eyes, he exclaimed, "Is it possible that some of my students desire to pray? and is it possible that any desire to hinder them? Well my young friends, you shall have a place to pray.

The next Saturday's prayer-meeting shall be in my parlor, and I will meet with you." At the appointed hour on the next Saturday the four young men went trembling to the President's parlor; the novelty of the thing had filled the room. They were called on and prayed each in his turn, and the President gave a warm exhortation. The succeeding Saturday, the whole house was filled to overflowing. The next meeting was in the College Hall, which was filled with students, and people from the neighborhood. The revival which had been heard of in Charlotte and part of Cumberland was felt in College. Fully half the students were enquiring what they should do to be saved. Prayer-meetings were set up forthwith in different parts of Mr. Smith's charge; and the awakening seemed to spread over the two Counties. These four young men thus brought out to notice appeared to have the true faith of the gospel. Allen, as is shown in its proper place, had fallen on the floor in the agony of his conviction; the other three obtained a hope in Christ without such violent emotion. All were busy in prayer-meetings and in exhortations.

In the vacation of the spring of 1788, Hill and Allen went home, to Mr. Daniel Allen, who lived on Great Guinea Creek, and were holding meetings around the neighborhood, with the young people, with great effect. At one of these, as has been related, Nash Legrand, aroused from his stupidity in sin, and greatly alarmed by a conversation with Drury Lacy, fell as completely overcome as Cary Allen had been, and went home professing faith. In October of this year Mr. Lacy was licensed to preach, as also Mr. Mahon the other tutor in College. Lacy was full of animation and ran a useful career. Mahon, in a few years, abandoned the ministry. Cary Allen died early, but a successful minister of Christ. Legrand was licensed in about a year, and filled up a measure of usefulness allotted to few. Clement Read lived to be old and died a faithful minister of Christ. Mr. Blythe died in old age an active, fervent, successful minister and teacher of youth, whose memory will long be dear in Kentucky. Mr. Hill, the subject of this notice, outlived them all, loving and beloved by them all. William Calhoon, the youth that brought Allèen's Alarm to College, lived to old age, a faithful minister of Christ.

When the guardian, and uncle of Mr. Hill, understood from him, that he was determined not to pursue the study of the law, but devote himself to the gospel ministry, he thought proper to interpose. Being a man of impetuous feelings and violent temper, and not inclined to favor the religious action of the students, he determined to use decisive measures. He had imbibed a strong dislike to the established clergy, and was implicated in some acts of violence, upon the person of the minister of the parish, which led to a troublesome lawsuit; and was exceedingly opposed to his nephew's entering the ministry in any way. He refused to allow him any more stipends, either from his own purse or the patrimony in his hands, hoping that necessity would bring him to terms.

"But," says Dr. Hill—"I lived at Major Edmund Read's, near Charlotte Courthouse, where I was furnished with a home from April 1st, 1789, till July 9th, 1790. During my residence in this hospitable family, I pursued my classical course of study privately, while my class was prosecuting their studies in College. I was forced to do this, because my uncle, who was my guardian, became offended with me for not complying with his wishes in studying law. He withheld from me every cent of my little patrimonial inheritance for two years. A comfortable home being thus afforded me, I prosecuted my studies in the best manner I could, and obtained permission from the trustees of Hampden Sidney College, in Sept. 1789, to stand my examination with my class for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, which examination was sanctioned, and I was permitted to graduate with my class. After I was graduated I continued to reside with the same kind family, and prosecuted the study of theology, in the same private manner, under the direction of my dear and beloved friend Dr. John B. Smith, who resided near the College, in Prince Edward, about 22 miles off. All the chance I had for the study of Divinity thus privately was from the 1st of October, 1789, when I was graduated, till July 10th, 1790, when I was licensed to preach the gospel, a little over nine months."

"This family of Mr. Edmund Read is the same that gave a home to Dr. Alexander, for some years of his early ministry. Mrs. Paulina Read, more generally known as Mrs. Legrand, in her widowhood, on the death of Rev. Nash Legrand, was the ready and efficient friend of young men desirous of an education, particularly those having the ministry in view; and was one of "those women" to be held in honorable remembrance. While a resident in this family, "I held meetings of one kind or another, and exhorted in the best manner I could, in various destitute neighborhoods in Charlotte County, which county had no regular settled clergyman in its bounds" at that time. While he was a resident at Major Read's, Dr. Alexander on his visit to Prince Edward, with Mr. Graham, at the house of the widow of Littlejoe Morton, on the Saturday night before the communion heard with surprise Mr. Hill deliver an exhortation—"a warm and pungent address, on the barren fig-tree, which affected my feelings very much." Warmth and fluency characterized his addresses. His figure was good, and voice clear and strong, and his bearing bold but respectful. His popularity, as an exhorter, induced the Presbytery to hasten his licensure to meet the great demand for ministers. Young men, as is usual in times of great excitement, were impatient to engage as exhorters and ministers, and people encouraged them to enter the harvest field waving for the harvest. For a series of years Hanover Presbytery, as well as Lexington, in sending forth laborers, seemed to partake of the hasty spirit of the inexperienced people, and thrust them out. And it is to be remarked that these very young men, living as the majority of them did, to become old in their useful labors, united in the effort, which was successful, for

enforcing, in the general, the rule — that candidates for the ministry shall pursue the study of theology for at least two years. They took the lead in founding seminaries, offering inducements to keep the candidates at study, for the extended term of three years. Mr. Hill is an example of early licensure, and of activity in forming seminaries to render a protracted term of study most efficient as well as necessary.

The Presbytery that met at Pisgah, Bedford County, Virginia, October 16th, 1789, was opened by Cary Allen, with his trial sermon for licensure. Mr. Moore was received from the Methodist Church, as a preacher in good standing, on recommendation of Mr. Pattillo and seventeen elders — and after long examination, admitted to ordination. The Presbytery putting in a declaration that this must not be a precedent. Cary Allen's trials were all passed, yet his licensure delayed. Clement Read was called to account for preaching with the Methodists before his licensure. William Hill was received as candidate on the 19th. An essay was assigned him on "The advantages of Revelation above the light of nature to produce piety and godly living." The Presbyterial exercise was upon Matt. 5: 14, Ye are the salt of the earth. The members present were McRobert, Smith, Mitchel, Mahon and Lacy — with Graham and Carrick, from Lexington; Elders Robert Franklin, Benjamin Allen and Robert Mitchel, the father of the minister. At the Presbytery at Briery, opened by Mr. Blair with a sermon on Isaiah 55: 1, May 6th, 1790, calls were put in for Legrand; James Turner applied for advice about becoming a candidate; Cary Allen was licensed, and the Presbytery gave him the right hand in token of approbation, and resolved to do the same in future with licentiates; Wm. Hill exhibited his parts of trial assigned, and these being sustained, others were assigned — viz., a Lecture Luke 11: 20 to 26, Popular Sermon Heb. 11: 24, 5, 6, By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. Presbytery also took some measures to increase the collections for Missionary purposes. Order was also taken to assist in getting out an edition of the Family Bible.

At Buffalo, July 9th, 1790, present McRobert, Smith, Mahon and Lacy; Elders James Allen, Andrew Wallace, Stephen Pettus and Littlejoe Morton. The Presbytery was opened by Wm. Hill with his trial sermon for licensure. His diploma was received in place of examination on literature and science, he read his lecture, and passed part of the examination on divinity. On Saturday, the 10th, his examination was concluded, and he was regularly licensed. He was directed by Presbytery to spend the months of August and September in making a missionary tour through Halifax, Henry, Franklin and Pittsylvania. His exercises of mind are thus stated:

*Thursday, July 8th, 1790.* — I set apart this day for prayer and fasting, to beg God's assistance and blessing upon the important office I am about to enter upon. I endeavored to examine the motives by which I was actuated, found it a very difficult work to

perform; being in a state of darkness, and finding my heart so deceitful I was at a loss what to conclude concerning myself. Felt somewhat engaged some part of the day in prayer to God. I think I surrendered myself to him unreservedly, and feel willing to sacrifice any private interest or happiness of my own in the world, that I might be useful to the souls of my fellow-men; and I am willing to throw in my mite towards the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom on earth. Oh that the glory of God lay nearer to my heart, and that I had a more bleeding concern for poor, perishing sinners. I want to become an entire stranger and pilgrim upon the earth.

*Friday, July 9th.* — At Buffalo, called on by Presbytery for my trial sermon, Heb. 11: 24, 5: 6, By faith Moses, &c. After I had delivered my sermon Mr. McRobert preached. I felt almost overwhelmed at the thoughts of entering the ministry. At night I conducted a society at Mr. Andrew Baker's, felt my mind somewhat engaged. Blessed be the God of mercy who begins to look upon such a dead dog as I am.

*Saturday, July 10th.* — Mr. Mahon preached; but it was dead and lifeless work. I was examined by the Presbytery respecting my acquaintance with divinity, &c.; and afterwards was licensed to preach the gospel of Christ to a perishing world. Lord take care of thy own cause, and perfect thy strength in my weakness. Past the evening at Mr. Foster's; don't remember that I ever felt my heart so overwhelmed with a sense of my unworthiness in all my life; never saw more of my nothingness and insufficiency for the work before me than during my retirement in the evening. I saw clearly that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelt no good thing, and felt that I could do nothing but as strengthened from on high, but was fully persuaded that through Christ strengthening me I could do all things. If ever I prayed earnestly, and committed myself to God, it was this night; and if ever my soul drank its fill from a good promise, it was from that sweet and seasonable one — "My grace is sufficient for thee," and I trust that I felt my soul resigned to the will of God in all things. A prayer-meeting was held at night, and I felt much engaged in speaking, especially of the love of God through Christ Jesus unto poor sinners. Some seemed affected and considerably impressed.

The Andrew Baker mentioned, made, sometime after this, the donations to the charitable fund proposed by Alexander and others, which now are productive, and the yearly increase of which is used by West Hanover Presbytery and the Union Theological Seminary. He thus speaks of some others who were lights of the church in this day — viz:

*Tuesday, July 13th, 1790.* — "Was employed chiefly this day in fixing and making arrangements for travelling, as I do not calculate on being stationary again for some years. In the afternoon rode down to the settlement in Cumberland County, on Great Guinea, felt a great peace and tranquillity of soul, and continued breathing after

more grace. At night, at my old friend Nathan Womack's, felt great fervor in prayer, especially in the family.

*Wednesday, 14th.* — "At night much of a spirit of prayer, especially in the family, at the house of Benjamin Allen.

*Saturday, 17th.* — "Was unexpectedly called to preach at Nathan Womack's, on Great Guinea. The Lord enabled me to speak with some life and feeling. After I ceased Mr. Legrand preached an excellent discourse. Mr. Smith then arose, and set the house in a flood of tears by his animating address.

*Tuesday, 20th.* — "Preached Robert Jackson's funeral sermon, but felt very little engagedness of soul. Rode to Major Read's, my good old home, in the evening; spent the time in profitable conversation with my pious and estimable friend, Mr. Read; felt Jesus to be precious to my soul this night, and went to sleep in a sweet frame of mind."

With Sabbath, August 1st, 1790, he began his missionary tour, preaching at Yuille's Meeting House, in Halifax. "Went in the evening to see an old aunt of mine I had never seen before. I think my aunt is a very pious woman. She and my uncle are both members of the Baptist Church; but was much grieved to see how the Lord's day was desecrated and profaned by the family; and from what I can learn it is a common case in these parts, and there is little or no difference between professors and non-professors. There are scarcely any other professors of religion about here but Baptists. It is a common practice to visit and converse upon worldly topics, while the children and young people are pursuing their sports and plays more extensively than on any other day in the week. I tried to remonstrate against these things. My old aunt joined me; but my uncle defended these things, and said the Baptists did not acknowledge the obligation of the Sabbath day. Whether it was common to that society or not, it certainly was in this neighborhood.

*Tuesday, August 3d.* — "Do not remember that I was ever more distressed about my situation since I first had a hope in Christ; was awfully afraid I had not experienced religion myself, and the thought of preaching an unknown Christ was killing to me — was so distressed that I had not the least appetite for food. Had to ride about twenty miles through a wet, rainy day, to reach an appointment at Isham Breton's; preached to a few people who came through the rain, and then became quite prostrate by reason of a bad cold which I had taken by frequent preaching, riding through the rain, and last though not least, the agitated state of my mind.

*August 5th.* — He preached at Reedy Creek, and went to Mr. Breton's. In the evening worship he spoke on the words, "Into whatsoever house ye enter, first say peace be to this house," &c. "If I ever felt the spirit of prayer it was then — and if I was not awfully deceived, the love of God was shed abroad in my poor, unworthy heart by the Holy Ghost, so that I could 'rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.' I was so exercised at this time that I almost lost my bodily strength." When he went to rest, the



old gentleman, who was greatly agitated during the exhortation, and attracted Mr. Hill's attention by his trembling, followed him to his room, and confessed that he had been in a sharp quarrel with his wife that day, supposed he had heard of it, was very sorry, had confessed it to God, and was deeply humbled for it. An arrow shot at venture; as Mr. Hill of course knew nothing of it.

With such alternations of light and darkness, joy and sorrow, stupidity and excitement, he made the tour assigned by Presbytery. Some were awakened by his preaching, some comforted. The arrows shot at venture often pierced the joints of the harness. At Franklin Court-House, Monday, September 6th, he says — "I attended the Court of Franklin County to despatch some worldly business, and look after some property which I hold in that County. It was election day. I saw much wickedness this day, and felt much concerned to see my poor fellow mortals drinking and degrading themselves below the brutes that perish, and to hear them cursing and swearing, and using the very language of hell. Some were stripping and fighting, and tearing each other to pieces like incarnate devils. I saw one of the candidates walk through the court-yard with a large wooden can of stiff grog, and inviting the voters to come and drink with him; and what made the matter worse, this candidate had been an Episcopal clergyman before the Revolution. I was so disgusted at this sight, that I determined to go in and vote against him, and did so, though it was the first vote I ever gave, and I had no intention whatever of voting when I came to the place, although the property I had in the County entitled me to a vote." At Henry Court-house his appointment had been recalled by some mischievous persons. At the head of Smith's river, he preached with great life — "Many were deeply affected, and some old bigoted Presbyterians looked, and gazed, and wondered. Some came up and asked me to pray for them, and seemed earnestly to inquire what they should do to be saved." He went on through Bedford, and on Sabbath, 19th, preached at Pisgah, having met his old friend Mitchel with joy. "At night conducted social worship at Mrs. Trigg's, an old mother in Israel; Mr. Turner in his exhortation seemed to get at the heart of every person in the house."

Mr. Turner accompanied Mr. Hill across the Blue Ridge to Lexington. Both being of a cheerful turn, and glad to ride in company, they commenced a free conversation on their religious experience. They made mutual disclosures for each other's benefit, and spoke of their own short-comings and temptations. Both were gifted with a quick sense of the ludicrous, and both had the power of exciting ridicule; Hill severe in sarcasm, and Turner unequalled in fun. Something was said that excited the sense of ridiculous, and was followed by peals of laughter. A spirit of laughter and fun seized the young men; and their mutual disclosures of trials, and temptations, and passions as men, and in their sacred office, and their failures in preaching, were all sources of ridicule and laughter. The effect was mutual. Their excited feelings went on with a

stronger and stronger tide, sweeping away the restraints that should have been a barrier, till levity in excess polluted their hearts, and gave their consciences weapons for terrible retribution. Their confessing their faults to one another had ceased to be a Christian virtue, and had become a snare and a defilement. At night both were sufferers; the laughter was past, the excitement over; and a sense of folly and degradation oppressed the heart. They retired to pray. For a time they could not. On conversing with Mr. Turner the next day, Mr. Hill says — “Found he had spent just such a night as I did. We both resolved we would be more watchful and circumspect for the future.” The record of opinion which Mr. Hill made respecting himself, is — “This day’s conduct was matter of grief to me on several accounts: 1st, Because it had no resemblance to that humble temper which every true disciple of Jesus ought to possess upon the review of former acts of wickedness, and discovering the indwelling sin and corruption of his nature, which should rather make him loathe and abhor himself in dust and ashes. 2d, I felt in my heart something so different from the gospel charity which rejoiceth not in iniquity, that I was rather pleased that my brother Turner felt the same evils I had, and felt as lightly about them as I did. 3d, I thought I was a stumbling-block in his way, and had led him astray, by which I had not only wounded my own soul, but destroyed the peace of my brother for whom Christ died. 4th, Because I was setting a bad example before some others, who were with us a part of the time, which must have made them have a contemptible opinion of us, but especially of me professing to be an ambassador of Christ. I desire to remember this day with sorrow and regret as long as I live, and humbly hope it will be a warning I shall never forget. The good Lord forgive the iniquity of my sins; remove me from the snare of the fowler, and enable me to be more watchful for the time to come.” By Mr. Hill’s account in another place, he did not recover serenity of heart and liveliness of hope till after he had endured an attack of sickness.

The Commission of Synod met at New Monmouth, Friday, Sept. 24th, 1790. They made choice of William Hill and Cary Allen, of Hanover Presbytery, and Robert Marshall of Redstone Presbytery, to be their missionaries, on the usual condition, that their respective Presbyteries recommend them, and put them under the care of the Commission. Rev. Messrs. J. B. Smith and Graham were to apply to Redstone Presbytery, and Mr. Smith to Hanover. Messrs. Hill and Allen were to labor east of the Blue Ridge, and Mr. Marshall on the west side, in Virginia proper, for six months. Mr. Hill preached before the Commission; his mind was dark and he went heavily; he says his friend Marshall did well.

From Lexington Mr. Hill went to Winchester, to attend the meeting of the Synod, on Thursday the 30th of September; was sick most of the way, both in body and mind, and on reaching Winchester the day Synod opened, took his bed, and did not attend any of the sessions, and only got to Church with difficulty on Sabbath.

On Monday October 4th, he set out for Prince Edward with Mr. and Mrs. Smith, and his friend Mrs. Read; unable to ride on horseback, he was accommodated with a seat in Mrs. Read's carriage. He slowly gained strength. His sickness did not have that effect upon his spiritual condition he had hoped. "I expected to feel the importance of eternal things, and to be entirely dead to the world and all its enjoyments, and that if I lived to get well, I should feel abundantly more for poor sinners. But when sickness came an awful hardness of heart and insensibility of soul came with it; for I could neither pray nor think, nor converse, with any satisfaction at all; but my mind was shut up and dark, and Satan himself, at times, seemed to be let loose upon me, with temptations of infidelity and blasphemy, so that I became awfully afraid at times that I should become a castaway. By this I see God can bless health as well as sickness, and that no affliction of itself, notwithstanding its natural adaptation to awaken sinners to reflection, would ever prove a real blessing without its being sanctified by the grace of God." He did not recover his peace of mind until Sabbath the 17th, at a communion at Briery, where Mr. Smith and Mr. Mitchel were present. On his way to Prince Edward, he went by Newtown, Gaines Cross Roads, Orange Court House, Colonel Cabell's, Warminster and on to Mr. Smith's, and did not attend the Presbytery in Goochland, which met October 8th, at the Bird meeting-house, the sessions being held mostly at the house of Robert Lewis, Elder. Messrs. Hill and Allen were recommended to the commission of Synod for further service.

"*Tuesday, Nov. 2d.* Was employed in settling and arranging some secular affairs, preparatory to a six month's tour of missionary labor, which I am just about to undertake, in the lower Counties of Virginia, upon the Chesapeake Bay. *Wednesday, 3d.* Rode to Guinea neighborhood and had a society meeting at Mr. Nathan Warnock's, a place dear to me by many sacred recollections. In this house I first obtained a hope that I had passed from death unto life; and my dear friend Nash Legrand, and many others professed to obtain religion about the same time, and at the same place." On Friday he preached at Gentry's meeting-house, about the borders of Cumberland and Powhatan, where Davies used to preach. On Tuesday 9th, he rode into Richmond—"there was no place of worship there, for any denomination, except the capitol. As I found no door open for me, or any one to take me by the hand, I rode in the afternoon six or eight miles to the Rev. John D. Blair's." On Thursday 11th, he preached in the house once occupied by Davies, and was oppressed by the thought that the once flourishing Church was now so small.

Visiting Mrs. Brame in Caroline County, an old disciple, and hearer of Davies, firm in her faith though solitary in its exercise, he set off for the Northern Neck, to visit the congregations once flourishing under the charge of Dr. Waddell, in the Counties of Lancaster and Northumberland. For a travelling companion he had Mr. David Smith from Western Pennsylvania, a member of

Hampden Sidney College, having the ministry in view, seeking by the excursion to recruit his health, a godly and discreet young man, who might check his companions' tendency to levity and be cheered by his mirthfulness. Crossing the Rappahannock at Port Royal, Friday 19th, they passed through the lower end of King George, held a meeting for prayer and exhortation in Westmoreland, at Leeds, on Saturday, the 20th, "Rode constantly all day, and after being lost and perplexed in finding the right road, arrived at night at Col. James Gordon's in Lancaster County, where a letter of introduction procured us a hearty welcome. His house was full of company, relatives and other friends, when we arrived. They were generally persons who moved in the higher circles, and apparently unusually gay and showy in their dress and manners. The Col. took me and my young friend Smith, in succession, around the room and introduced us to each of his guests, and the members of his family, one by one, in the most formal and stylish manner. This placed us in rather an awkward situation, as we had both of us been accustomed to the plainest and simplest dress, so that we were a little disconcerted, when we were received in this manner by Col. Gordon, whom we expected to find a very plain and pious man, from the accounts we had heard of him."

"After supper we were conducted to bed, without having an opportunity of forming much acquaintance with any, except from what we saw. After we had got to bed, my young friend proposed that we should be off in the morning, as he supposed they were only the gay fashionable people of the world, who cared very little about religion, and among whom he supposed there was very little prospect of doing good; but I told him we would try them awhile and see what could be done." The next day—Sabbath, Mr. Hill preached at the Presbyterian Church nearest Col. Gordon's, sometimes for distinction called the Upper meeting-house. A Methodist minister, having an appointment there, also preached. The audience was large and respectful. Dr. Waddell removed from Lancaster to the mountains about the year 1778. He had no successor in the pastoral office. Many of the congregation, urged by the inroads made by the British vessels of war, and induced by the fertility of the soil, sought the neighborhood of the mountains. The able session, Messrs. Chichester, Thomas and Dale Carter, Mitchell, Gordon and Selden, wasted away by removals, age and sickness, and was never renewed. Some of the Church members died, others, despairing of having a pastor of the Presbyterian order, had united with the Methodists, and some with the Baptists. Diminished in all these ways, the large Church of Dr. Waddell was reduced to about a dozen members retaining their position as church members, when Mr. Hill visited the counties.

"*Tuesday, 22d.* Preached at Downing's meeting-house in Northumberland. Had some agreeable meditations by the way, but in preaching was cramped and shut up again. Went home with Madame Seiden, an old disciple with whom we should lodge. *Wednes-*

day, 24th. Preached at Lowry's ware-house. At night I attempted to preach at Col. Gordon's. Began with a cold heart and went on like an ox going to the slaughter for a while; but before I ended the Lord was pleased to favor me with considerable liberty, so that I was enabled to speak with some life and feeling. I have often found my cheerful and lively feelings have been very much confined to the line of public exercises. My feelings before have been cold and lifeless, and as soon as I retired they returned to the same state, so that I have come to the conclusion that the assistance which I felt in speaking to others, was rather a favor designed by God for others, of which I was but the voice of one crying in the wilderness, than any evidence of the exercise of a gracious affection in my own heart; which has made me fear sometimes, that after I had preached the gospel and been useful to others, I myself might be a castaway." On Thursday night, at "Mrs. Berryman's a widow lady living immediately on the shore of the Chesapeake Bay. Spent the evening very agreeably with that excellent woman and her pious Baptist sister, Mrs. Maxwell, in religious conversation, singing and prayer."

Mr. Hill remained preaching in the two counties till Tuesday, Jan. 11th, 1791, visiting the few Presbyterians left, and making acquaintance with pious people of other denominations. He had frequent interviews with the noted Baptist preacher, Mr. Lunsford, whom he greatly admired as a Christian man and minister; visited Judge Henry who was beset with infidel objections, and perplexed the young minister with his difficulties and metaphysical inquiries. The Judge was a professor of religion, but was feeling that trial of his faith, which in the novel form of French infidelity, tested the hearts of Christian men, the latter part of the eighteenth century. Mr. Hill had heard but little of such matters till he heard them on the Bay Shore, and they were strange to him. He attended the death-bed of old Mrs. Selden, whom he thought one of God's jewels; and visited old Mrs. Miller, about 90 years of age, and blind about 7 years, and confined to her room. "She professed religion under Mr. Waddell, when he was pastor in the congregation, and had not heard a Presbyterian minister since his removal. I do not think I ever saw a Christian so ripe for glory before. I then visited Mrs. Tapscott again," (a lady wasting away with consumption and inquiring for salvation); "after conversing and praying with her I rode to see Dr. Robertson, an old Scotch Presbyterian, who is very infirm, and prevented from attending public worship any more." (See a notice of him in the Sketch of Waddell.)

Mr. Hill frequently visited Col. Gordon's family, and his final opinion may be given in his own words — "I find notwithstanding the unfavorable impressions made upon Mr. Smith and myself the night of our arrival, there were some eminently pious persons in that gay and fashionable circle into which we were introduced with so much formality. This style of dress and manners was so entirely different from what we had ever witnessed among professors

of religion, the first impression upon us was very unfavorable. I find this also, that I had attached too much importance to dress and manners, and had identified them too much with genuine piety; and that our good friends in Lancaster, being shut out from the regular means of grace and religious instruction, and mingling almost exclusively with men of the world and fashionable life, had only conformed too much to the spirit of the world, which they readily saw and acknowledged, when it was suggested to them as incompatible with the seriousness and simplicity of the gospel of Christ. We found a few precious Christians in these parts, to whom our coming and conversation was as life from the dead."

Leaving his friend David Smith at Col. Gordon's, a cripple by the falling of his horse on the ice, he crossed the Rappahannock at Urbanna, in company with an old Baptist preacher, Mr. Sutton, and proceeded on through Middlesex, and in Gloucester lodged at a public house. "We asked permission to have family worship with them. The good lady of the house said she had fixed a room for us, and we might go and do what we pleased there. But we said we had a desire to pray with the family if they had no objection. She said we might do as we pleased as to that; but made no movement of any kind. Her husband was lying on the bed, and she and her daughters were sewing, and a number of little negroes were picking cotton about the room. As they made no movement, we knelt down and prayed while they all continued at their work, as if nothing out of the usual way was going on." Detained by high wind he crossed the river late, and reached Williamsburg in the night. Calling at the house of Mr. Holt, brother-in-law of Mr. Davies, the only Presbyterian in the place, and accounted a pious man, Mr. Hill, under misapprehension, though offering a letter from Col. Gordon, was turned from the door. Not knowing where to go, he accosted a negro man in the street, "I asked him if he knew any religious man, a good Christian in Williamsburg. After studying awhile he said he did not know any such in town, but there was a very good old man about a mile from town. I told him I would give him a quarter of a dollar if he would conduct me to his house, which he did much to our satisfaction and comfort. This good old man was a Mr. Wilkeson, living about a mile north of the town, whom we found to be just such a man as we took him to be—a plain, artless, unaffected, hospitable, pious Methodist, who received us very cordially, and treated us with every possible kindness." His request next day for the use of the Episcopal church was refused: the court-house was refused; and permission to visit an insane person at the asylum refused, because—it was such persons as I who sent so many persons to bedlam." A room in the deserted old capitol was fixed on as the place, and notice circulated. The two preachers went at the hour, and began singing—a few people came in—and they each gave a short sermon. He obtained an interview with some members of the college who had been his fellow students at Hampden Sidney, and was not favorably impressed with

the morals of the college. Mr. Holt became sensible of his misapprehension, and made the *amende honorable* to Mr. Hill, having spent the night sleepless when he understood that he had turned a Presbyterian minister from his door. From particular circumstances and the singularity of a man coming at that time of night, to his house, professing to be a Presbyterian minister, in a place where one had not been seen or heard of for many years, he thought it was a hoax for a particular purpose practised by some persons in the city and neighborhood. But nothing could be done to assist Mr. Hill in getting a hearing in the city in the short time he could stay. Previous notice and some arrangement were absolutely necessary. The excitement on religion from which Mr. Hill had gone was entirely unknown there, and the remains of a Presbyterian congregation could not be found as in the Northern Neck; and the only Presbyterian in the place to whom he had an introduction had moved there for purposes of trade, and not then in a position to gather a congregation on short notice, as the Sheriff was seeking to accomplish a peaceable entrance to his house for some special purposes not the most agreeable to Mr. Holt. In the apology he made Mr. Hill he exhibited a Christian spirit. Mr. Hill's next visit was more agreeable.

Hearing of a Methodist quarterly-meeting, in James city, he rode over, and passed the 15th and 16th of January, Saturday and Sabbath, with them. The cordiality which he had experienced from that denomination in Lancaster and Northumberland, and in all his previous mission, was not exhibited here. The preachers professed the greatest aversion to the Calvinistic creed, telling him his doctrine "was forged in hell and beat out on the devil's anvil." At the close of worship on Sabbath, "two young men from the pew in which I sat, stepped upon the bench and gave notice there would be preaching that night at Mr. Hales' in the neighborhood. I asked them who was to preach, and was told they meant to preach themselves. These young strangers were Mr. Robert Sample and Mr. Andrew Broaddus, Baptists, who had just commenced preaching, and this was one of their first excursions." These young men afterwards became prominent men in the Baptist Church. As their proposed track was on the same route Mr. Hill had arranged for himself, for some days they joined company and preached together. They visited, and were kindly received at Hampton and Portsmouth, and preached a number of times to large audiences. The attempt to preach in Norfolk afforded little encouragement, for either Presbyterian or Baptist, to renew the effort at that time. Mr. Hill found that the people in this section were generally Baptists, and thought their tendencies were to the opposite extreme of the Methodists he had encountered, bigoted antinomianism. "I find," he says, "that it has a very pernicious effect, especially amongst ignorant people, to be continually preaching up the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, without enforcing Christian duties, or having it clearly understood, that the perseverance of the saints

taught in the Bible is a perseverance in holiness, and not in sin. This is the error of too many of the Baptists now-a-days, which brings Bible Calvinism into contempt, and gives currency to the doctrine of Arminianism so industriously circulated by some others." He parted company with these young ministers to make a second visit to Williamsburg; their respect was mutual through life. The Baptist minister, a Mr. Armstrong, at Portsmouth, had been an officer in the Revolution, and while in the army had been repeatedly engaged in duels; but professed conversion and commenced preaching while in the army, and what was a little singular, he thought duels justifiable, and told Mr. Hill that—"he was insulted by an individual while preaching in a Court-house, and after he had closed his worship, he sat down and wrote a challenge to the person before he left the bench." He also told Mr. Hill, this was not a solitary event in his history, and that he defended his course.

A letter was sent Mr. Hill, signed by several merchants in Williamsburg, saying it was not known, until he was gone, that he was a Presbyterian minister; and inviting his return with assurance of a decent audience, and respectful treatment. He returned on Wednesday the 26th, and found a large audience assembled in the old capitol. He preached Thursday at old Mr. Wilkinson's, and Friday at Mr. Dodd's, a funeral sermon. On Saturday, 29th, he crossed James River at Jamestown, after visiting the ruins, and rode on through the cold to get near Ellis's meeting-house in Surrey County. "Felt my heart somewhat warmed in conversing with a poor persecuted negro whom I met with, and who I verily believe loves Jesus, for he says he has been sorely chastised at times on account of his religion. I lodged at night with Mr. Moorings, a hospitable Methodist of Surrey County. O, what a pity it is that many Methodists have not as good heads as hearts." The next morning, Sabbath, 30th, he rode on some distance and met his old college-mate, William Spencer, who had professed conversion a little before the revival in the College, and had left his studies and commenced preaching as a circuit rider. Mr. Hill preached with another minister. The congregation were vociferous in their expressions of interest, often entirely drowning the preacher's voice with shouts; the negroes were fanatically wild. The young ministers spent a day or two together preaching repeatedly, and discussing their different views and doctrines.

When about parting, Tuesday, Feb. 1st, Mr. Spencer refused to give Mr. Hill letters of introduction to any of the Methodists in Petersburg, informing him that the Methodists were not pleased with his doctrine or manner of preaching, and he need not expect to be invited to preach any more for them in those parts. "I rode through excessively cold weather through Prince George to Petersburg. But having no acquaintance in the place, and no letters of introduction, I met with a cold reception there. There was not a member of the Presbyterian church I could hear of in the place, and I could find no one willing to receive me and lend a helping



hand. I asked permission to make an appointment to preach in the Episcopal church, and in the Methodist meeting-house, the only places of worship in the town, and was peremptorily refused in both instances. I then went through the different taverns, and asked permission to use their public or ball rooms for an appointment to preach, but failed even in this." He then rode to a tavern eight miles in the country, and lodged with a company of boisterous revelers. The next day he visited the noted Episcopal minister, Devereaux Jarrett; and being kindly received he remained about a week at the hospitable mansion of this excellent man, or visiting with him in the neighborhood around. Here Mr. David Smith having recovered from his lameness overtook him. On Tuesday, 8th, they left the neighborhood of this solitary but firm defender of evangelical truths, whose life will always be an interesting chapter in history, and rode over to Mr. Joel Tanner's, in Nottaway, a Presbyterian who had not been visited by a preacher of his own denomination for some years. The remaining part of the month he spent in Nottaway, preaching repeatedly at Peter Dupuy's, also at James Dupuy's, at Mr. Tanner's, at the meeting-house near Mr. Tanner's, at Robert Smith's, Thomas Jeffries', Mr. Lawson's, Mr. Ferguson's, at Rowland's church, (Episcopal), at Charles Anderson's, a Baptist minister, where he met three other Baptist ministers, and at Mr. Vaughan's, in Amelia County, at Chinquepin church, and Grub Hill church, (Episcopal). The attendance was generally good, and the audiences were often deeply affected. The Rev. James Craig, of the Established church, interposed at Chinquepin, and would preach himself, and as no one was present of the neighborhood that would make the responses, he prevailed on Mr. Hill to make them. On Sabbath he interposed again, but the people insisted on hearing Mr. Hill, before they separated. Some of the people who heard Mr. Hill repeatedly, became very anxious about their souls' eternal welfare.

On Friday, April 1st, 1791, the Presbytery of Hanover, and the Commission of Synod, met at Briery church; the opening sermon was preached by Robert Marshall, missionary. Mr. Graham, of Lexington, was present, and preached after Mr. Hill, on Saturday; and on Sabbath "Mr. Graham preached in the forenoon, one of the greatest sermons I ever heard. I sat under it with great delight, and its fruit was sweet to my taste. I had a sweet time at the communion. Mr. Mitchel gave an impressive concluding address." On Tuesday the Presbytery and Commission assembled at Hampden Sidney, and were there met by Rev. Devereaux Jarrett, from Dinwiddie, who took his seat as corresponding member, his old companion in the ministry having become a regular member. Mr. Jarrett "gave us an excellent evangelical sermon." Mr. Legrand was ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry, having determined to become the settled minister at Cedar Creek and Opecquon, in Frederick County. Mr. Smith brought in the famous resolution on irregularities in church members, intended particularly for the churches east of James River. (See Sketches of his Life).

After Presbytery, Mr. Hill resumed his missionary labors; and holding with his step-brother, Cary Allen, a series of meetings in Cumberland, passed through Charlotte, Halifax, Pittsylvania, Franklin, Montgomery, Wythe, on to Abingdon. On the 1st of June, Mr. Matthew Lyle, lately licensed by Lexington Presbytery, and sent out by the Commission of Synod, met him while he was staying at Captain Robert Woods' residence. In this neighborhood he had been preaching a number of days with great apparent effect. In the morning he had ascended Chesnut Mountain — "My mind was greatly elevated with the prospect, and prepared to adore the God of nature." He rejoiced greatly that he was to have the company of the young brother for a length of time. In his previous missions, he had been, with the exception of a short time with David Smith, without any regular companion, in his almost daily preachings, and his rides through heat and cold, through storms and rains, solitudes of the plains and of the mountains; and had often suffered for want of that mutual aid rendered by missionaries who go out two by two.

Required by their commission to stay but a short time in a place, and having a large tract of country to pass over, they with regret left the neighborhood of Mr. Wood's, and went on through Franklin to Montgomery, preaching almost every day. They both generally took part in the exercises; either both preached, or one preached and the other followed with an exhortation, unless some preacher of another denomination was present, and then sometimes all took part. Near Abingdon they visited Rev. Charles Cummings, the pioneer minister, advancing in years. From that place they turned back on the last day of June. In this tour they passed over part of the track assigned to Mr. Alexander, within a year or two, so pleasantly alluded to in his memoirs. On their way out they preached, starting June 2d from John Martin's, near Chesnut Mountain — at Mr. John Dickenson's, on Pig River — at Iron Creek — at Mr. Turner's, on Fawn Creek — at the meeting house near Capt. Hairston's, the funeral sermon of old Captain Hairston — at Mr. Pilion's, on Smith's River — at the head of Smith's River; here having fasted on Saturday, his concomitant affliction followed him on Sabbath, the head-ache, but he preached twice, and Mr. Lyle once — at Major Eason's — at Captain Johnson's. On the night of Thursday, 16th, they were belated, and slept in a pen made for a barn, but without any roof of any kind, having their saddles for pillows and their great coats for a covering — getting from a miserable cabin a rye ashpone and a little sour milk for supper — at Mr. Whitlock's, on Little Reedy Island Creek, in Wythe County — at the lead mines in Wythe, entertained by Mr. Frisbee — at Graham's Meeting House — at Fort Chissel — Mr. George Ewing's, on Cripple Creek — at Thorn Branch Meeting House; went to Mr. James Campbell's, a very kind and hospitable man, but inclined to Swedenborg's doctrines — spent a day at Mr. Arthur Campbell's, who was strongly inclined to follow Swedenborg. While resting here "My friend and colleague Lyle and myself hit upon some subjects on

which we differed widely in our sentiments, and each contending for his own opinion with a warmth disproportionate to the magnitude of the subject, the contest grew so sharp that like Paul and Barnabas of old, we at last talked of separating. However we agreed to retire and pray together over the matter, and both became ashamed of ourselves, buried all our differences, and became more united than ever." Preached at Mr. Atkins'—at Major Bowen's, in a large room constructed for a ball-room, and met Rev. Charles Cummings, the pioneer of the Holston waters at Mrs. Beatty's—at Mrs. Beatty's—at Ebbing Spring Meeting House, and went on to Mr. Cumming's—and at Abington. From this place, on the last day of June, they turned their course back towards Cripple Creek, in Wythe County.

On the 4th of July he makes this entry—"It is now the height of harvest, when the people are obliged to be at home, and our horses as well as ourselves need recruiting, we therefore declined making any appointments during the week. We continued at Mr. Ewing's. But to spend day after day doing nothing made the time pass heavily, so that I wished to be at my employment again." After repassing the ground they had traversed, they sought the head waters of the Potomac, preaching on the fourth Sabbath of August at Mr. Dinwiddie's, on the dividing ridge between the waters of James River and the waters of the Potomac; "the head spring of each rises in the same hill about one and a half mile apart." Spending some days in preaching at Col. Poage's, in the upper tract in Pendleton, they passed on to Moorfield, in Hardy County, and preached a few sermons there in the absence of Dr. Jennings, the successor of Mr. Hoge. Going across to Winchester, they proceeded to Newtown, and met their young friend Nash Legrand, the pastor of Cedar Creek and Opecon; with him they spend a few days, and witness the success of his ministry. The residences of Gordon, Allen, Glass, Gilkerson and Carlisle are mentioned as places of prayer-meetings and religious worship.

On Tuesday, Sept. 15th, Mr. Hill made his first visit to a congregation to which he afterwards preached a series of years; "I preached to a large congregation at Bullskin. I preached at the same place at night with a more solemn impression than in the day. Friday, 16th, I preached at Charlestown, the congregation but small. I preached at Mr. John White's, an old Israelite indeed. The house could not contain the people, whose attention was very great indeed. Saturday, 17, I preached at Mr. Peter Martin's. At night I became acquainted with Mr. Moses Hoge, a very worthy minister, in Shepherdstown." On Sabbath having preached at Shepherdstown and Martinsburg, he went to visit—"Mr. Vance, the pastor of Falling Water and Tuscarora, who was upon the borders of the grave, in the last stage of consumption."

On Monday, 10th, he preached at Tuscarora to a small audience. "Mr. Vance rode out, and lay in one of the pews while I preached." On Wednesday, 21st, he preached his first sermon in Winchester,

where he spent many years of his after life. "Many could not get into the house, and had to return home without hearing the sermon. It was a solemn occasion, and many appeared deeply affected." After laboring with Messrs. Joseph Smith and James Hughes, from Redstone, at a communion service at Cedar Creek, he went to Winchester on the 28th, to meet the Synod and the Commission of Synod; and there, as in the preceding year, was taken sick. He was not able to resume his labors till November.

In this sickness he received attentions always remembered from a young Scotchman, William Williamson, whose acquaintance he formed on his mission, ending in a lasting friendship. At the fall meeting of the Presbytery in October, numerous calls and invitations were proposed for the services of Mr. Hill, which were referred to him. On recovering his health, he made choice of the congregations on Bullskin, and in and around Charlestown, Jefferson County. In the month of May, 1792, he was by Hanover Presbytery received back from the commission of Synod, and transferred to Lexington Presbytery for ordination and installation. When the Presbytery of Lexington met at Charlestown, May 28th, 1792, the credentials of Mr. Hill had not arrived. On the testimony of Mr. Andrew Law, a minister from New England, that he was present at the meeting of Hanover Presbytery, when the proper papers were ordered and made out, the candidate was received. The calls from Bullskin and Charlestown having been accepted, preparations were made for the ordination. On Thursday, 29th, Mr. Hill preached his trial sermon in Charlestown from 1st John 5th, 10 — He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself. On Friday, the 30th, the ordination services were performed in the Episcopal stone church, near Charlestown. Mr. Hoge preached from the words — Thou therefore endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, — and gave the charge. Bullskin had been a congregation for some thirty years, and had enjoyed the services of missionaries, and some stated supplies from Donegal Presbytery. On account of the distance from the churches of Hanover and Lexington, Mr. Hill was the first minister from Virginia whose services they were able to secure. The congregation of Elk branch, situated between Charlestown and Shepherdstown, about this time was, by consent, so arranged that part went under the care of Mr. Hoge, and part under Mr. Hill.

The extracts from Mr. Hill's journal have been given at some length for two reasons: 1st. This is the only journal written by Dr. Hill, and is the only one containing much information about his field of early labor, written by any one; and 2d, in it he draws his own picture most graphically. The youthful missionary was the old man of fourscore. He revised his journal, and gave some explanatory notes, completing the portrait of himself and the times and the people. There was always a warmheartedness in him. What he did, he did with all his might. He was weary of rest days — as at the house of Mr. Ewing — no matter how kindly cared for; and

would without hesitation encounter great difficulties to fulfil appointments, or gain a favored purpose. He could, all through life, ride in the rain, ford rivers, cross mountains to preach to a small audience, and then feel ashamed of himself that his message was not better delivered. The propensity to merriment would show itself, as with Mr. Turner; but never broke forth in the pulpit. There he was always grave and solemn. He struggled to the last of life with that fiery temper that was kindled against Lyle in argument, and allayed by prayer. Tall, slim, broad-shouldered, he possessed a fine figure for an orator. His breast was thin, in his youth, and showed a tendency to flatness, indicative of inherent weakness. Till after his twenty-seventh year, he dreaded consumption, and expected an early death. This expectation, in connection with his ardent temperament, made him reckless of danger and exposure; he would die like a true soldier, in the field. As he approached his thirtieth year, his chest enlarged, and the predisposition to stoop gave place to a bold manly bearing, and his voice became more strong and penetrating. In preaching in the woods, the largest crowds ever assembled in the valley could hear with ease, and felt, under his vehement and often passionate declamation, his power to excite their stormy passions to a tempest. Always grave in the pulpit, he sometimes forgot himself when he would unbend in private intercourse, and fail to follow out the deep impression he had made in public; but he admired the man that could, without sternness, be a preacher everywhere. Warm in his attachments, and, unless restrained by the high motives of the gospel, strong in his resentments, the ardency of his temperament, his lively feelings, and a fund of kindness, softening the natural severity of his temper, made him an interesting companion and a valued friend. His power of sarcasm sometimes appeared in the pulpit; his mirthfulness never.

He presided over a classical school in Charlestown for a length of time, with great ability as a teacher and disciplinarian. The remuneration he received, after paying the expenses of the school and the wages of assistants, was small, but necessary to make up the deficiency of his salary in the support of his family. His connection with the school, consuming time and wasting his strength, he considered necessary to the welfare of his congregation, which he thought could not flourish without good schools. William Naylor, in after life a lawyer of eminence and an elder in the church, was one of his assistants. Mr. Hill thought that he might preach more effectually, in this way, and his labor was not in vain.

In the fall of 1792 he was married to Miss Nancy Morton, daughter of Col. Wm. Morton, of Charlotte, and took over to Jefferson, to bless his house, one of the sweetest flowers ever transplanted from the lowlands to the fertile valley of the Shenandoah. Of lovely form, and small delicate frame, of indescribable simplicity and sweetness of manners, forbearing in her disposition and devout in her faith, she reigned in her husband's heart till death; receiving from him in his age the same respectful, assiduous attention, with a

greater display of unchecked fondness than when he was striving to win her youthful love. Mr. Williamson, also very happily married, tells of him, in his early matrimonial days, that reading that verse of Paul in which he says — "husbands, love your wives," his single comment was, "Thankee, Paul, for that."

The Synod, at its meeting in Harrisonburg, Sept. 26th, 1794, resolved to divide Lexington Presbytery. "The dividing line shall begin on that part of the boundary line between the Presbyteries of Lexington and Redstone, on the Allegheny Mountains, where Hardy County is divided from Pendleton, running thence with the line dividing the counties until the same reaches the corner of Rockingham County; from thence in a direct course to the place where the great road through Keezletown to Winchester crosses the Shenandoah; from thence to Swift Run Gap on the Blue Ridge, which reaches the boundary of the Presbytery of Hanover." The members living north-east of said line—Moses Hoge, Nash Legrand, Wm. Hill, and John Lyle, and William Williamson formed the Presbytery of Winchester. The first meeting was held December 4th, 1794, in the stone meeting-house, Winchester, now occupied by the Baptists; members in attendance were Messrs. Hoge, Legrand and Williamson, with elders William Buckles, Alexander Feely and James Perry. Mr. Hoge opened the meeting with a sermon on the words, "The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed." The members all lived in Virginia, and west of the Blue Ridge. Mr. Hoge, the oldest member, and the first of the Presbytery located in the prescribed bounds, occupied the lower end of the Shenandoah Valley from the Ridge to the neighborhood of Martinsburg. Mr. Hill was next above him with similar boundaries. Mr. Legrand's charge reached across the Valley, and extended from below Winchester to Shenandoah County—some families from that county attending Cedar Creek meeting-house. Mr. Williamson, Warren County and a small part of Shenandoah. Mr. Lyle lived upon South Branch of the Potomac, in Hampshire County; and for a time was head of a popular and flourishing school. Mr. Legrand's charge was considered the most inviting; and he exerted a wider influence than his brethren for a series of years, and then gave way to Mr. Hill.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.

REV. JAMES TURNER.

At the base of the Blue Ridge, in the County of Bedford, Virginia, and in sight of the Peaks of Otter, James Turner had his birth-place and his burial. His parents were of English descent. His mother eminent for her piety in her unobtrusive life, gave birth

to this son May 7th, 1759, in the midst of the troubles of the Indian wars. Her efforts to train him in his boyhood, to walk in the paths of true wisdom, were ultimately crowned with success. In his early years, the Rev. David Rice, the apostle of Kentucky, was the pastor of the church at the Peaks, to which his mother belonged. Classical schools were cherished by the citizens of Bedford from the earliest settlement, and were much encouraged by Mr. Rice. The capacity of young Turner for language was found to be of a high order. He mastered the Latin Grammar in two weeks; and his proficiency in Greek was remarkable. His classical education, however, was never completed, and his Greek studies were not prosecuted to an equal extent with the Latin. In Mathematics and Philosophy his education was entirely neglected. He learned to speak the English language with purity and elegance, and was never at a loss for fitting words.

Having made choice of the law for his profession, he set out for the residence of the gentleman with whom he intended to pursue his studies with a wardrobe befitting his circumstances. While on his journey he was robbed of his clothes and money; and returned home mortified, and abandoned his scheme for a profession. In after life he was accustomed to speak of this frustration of his early designs with thankfulness, as one of the means used by the Lord to bring him to a heavenly life.

In early manhood his personal appearance was commanding; tall in stature, masculine in frame, with great activity and strength. In disposition kind, and in manners attractive. His sense of honor was quick, his integrity unimpeached. He possessed in a high degree the power of making mirth; and at gatherings in the neighborhood, and on court days, he indulged his vein of humor upon the follies and improprieties of others, for his own amusement and the enjoyment of the company. The life of the circle in which he moved, a party was not complete unless Turner was there. Unhappily he indulged himself in witty oaths "to point a sentence" and provoke a laugh. The use of ardent spirits was universal among his companions; card-playing was the amusement of all. Professional gambling was dishonorable. Horse-racing was patronized for the excitement, and the supposed improvement of the breed of horses. In all these Turner took a part with unbounded glee and humor. It was not uncommon for men to call at taverns and take a game of cards for a drink of spirits; or to stop in the woods to play for sport, or for a small sum of money. The Rev. James Mitchel, with whom Mr. Turner was afterwards associated in the ministry, used to relate — that one day passing Turner, in his wild days, with some others, playing cards by the road-side, Turner, with a great deal of profane mirth, insisted he should dismount and take a hand with them. In one of the trials of the speed of his horse, common in those days, he was thrown, and for a time was supposed to be dead. In the early part of the Revolutionary war he served a short time in

the army. The camp was not inviting, and he declined becoming a soldier in the regular army.

Pugilistic encounters to ascertain who was the "best man," were common in the mountainous regions of Virginia while Turner was a youth. When parties from different neighborhoods met, it was a point of honor to determine, by an encounter, who was the best boxer. One match led to another, and sometimes ended in a general fight. Challenges were sometimes passed by individuals, or sent from one neighborhood to another for a trial on a given day, at an appointed place, not uncommonly the court-house. Frequently the combats were ended without much injury; one party finding himself getting the worse, would yield, and cry "enough." Sometimes the angry passions, excited by ardent spirits, raged with terrible ferocity. In some places gouging became an art, and biting of the ears and nose a science. Barbarity has its limits; and to gouge both eyes was esteemed cruel and dishonorable. These customs have passed away, and scarce a relic of the victims can be found. Mr. Turner, by his frolic and fun, gave cause for many of these fights and was too high spirited to refuse what he had provoked. He received no lasting bodily injury, nor is there any tradition of his having inflicted any. In his ministerial life he seldom referred to any of these scenes. Once, however, illustrating the power of sympathy between a speaker and his audience, he said that when in his early days he got a hard fight on his hands, and was evidently getting worsted, a shout from his friends of "Well done, Turner!" — "Well hit, Turner!" would rouse him up, and he would put in a blow so much the better. The expression of his friends that he would gain the mastery often made him gain it. Through his whole life he was an example of the power of sympathy.

In the year 1778 he was married to Miss Sally Leftwitch, daughter of Colonel William Leftwitch, of Bedford. This marriage proved to him a source of much happiness: he lived with his estimable lady half a century wanting a few months. She bore him sons and daughters. After his marriage he settled on a farm about two miles from Liberty, the county seat; and for a series of years indulged in his mirth and frolic. A beef-steak club was formed to meet regularly once a week at a tavern in Liberty, in a room expressly appropriated to their use. Turner was captain. Drinking, gambling and carousing employed this company to a late hour; often the whole night.

About the time of his marriage he served his fellow citizens one session in the Legislature. His efforts at business and public speaking were not satisfactory to himself, though spoken well of by others; and at the close of the session he retired to private life, and never again permitted his name to be mentioned as a candidate for political honors. At that time he did not know his own powers of oratory. Of these he never seemed conscious till he saw their effects upon audiences listening to his exhortations to flee from the wrath to come.



In 1784 Rev. James Mitchel became pastor of the Peaks Church. Under his ministry, Bedford enjoyed repeated revivals. In the year 1789 the Rev. Drury Lacy preached repeatedly in the congregation of Mr. Mitchel. Multitudes were attracted to the place of meeting — among them Mr. Turner. While walking around the place of worship, and standing in the shade talking with his companions, the sweet, clear-toned voice of Lacy, fresh from the excitements and religious exercises of Prince Edward, caught his ear. He could not resist its charms; drawing nearer to enjoy its music, some sentences of gospel truth arrested his mind. He drew still nearer to hear what such a man would say on religion. When the congregation was dismissed, and the inquirers were seeking instruction from the ministers, Mr. Turner with an aching heart turned homewards. Strange thoughts passed through his mind, sad feelings possessed his soul, unusual sorrows pressed on his heart, melancholy forebodings overwhelmed him. He could neither drive these things away, nor fly from them. He was wretched and forlorn. He thought sometimes he was about to die; and sometimes that perhaps he too would become religious like the new converts he had heard of in other places. Home had no comfort for him.

When his sufferings became intolerable, he mounted his horse to seek his mother, and ask her sympathy and advice. The arrested man thought of the instructions of his childhood, and in the time of his distress fled to his mother's bosom. With great simplicity he told her his feelings about himself and God, and religion, and death; and inquired what he should do in his strange case. To his utter surprise, his mother, instead of expressing sympathy or giving counsel, exclaimed with tears — "My son! this is the very thing for which I have prayed for years!" She then broke forth in ascriptions of praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God, for his wonderful mercy in bringing her son under conviction. He stood and wondered if his mother had gone crazy. Her rejoicing added to his grief. Knowing his characteristic fondness and honesty, his mother did not for a moment doubt the reality of her son's convictions; she believed the strong man armed was seized by one stronger than he; and she rejoiced in his convictions and sorrow of heart, as the fore-runners of peace in believing. When her first gush of joy was passed she gave the counsel a Christian mother might give her son. He attended preaching, sought instruction, went to prayer-meetings, prayed in private, and read the word of God. Wearisome days and sleepless nights passed before he could find rest to his soul. He could make no excuse for his sins; and saw he deserved the worst from the hands of God. In receiving mercy, if ever he did, it seemed to him some mark ought to be set upon him, in memory of the past.

Hearing the subject of the new birth set forth, he was fully convinced of its truth and importance; and in his own case of its immediate necessity. And believing, as he afterwards related, that the new birth was attended with an agony of mind beyond anything

he had felt, and that in his case particularly, it ought to be so, he stood, literally stood in the corner of the room, where the services were that evening conducted, desiring, praying, waiting, for that untold agony of mind and body, which should precede spiritual life. He went away from the meeting alarmed, that not only had he not felt the expected agony, but had lost the distress he had been sinking under, and was becoming calm. He thought of the Lord Jesus Christ as the sinner's friend; and his soul broke forth in praise of him for his wonderful ways to the children of men. He felt he loved him; and yet could scarce believe that such a wretch, as he had been, could love him, or be loved by him. He knew not what to do. But as he meditated the tide of feeling became resistless. The mouth, once filled with songs of revelry, now spoke God's praise in no measured numbers; and he that had urged others, even preachers, to sin, now most earnestly exhorted them to repent and believe in Jesus.

The great change in Mr. Turner, and his vehement exhortations, alarmed and impressed the people of Bedford. In the month of September, the Rev. William Graham returning from his noted visit to Briery, tarried a few days, together with his young companions, in the neighborhood of New London, and joined in a series of religious meetings with the pastor and Dr. Smith, and Mr. Legrand. The religious excitement was very great. One that heard Mr. Turner exhort, Archibald Alexander, said — "his pathetic appeals in prayer-meetings, were overwhelming." In October, the Presbytery of Hanover held its meetings at Pisgah, one of the preaching places of Mr. Mitchel. The religious exercises were numerous; and the sermons were addressed to crowded auditories. On Sabbath the mind of Mr. Turner was greatly agitated. His views of divine things were clear, and his sense of unworthiness overwhelming. His past evil associations troubled him beyond measure; he threw himself upon the ground beside a fallen tree top, and gave vent to his agitated feelings in groans and cries.

The awakening on religious subjects becoming general, the demands for preaching the gospel were more numerous than the members of Presbytery could supply. The Presbytery, therefore, determined at this meeting to relax somewhat the strictness of their rules respecting a classical education, that they might admit to their number, Mr. William Moore, a Methodist minister, with high recommendations — "Because," say they, "in the present state of religion, and of our churches, men of liberal education and real piety cannot be obtained in sufficient numbers to supply the pressing demands of the people for the word and ordinances; they do, however, declare their approbation of that rule, in the general, and their intention to preserve a regard to it, as extremely useful, and perhaps necessary." This paved the way for an application to be made for the licensure of Mr. Turner.

The Beefsteak Club lay with weight upon Mr. Turner's mind. Having assembled the members by special invitation, he recounted

their past acts of friendship and confidence, and their course of living; he stated the change in his mind and feelings, and the consequent change of life he had commenced. He said one thing lay with weight upon him. He had gambled with them; and in so doing had both lost and won money; and probably was about even in his loss and gains. But he was troubled about the matter; such gains were sinful; and he was prepared now to begin to return the money he had won from them, as far as he could recollect, and would go on, if it took all he was worth; and he requested them to state all the instances of his winning they could recollect. He then exhorted them to attend to the salvation of their souls through Christ, of which they had as great need as himself. The club dissolved; and many of its members became hopefully pious. A prayer-meeting was set up in Liberty, conducted by Mr. Turner. His life was consistent, his zeal ardent, and his powers of attraction unusual; and at the same time his doctrines and exhortations were scriptural. His pastor called his attention to the gospel ministry; his heart was not averse to the work; but his circumstances, degree of education, his sense of propriety, and of the dignity and sanctity of the ministerial office, were great impediments in his way.

At a meeting of the Presbytery at Briery, May 7th, 1790, "Mr. James Turner, of Bedford, was recommended by Mr. Mitchel, to the notice of this Presbytery, as a person who had made some progress in learning, and of whose piety he had good hopes, being desirous to receive the advice of Presbytery respecting what constitutes a call to the ministry." After conversation with him, and hearing from him the circumstances of his conversion, and his religious experience, "the Presbytery thought proper to assign him subjects to write upon, as a specimen of his abilities." Though not enrolled as a candidate, they recommended him to write an essay upon the Imputed Righteousness of Christ, and a discourse upon Hebrews 5th: 4th, and a comment upon Romans 8th: 28th, and onwards. A question was proposed by Mr. Mitchel—"Whether a private christian of good character might be permitted to exhort his fellow christians in social meetings?" Answered in the affirmative, "provided the society themselves approved of it." Thus encouraged by Presbytery, Mr. Turner held meetings for exhortation and prayer, read the Greek Testament, and pursued the studies in preparation for the ministry, while attending to the duties of the head of a family.

On the 2d of April, 1791, at Briery, he read before Presbytery "a discourse upon the words, 'And no man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron;' with which the Presbytery was so well pleased that they admitted him to trial, and agreed to sustain that sermon as a part." At Cub Creek, October 22d, 1791, Mr. Turner opened Presbytery with his trial sermon. His trials and examinations being passed satisfactorily, he was, on the evening of the 29th, at the house of William Morton, licensed to preach the gospel. A regular call was immediately put in for his

services by the Peaks church. He hesitated to accept the invitation to his native congregation, in which he had lived so long in sin. Mr. Mitchel urged the matter. He took time for consideration. His mind became dark and his hope clouded immediately after his licensure. "Last Saturday being licensed to preach the everlasting gospel, in the evening had some sore exercises, and dreadful, awful apprehensions of the wrath of God due to me for sin, which drove me near the brink of despair." Upon recovering his peace of mind he devoted himself anew to God.

The succeeding May, he informed the Presbytery that he accepted the call. On the 28th of July, 1792, he was ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry, at Bethel church, in Bedford, Mr. Graham, of Lexington, preaching the ordination sermon from John 21st: 15, 16, 17, and Mr. Lacy presiding and giving the charge. He was also installed co-pastor with Mr. Mitchel. This relation he held till his death; and to the honor of both it is recorded that no jarring string was ever known to be struck between them. Mitchel never envied Turner; and Turner never scorned Mitchel. Mitchel took the position of senior pastor undisputed, and Turner of the eloquent preacher. Both were beloved and honored by the people.

Mr. Turner had great power to move assemblies. He had been unequalled in producing mirth. His few efforts in the legislature led others to anticipate, what he did not think possible, success as a public speaker, on grave subjects. His exhortations in prayer meetings produced effects that revealed to himself his own powers. He preached for years to a congregation embracing many very intelligent and many shrewd people; and the influence of his oratory was neither weak nor transient, nor wanted novelty to give it effect. Impressed himself, he impressed others. His great physical strength permitted him to pour forth a current of feeling that would have destroyed a weaker body. The gentle flow of his own bosom, or the rapid torrent of his excited passion swept his audience along with unresisted influence. He carefully studied his subjects; and sometimes made notes of thoughts and arguments and proofs and texts, but never wrote out a sermon in full, and generally made no written preparation. The commencement of his discourse was generally in a low voice, in an easy, unpretending conversational style and manner, without any promise. His train of thought was good, arranged in a plain, simple, common sense way, so natural the hearer would be inclined to think he would have arranged it in the same way, and that it cost no effort in the preparation, and was so plain everybody ought to see it. The outbreak of feeling was unpremeditated, and equally unexpected by himself and audience. He, in common with the hearers, seemed confident that the subject prepared would excite him; but in what part of the sermon, or in what particular channel the torrent would run, he neither knew nor desired to know till the moment came, and then he revelled in the delicious excitement. If the inspiration did not come upon him,

and the spring of feeling was not opened, he went mourning from the pulpit, but the audience always had a good sermon, one satisfactory if it were not known that he could do better. His preaching hours were generally seasons of delight; often of the highest enjoyment. On some well prepared, important subject of the gospel, his imagination taking fire, his heart melting, his tones and gestures and words were graphic; and his hearers saw and felt and rejoiced with him.

Out of the pulpit, in his conversation on the truths and experience of religion, he was often carried away with the excitement and was as resistless as in it. His pulpit subjects were the weighty truths of the gospel. Over the depravity, ruin, and danger of sinful man he was agitated to tears, and sighs, and sometimes groans, and exclamations; and the audience sighed with him. On repentance, justification by faith, and the dignity and glory of Christ he was enraptured and enrapturing. With a mind clear to discover the truth, he had no delight in metaphysical discussions. He taught doctrines practically as the foundation of experience and the comfort of life. With him, imputation of Adam's sin, universal depravity, and the certainty of coming wrath were subjects of deep commiseration and powerful incentives to action; justification by faith, a source of unspeakable thanksgiving; election made him humble and gave him strength. He felt what he believed. In preaching, the rapid transition of his thoughts and variety of feeling in grouping his ideas and illustrations, would sometimes excite his audience to a pleasant smile, and then suffuse the cheeks with tears before the smile had died away. At some unexpected turn of thought his hearers would often spring to their feet, without noise, or consciousness of what they were doing. Unstudied in his manner and attitudes, impulsive, honest, frank, kind, unsuspecting, full of zeal and tender feelings, and of strong sympathy with his fellow men, he was an orator of nature.

He was successful as a co-pastor, and as an evangelist to the destitute neighborhoods in Bedford and the surrounding counties. Dr. Speece used to tell an anecdote characteristic of the two men. In one of the excursions the ministers of Hanover were accustomed to make for the purpose of preaching in destitute neighborhoods, Messrs. Turner and Speece went together according to the Scripture rule, of two and two. Turner all feeling, vehemence, and passion; Speece cool, didactic, and argumentative. It was usual for the ministers to alternate, and the preacher of yesterday followed the sermon of to-day with an exhortation. It was Speece's turn to preach, a large congregation had assembled where preaching was seldom heard. Mr. Speece gave an able discourse, full of gospel truth, in his unimpassioned style and manner, without any thing as Mr. Turner thought to excite or interest the people. At the close of sermon, Mr. Turner asked Mr. Speece to close the meeting, his feelings being too much borne down to exhort. As soon as they were a little withdrawn, Mr. Speece says — "Brother

Turner, what is the matter with you to-day?" he replied — "Brother Speece, I do not like your preaching at all. If I could use such language and sentiments as you have at command, I could prostrate all before me. But you go drawling along, letting your words drop out of your mouth like stones out of the tail of a cart. Why don't you fire, man? — put in more powder, and fire clear; and then you may expect to do execution."

The blessings which God showered upon him, in his person, and family, and congregation, Mr Turner enjoyed with a glad heart. He may be said, after his conversion, to have enjoyed life. He loved his Redeemer, and loved his fellow men, and enjoyed the favors of God to a degree of blessedness he had sought in vain, in the ways of sin, in his younger days. The common sorrows and griefs of men, were mingled in due proportion in his cup. But in his griefs he had joy. Two of his sons entered the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. One of these used to tell a characteristic anecdote of his father. About the time he was licensed he was called to preach in his father's pulpit, the old gentleman sitting directly behind him. The presence of the father added nothing to the composure of the son. His subject was interesting, and the sermon pretty well prepared. But he delivered it rather tamely. When he was about finishing the old gentleman pulled him by the coat, saying — "stop a little — let me try" — and taking his place he began the subject again — that of the New Birth — and poured out a short sermon, with great pathos, visibly affecting the whole audience. "There," said he, turning to his son, "that is the way to preach." "I slipped down from the pulpit," said the son, "and got away, hardly knowing whether I should preach again or not."

In 1810, his daughter Betsey, married to a Mr. Hoskins, died in her 30th year. Her illness was long. She lost her hope in Christ. Her father mourned with her in the depths of sorrow. But God did not permit her to pass away in a cloud; her mind became clear, and her hope rapturous. She died triumphing. The father's heart overflowed as he recorded in his Bible the death of his daughter in the sweetness of hope. On the 3d of October, his son William Leftwich, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Fayetteville, was called to his rest, leaving a wife and three children, and a congregation that loved him tenderly. This stroke was unexpected by the father, and overwhelming. When the bitterness of the grief had a little passed, he said — "I cannot do better than raise up children for the kingdom of heaven."

In November 1818, Mr. Turner writes to Rev. J. H. Rice of Richmond — "I am thankful I attended the meeting of Presbytery in Lynchburg. The very cordial reception I met with from my brethren in the ministry, and others male and female, made me experience more enjoyment and fellowship than I had proposed to myself this side of the grave. Yes, my friend, I did enjoy unexpected pleasure at different times while there, and more particularly was it the case during your delivery of that discourse on Sunday night,

from 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.' Whether any of my sermons have ever been useful to you, I cannot pretend to say; but this I believe I can say, that sermon was edifying to me." Referring to the young preacher he says, "I was more especially delighted with the exhibitions of preaching talents made by that truly amiable young man Mr. Thornton; but these feelings have ever since been attended with fears of a too early removal from those labors in which he appeared so cordially engaged."

The appearance of Mr. Turner at the Presbytery referred to in the preceding letter, is thus given by his friend J. H. Rice, in the *Evangelical and Literary Magazine*, for Nov. 1818. "An aged clergyman who attended this meeting particularly engaged my attention, and I may even say fascinated me. He had in his manner nothing austere, nor reserved; but seemed accessible and communicative to every one. All stiffness of etiquette, all doctorial dignity are perfectly foreign to his nature and habits. Every thing about him is plain, simple and unaffected. The tones of his voice are more expressive of cordiality and perfect good-will than any I have ever heard. His eye expresses the deepest tenderness. The whole cast of his countenance expresses strong intelligence. His perceptions are quick and clear, and his imagination ever ready to kindle into a blaze. It is impossible to hear him speak without being convinced of his absolute sincerity. His style is like himself, perfectly plain and unadorned. He never uses any but common words, put together in the most natural order, and in sentences usually very short. But as these words express the conceptions of a strong original thinker, and the feelings of a most affectionate and tender heart, they seize and enchain the attention and subdue the hearts of his hearers.

"His preaching is in the tone, and style and whole manner of animated conversation, except when occasionally he is borne away by his feelings, and speaks too loud for his own ease or the comfort of his audience. In fact this is the only thing that I could censure in his manner of preaching. On the whole, he comes near, in many respects, to my idea of an orator. And he more than ever has convinced me that simplicity is one of the highest attributes of true eloquence. Involved sentences, unusual expressions, the fragments of splendid metaphors broken and mixed together in dazzling confusion, are, since I have seen this venerable preacher, more disgusting than before. In private conversation, the Rev. Mr. — is as pleasant as in the pulpit he is edifying. He has a very considerable store of anecdotes; relates them in the most natural manner; and generally brings them to bear on some point of utility, so as to afford instruction and make it delightful. In younger life he was a man of pleasure, and mixed much with the gay world. His observations on men and things, thus have great truth and pungency. I was gratified to hear such a man as he is, bear a most solemn testimony against the daily, even though moderate use of spirituous liquors. It was his declaration, that according to his experience

this practice had produced greater trouble in the Church and created more scandals than all other sources of evil combined."

Such was the appearance of Mr. Turner, all the latter part of his life, with this only exception, that like fully ripened fruit he grew more mellowed and lovely as he drew near his end. Preachers and people hung upon his lips to catch some of the lovely thoughts of the simple-hearted venerable Christian. When it became evident that his attendance on Synod and Presbytery was drawing to an end, the anxiety to see and hear him, became uncontrolled. "Will father Turner be here? Has father Turner come? Where is he? Will he preach? No, he is unwell; but he will perhaps give an exhortation. Where does he lodge?" His age was crowned with reverence and honor.

Dr. Baxter conversing with a young friend in the year 1831, respecting the prayerfulness and spiritual-mindedness of Mr. Turner, said, on one occasion when the Synod met in Lexington, (probably 1805), during recess, Mr. Turner walking down the street to a friend's house, became absorbed about the things of eternity, and, apparently unconscious of the place or company, took off his hat and began to pray aloud for a blessing on the occasion and people. And said the Doctor, after a pause of deep emotion, "there are souls rejoicing in heaven over the result of that meeting." The Rev. J. C. Willson, speaking of the same Synod, said, he had no doubt that at times Mr. Turner was more eloquent than Patrick Henry ever was. He preached on Sabbath afternoon of the Synod on Rev. 1st. 7th. "Behold he cometh with clouds and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him; even so, Amen." And so great was the power of his description, that during a good part of the discourse I seemed to see the Saviour coming and hear the people wailing. Mr. Willson and a number of others, as J. D. Ewing, Samuel M'Nutt, Joseph Logan, A. B. Davidson and John M'Ilhenny, that were impressed at that time, and particularly moved by that sermon, afterwards entered the ministry.

Mr. Turner was not unconscious of his powers, neither was he unmindful of the fact that the inspiration of truth and the gush of resistless feeling that came upon him, in his ministry, were not at his bidding. He looked for them, and if they came not, he went away bemoaning himself and humbled before God. He once told an anecdote of himself, illustrating the operations of his mind and heart. Preaching of a week-day in the extreme part of his charge, in the earlier part of his ministry, Mr. Lacy and another brother in the ministry heard of this appointment on their road, and, anxious to hear him planned their arrival so that he should be in the exercises of worship on their entering, and so prevented from calling on them. He had commenced his sermon when he saw them quietly enter and take their seats, said—"Ah, why did you not come earlier—you will get only plain fare from me to-day." It was a hot day, and he had taken off his coat to be more free. He wished he had it on again.



On he went with his sermon, and his little congregation were in tears; he looked round and saw the tears rolling down the cheeks of his brethren — “Ah, have I got you too?” So he concluded to preach when it was his duty, and not to mind who came in.

The time came that he must die. His strength was evidently giving way fast. He set his house in order. On the 10th of March, 1827, he put his hand and seal to his last will and testament, in which are these sentences: “I, James Turner, a minister of the gospel, in Bedford County, Virginia, convinced of the uncertainty of human life, and of my own in particular, and now laboring under a complication of complaints, that I am apprehensive will before long, remove me from time to eternity; but in full exercise of my reason and judgment, do institute and appoint this my last will and testament. In the first place, as a poor lost and ruined sinner, I cast myself wholly upon the mercy of God, in and through his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, hoping, praying for salvation from sin and hell, in no other way; and do hereby solemnly ratify and confirm that written covenant with the Lord, into which I entered not long after I became a professor of religion, and renewed shortly after I was licensed to preach the gospel. I know most assuredly that upon any other plan than that of the gospel I cannot be saved; but upon this plan of infinite grace and mercy, the vilest sinner upon earth, who has become a believer, may humbly, yet confidently hope for heaven with all its everlasting enjoyments. As to my body I feel no anxiety about it, only that it should without parade, and in the plainest manner, be committed to the earth to see corruption, believing that at the last day it will be raised to immortality. With respect to the disposal of my earthly property amongst my children, it has long been a settled point with me, that I would as near as possible, make an equal division.

In the October following, in Lynchburg, he met the Synod of Virginia for the last time. On Sabbath afternoon, the sacrament of the Supper was administered, the communicants occupying the entire area of the church. The sight of this assembly, as he looked at it from the pulpit, overcame him. The minister that read the hymn of institution, as he took his seat, saw the tears flowing down Mr. Turner's cheeks. “This large assembly,” said the old man, “of the people of God, so reminds me of what is said of their coming from the north, and the south, the east, and the west, and sitting down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven — and the thought that I shall so soon be there myself, quite overcomes me.” He at the earnest request of the brethren girded up his strength and delivered one sermon, perfectly characteristic. It was on the progress of the church of God from the day of Pentecost to the present, and its anticipations of future glory. With graphic power he recounted its trials, its enemies, its conflicts, and its victories. It was the last effort of the old man. On the 18th of January, 1828, a fit of apoplexy brought him to his end. He was sensible of his disease, its power, and progress, and uttered but one sentence — “I am dying.”

## CHAPTER XV.

## BETHEL AND HER MINISTERS.

OF the four congregations formed by John Blair on his visit to Virginia in 1746, with their appropriate elders, embracing the whole width of the Valley from a little above Staunton to some distance beyond Lexington, south-westwardly, Forks of James, Timber Ridge, New Providence, and North Mountain; the first of the last have disappeared from the records of the church. In the place of the first name, Hall's meeting-house, New Monmouth, New Monmouth and Lexington were in common use. In place of the fourth, Brown's meeting-house embracing one end of the congregation became the leading name on the records — then Brown's meeting-house and North Mountain; and now Hebron and Bethel. The old North Mountain meeting-house stood near the grave-yard eight or nine miles from Staunton, on the Middlebrook road. Brown's meeting-house accommodated one part of the extended congregation, better than the North Mountain did the other. After much consultation a new church called Bethel was reared, principally by the agency of Col. Doak, a few steps from the site of the present brick church, in a retired but pleasant and central spot, about ten miles south of Staunton, and about midway between the Greenville and Middlebrook roads, from Staunton to Lexington. To this place a greater part of those families in the neighborhood of the North Mountain meeting-house have come, and with them were united some from New Providence, and some from Tinkling Spring, and formed the large and flourishing congregation of Bethel.

The name North Mountain, as applying to the whole region now covered by Hebron and Bethel, was never entered upon the records of Hanover Presbytery. "Brown's meeting-house" — "the meeting-house near Major Brown's" — "the inhabitants assembling at the meeting-house," &c., were the names recorded in petitions for supplies. For a number of years after New Providence, and Timber Ridge, and Tinkling Spring had pastors, this region could get no settled minister, and depended on supplies, and the labors of the neighboring ministers. In October of the year 1766, Mr. Charles Cummings received a call from — "*the congregation belonging to Major Brown's meeting-house in Augusta;*" this he accepted, and served the congregation till April, 1772. In what manner he disposed of his labors we have no memoranda, and can only conjecture that the Bethel part of the congregation was not neglected. The two parts of the congregation remained vacant till 1778, when a call was put in for the services of Archibald Scott from Brown's meeting-house and North Mountain, which he accepted. They were an associated charge during his pastorate of more than twenty

years. After his death the congregation made separate provisions for their spiritual wants.

Mr. ARCHIBALD SCOTT, a lonely emigrant from Scotland to Pennsylvania, in early life, followed the plough for a livelihood, in the employ of wealthy farmers. His correct religious deportment, and studious employment of all his leisure hours in the acquisition of useful knowledge, attracted the attention of Dr. Cooper, a member of Donegal Presbytery. On further acquaintance the doctor encouraged him to commence a course of study for the sacred ministry. Having been educated in the peculiarities of the Seceders in Scotland, he retained through life a strong attachment to the Church of his fathers, and carried out in his ministry, in after life, some of the characteristic traits of that division of the Scotch Presbyterian Church. The kindness shown him in Pennsylvania, and the encouragement to prepare for the ministry, drew him to a closer acquaintance with the Presbyterian Church, from which he differed in some matters, of importance in the estimation of his own denomination; and after a time he became a member of that Church and a candidate for the ministry. He pursued his classical studies under the direction of a Mr. Finley, whose course of instruction was extensive and his teaching thorough, though principally confined to the classics. Here he became acquainted with a Mr. Ramsey, whose parents had emigrated to the Virginia frontiers, and by him he was persuaded to seek employment in that new and fertile region.

Supporting himself by teaching school, he pursued a course of theological reading, under the direction of Mr. William Graham, of Liberty Hall. The first notice of Mr. Scott, on the minutes of Presbytery, bears date June 19th, 1777, Concord, Bedford County. "Mr. Scott delivered the lecture, and the Presbyterial exercise assigned him at our last Presbytery, which were considered and sustained as parts of trial." This refers to the meeting at Concord, Oct. 1776; the records of the meeting are lost. Oct. 30th, 1777, at Buffalo, Mr. Scott delivered a popular sermon on Rev. 22d. 17th, "And the Spirit and Bride say come." On the next day, he and Samuel Doak and Edward Crawford, after a protracted examination were licensed to preach the gospel. The Presbytery, upon deliberating upon their several trial sermons, resolved, "that they be sustained as parts of trial, and that the moderator administer to them such cautions as the Presbytery thought necessary, upon the consideration of their performances." For about a year, Mr. Scott preached as a supply to the vacancies in the Valley; and in October 1778, at Mountain Plains a call from the North Mountain and Brown's meeting-house was put in his hands by Presbytery and accepted; preparations were made for his ordination at Brown's meeting house on the first Tuesday of the succeeding December; Mr. Graham to preach the ordination sermon, and Mr. Waddell to preside and give the charge. Mr. Scott was appointed to preach prior to his ordination from the words, "God is love." Mr. Samuel Doak

having accepted a call from the congregations of Hopewell and Concord on Holston, in Tennessee, his ordination was appointed to take place with that of Mr. Scott. The records of the meeting for the ordination are lost; but Mr. Scott appears as a member at the next meeting.

The year succeeding his settlement, as he was riding through the neighborhood, he came unexpectedly upon a company of men putting up a large log building. Upon inquiry, he found it was designed as a meeting-house. The people worshipping at the old North Mountain meeting-house, had been talking about a new church building, and a new position, but nothing had been decided upon by the congregation. Fearing lest evil might spring from this sudden movement of one part of the congregation, the young pastor says—“Are you not too fast, my boys?” “No,” said Col. Doak, “we will end the dispute by putting up the Church.” The church building was completed and called Bethel, and the dispute was heard of no more. This church building became notorious for two politico-religious meetings during the Revolution.

In the year 1784, the Presbytery of Hanover presented a memorial to the General Assembly of the State, on the Bill for a general assessment for the support of religious teachers, brought forward and advocated by Patrick Henry, who thought that support should be given to the public instructors in religion, of whatever denomination, under the sanction and provisions of law. That memorial was presented by Messrs. Smith and Todd. A few days after, these gentlemen handed in one in their own name.

TO THE HONORABLE THE SPEAKER AND THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES—The petition and memorial of John Todd and John B. Smith respectfully shows—that your memorialists as members of the Presbytery of Hanover, entrusted by them to wait upon the Assembly with their late memorial, (see 1st Vol. of Sketches, pp. 337 and 8), beg leave to explain that particular which refers to the incorporation of clergymen, as we are afraid that some gentlemen in the house may entertain a misapprehension of it. The Presbytery suppose that the only incorporation, which government is adequate to, is of a civil nature, by which societies in a collective capacity may hold property for any lawful purpose. And in their view, to incorporate clergymen exclusively of the religious community which they serve, would be an unequal, impolitic and dangerous measure. As to the incorporation of any order of men, or any religious society by the State, under the express idea of conveying to them any powers of Church government, the Presbytery absolutely protests against it, as inconsistent with the proper objects of legislation and an unnecessary and dangerous measure; unnecessary, because it would be to acknowledge the state as the indulgent parent of any class of citizens, whose consciences would permit them to become obedient children in spirituals, whilst those who should refuse submission in this respect, though equally good citizens, might be treated with a partial coldness, which would be undeserved. We

therefore pray in the name of the Presbytery, that this distinction of the two kinds of incorporation may be preserved as their true meaning. We are gentlemen your humble servants,

JOHN TODD,  
JOHN B. SMITH.

Richmond, Nov. 18th 1784.

At the next Spring meeting, held in Bethel meeting-house, May 19th, 1785, a petition came up from the session of Augusta church, requesting an explanation of the word *liberal* in the late memorial. This led to consultation by Committee, and in Presbytery at large, which ended in the Presbytery declaring, unanimously, against any assessment whatever. The Presbytery were unanimously of the opinion, that a Convention of the Presbyterian body was expedient. In concurrence with several members of different congregations, the 10th of the succeeding August, was fixed upon. This Convention met and adopted an able memorial, (see 1st vol. of Sketches, pp. 342, 43, 44), in which the memorialists say — "We oppose the bill, because it is a departure from the line of legislation; because it is unnecessary and inadequate to its professed end, impolitic in many respects, and a direct violation of the declaration of rights." On this memorial, J. B. Smith was heard on the floor of Assembly, in Committee of the Whole. In the event, Mr. Jefferson's bill on the freedom of conscience was adopted.

The members of this congregation took some share in the struggles of the Revolution. Captain Tate was in the battle of the Cowpens, and shared in Morgan's retreat to Virginia with the prisoners. He returned to Carolina with the militia that were sent from Bethel and Tinkling Spring, to join General Greene, and assist in turning Lord Cornwallis back from his approach to Virginia. When his company of militia assembled at Midway, or Steele's tavern, Dr. Waddell addressed them on the eve of their departure, and exhorted them to patriotism and courage, and prompt obedience to the military rules, under which they now came. They joined Greene, and were with him in the battle of Guilford, March 15th, 1781. Captain Tate was in the second, or Virginia line of militia. The first line of militia had orders to fire once and retreat; the second to act as circumstances required, and when necessary, to fall back on the regulars. Tate bravely maintained his post; being a little deaf, it is supposed he did not hear the signal call for the militia to retire, and was surrounded and slain with a number that stood courageously with him. The majority of his company returned, and were assembled with their neighbors to worship God, from Sabbath to Sabbath, at Tinkling Spring and Bethel. Many of these militia carried scars from Guilford to their graves. Some of these militia soldiers were for a time hearers of the present minister, Dr. McFarland, the last of whom, Mr. Wilson, he attended to an honorable grave.

In the June succeeding the battle of Guilford, an alarm was given on a Saturday, that Tarlton having surprised Charlottesville, was

on his way to Staunton. Mr. Scott was then hearing a class in the Catechism, at Bethel meeting-house. This he hastily dismissed to go home, and spread the alarm. The succeeding Sabbath was a day of military gathering from Lexington to the Peaked Mountain, to pre-occupy all the gaps of the Blue Ridge with expert riflemen. Scott had no preaching that day at Bethel; Brown had no worship at Providence; Wilson, of Augusta, sent his people to watch the enemy; Waddell went to Tinkling Spring, but his people were lining the mountains on the look-out for the approach of Tarlton; and Graham in Lexington was parading his people, and marching with them for Rockfish Gap. But the Valley was spared the shedding of blood on that occasion. No hostile force trod upon her soil. Her sons spilt their own blood elsewhere in the defence of their country, at Point Pleasant, the Cowpens, Guilford, and Yorktown. There was lately living one, William McCutchan, who served three tours in the army. The first and longest was in the Jerseys, and at White Plains; to this he was with difficulty admitted by the commander on account of his youth. The second was to meet Cornwallis in his approach to central Virginia; and the last at Yorktown. His simple narrative gives a deeper impression of the wrongs of the soldiers in the American army, in losing their wages by the paper currency, or continental money, than any page of history has ever done.

Dismissed to return home from the Jerseys, after his time of service was expired, he received his wages in this money. Soon after leaving camp, a landlord, supposed not to be favorable to the cause, refused him and his companion a meal of victuals for less than five dollars a-piece in paper currency. The next landlord demanded two and a half dollars. They determined to travel as far as possible in a day; and to eat but one meal. In all the places along the road where they called for refreshment, they were asked, "can you pay for it?" and "in what can you pay for it?" In Winchester where they purchased their last meal, the landlord took but half price of them, as they were soldiers — the first time any allowance was made in their favor — and charged only a dollar and a half. A week's wages would not pay their expenses, travelling on foot, a single day.

As pastor of Bethel, Mr. Scott had in his charge some of the connections of his early teacher, Mr. Finley; particularly the family of Mrs. Margaret Humphreys, who lived to an advanced age near Greenville, and for a long time the only female representative of Bethel during the Revolution. Her graphic descriptions were full of interest, and conveyed the liveliest impression of the times, when the valley was a frontier settlement. Where now may be seen the beautiful farms and substantial houses in Bethel, her active memory recalled the log cabins, the linsey woolsey, the short gowns, the hunting shirts, the moccasins, the pack horses, the simple living, the shoes and stockings for winter and uncommon occasions, the deer and the rifle, the fields of flax and the spinning wheel, and the wool and looms; and with them, the strict attention to religious concerns,

the catechising of children, the regular going to church, the reading of the Bible, and keeping Sabbath from the beginning to the end, the singing of hymns and sacred songs, all blended, presenting a beautiful picture of enterprise, economy and religion in laying the foundation of society.

A sacred lyric that was said to have been composed by Samuel Davies, and in great repute in her young days, she repeated with animation in her declining years :

Active spark of heavenly fire,  
In a clod of earth confined,  
Ever fluttering to aspire,  
To the great paternal mind ;  
Death has broke thy prison of clay,  
And given thee leave to soar away.  
Now to thy native regions go,  
There with etherial flames to glow.

Hark ! th' angelic envoys say,  
Sister spirit, come away !  
Drop the cumber of thy clay !  
And with thy kindred join !

Angels, I come ! conduct me on,  
Instruct me in a world unknown ;  
Teach me, inexperienced stranger,  
How to act as the immortals do ;  
To think and speak and move like you.  
Teach me the senses to supply,  
To see without the organ of an eye ;  
The music of your song to hear,  
Without the organ of an ear.

Yes ! now blessed angels now I find  
The powers of an immortal mind,  
How active and how strange !  
And is this then Eternity !  
And am I safely landed here !  
No more to sin, no more to die,  
No more to sigh, or shed a tear !  
My soul, can this be I ?

I who just now in prison dark,  
In yonder world of woe and guilt,  
Just now shuddering, trembling, sighing,  
Startled at the thought of dying,  
Am I the same ?

Or is it all a pleasing dream ?

O yes the very same !  
Ye heavenly choirs ! cherubic, seraphic choirs !  
Help a stranger to express  
His thanks to rich unbounded grace.

Jesus ! the unbounded grace was thine,  
Who bled and groaned upon the tree,  
And bore infinite pangs for me ;  
And do I see thy lovely face at last,  
O my dear incarnate God !  
And has thy love thy servant placed  
In thy shining blest abode ?  
Enough ! enough ! thy bounty gives me more  
Than I could ask, or wish before.

Toil and simplicity of living, with industry, were commingled with devotion. Hearts that could relish Davies' Sentiments, could not be rude or vulgar or coarse. Minds of the finest mould, and hearts of the purest sympathies, were found clad in homespun, and often at labor not so well fitted to the strength and condition of women. But in a frontier life what hardships will not women bear! Said a man in Bethel, somewhat advanced in years — "The hardest day's work I ever did, when a young man, in the harvest field, was in keeping up with a stout Dutch girl, that came to help us for a day or two; on she went, singing and laughing, till night; and I was glad to see sundown come." The lighter frames and fairer forms would spin and weave, and clothe their fathers and their brothers, and make becoming fabrics for themselves.

For above twenty years Mr. Scott fulfilled the duties of pastor to these churches. His residence was on the east side of the Middlebrook road, near the sixth mile post from Staunton, a log house, still standing, in the hollow, a short distance from the more sightly habitation of its present owner. Here he was often seen sweating at the plough, gaining for his children a livelihood, as he had gained his own, in his youth; for during the war, and for a time afterwards, the salaries of the clergy were small and indifferently paid. He was tall, of a large frame, but not fleshy; his features prominent and pitted with the small-pox, by which one eye had been affected, requiring frequent wiping to prevent a tear-drop. In his preaching he was doctrinal, always instructive, and often deeply impressive and powerful. His modesty sometimes became diffidence, and his self-respect was often overshadowed by his shrinking from notoriety. He took no prominent part in Presbytery or Synod, but waited for those whose opinion he valued to take the lead. He held his own abilities and acquirements in low estimation, and was seldom satisfied with his pulpit performances.

The people of his charge, capable, many of them at least, of judging with great accuracy, held him in high estimation. He was sound in doctrine, and if blessed with less powers of mind than Graham, he exhibited a greater fund of tenderness; with less of eloquence that takes every soul by storm, he could mingle more with the mass of people, and make them feel he was bone of their bone. His usefulness was increasing, and his hold on his people growing stronger and stronger till the day of his death. He did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly with God. Having preached from a text, from which while a student with Mr. Finley he had heard a warm-hearted minister discourse affectingly — "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people" — he expressed himself as having preached badly, and bemeaned the text; while his hearers thought he had preached exceedingly well. Mr. Graham heard the same man in Pennsylvania — and when he afterwards poured out his excited heart in a discourse on the same words, with an impression never forgotten, he calmly replied to an impertinent inquiry — "Mr. Graham, how long were you getting that sermon ready you preached the other day?"



"How long was I in getting it ready? — why, about twenty years," and probably thought as little of that sermon as Scott did of his.

Greatly devoted to catechising the children of the congregation, he devoted some time in the week to meeting different neighborhoods for that purpose. Besides the shorter catechism, he used another called *The Mother's Catechism*, of which he procured a reprint in Staunton, in thirty-two full octavo pages; the last two and a half pages formed an appendix on election, drawn up by himself. Judging from that, almost the only remaining specimen of the productions of his pen, his mind was discriminating, his views of theological subjects sound and in accordance with the principles of the Reformation; and if he preached as he wrote, his people were well instructed in divine things. If the present generation know little of him, it is because no written memorial was made of his labors and his worth. He still lives, however, in the Lord's vineyard, if a man may live in his descendants; and the covenant of mercy has been a rich inheritance to his children and grand-children; many of whom are in the church, and a number in the ministry, whose labors God has condescended to bless.

On the 4th of March, 1799, after a short illness, he closed his useful life, leaving a widow and six children, two sons and four daughters, all young, and one an infant. His body lies in the burying-ground near Hebron Church; and though the subject was frequently spoken of, and some steps once taken by his people, no tomb-stone has yet been erected over his ashes; and soon the inquirer will search for his grave in vain. His wife, a sister of the young Mr. Ramsey, that induced him to seek a home in Virginia, survived him but a few years. The care of the family then devolved upon his eldest child, a daughter. She opposed the scattering of the children among the friends, as was proposed by some well-wishers of the family; and taking the direction of affairs and the management of the children, the sister became mother to the bereaved flock. With the advice and counsel of the ministerial brethren of her father, and the judicious relations that were near, and those gentlemen of the congregation who loved the children for the father's sake, she contrived to secure a classical education for the boys, and a sufficient course of instruction, in English, for the girls, refusing all offers of marriage till the education of the children was secured. One of the sons, long a successful and laborious minister of the gospel, attributes much of his usefulness to the kindness and energy with which that sister trained his early years, with exemplary devotion and care. During his life he revered her as a mother. "As I passed the place of our residence a short time since," said the son, who was too young at his father's death to know his loss, "I paused a while to ponder over the scenes of the young days of my orphanage, while my sister, M'Pheeters, now no more, was my sister and my mother. I loved and revered her then; I thanked God for her again, with a heart full of unutterable emotion." Some pious females will be found at the last day, who in their silent and

unobtrusive self-denial have won a crown that shall never fade away: Christ has said of Mary — "She has done what she could." How much that sentence means when applied to a sister that reared one brother for a useful and successful teacher, and three sisters, who were all comfortably situated as heads of families, and another brother to be a minister in the Presbyterian Church, who in his declining years looks upon three of his sons devoted to the work of the ministry, eternity alone can determine.

Bethel has shared in various precious revivals, and has sent forth some faithful ministers of the gospel, as Doak, the pioneer of the gospel and literature in Tennessee, the two Logans, M'Pheeters, and Mines. In the early revivals there was nothing peculiar. In that great revival, which prevailed in Virginia in the years 1802 and 1806, the bodily exercises were matters of great discussion. Baxter was in the midst, and was slow in saying they were from evil; Erwin, of Mossy Creek, set himself strongly against them, and his congregation was never visited by them; Brown, of New Providence, was clear and decided against them, and his people were not troubled; Wilson, of Augusta, was much inclined to believe that they were accompaniments of good, and might be themselves good, and his congregation was largely visited. Bethel was a vacancy for a time after Mr. Scott's death, and the people were somewhat divided in opinion about the nature of these exercises. At a meeting held there by Baxter of Lexington, Brown, of New Providence, and Mr. Boggs, a licentiate of Winchester Presbytery, under a sermon from Baxter, the whole congregation appeared deeply affected. During the sermon, delivered by Mr. Boggs, after a short interval, the bodily agitations began; one of the elders rose and began to sing, and immediately the whole congregation was convulsed with various emotions and exercises; groans and sighs and cries were heard in every part, and for awhile the worship was suspended. The congregation were greatly divided in their opinion about the proper course of procedure; some withdrew, and joined the Seceders at Old Providence, where there were no symptoms of the approach, or of a welcome of the exercises, should they make their appearance. In a few years all thought alike of them, as mere bodily affections, in some way connected with the mind, but not at all religious in their nature or bearing.

77 The Rev. WILLIAM M'PHEETERS, D. D., was born in Bethel, near the North Mountain, on the waters of Middle River, September 28th, 1788. He inherited the surname of his father and grandfather and great-grandfather, who emigrated from Scotland to Ireland, in the time of Oliver Cromwell. His grandfather married young in Ireland, and emigrated to Pennsylvania, and finally settled in Augusta County, Virginia, bringing his family, a wife and eight children; some of the children unmarried, and some heads of families. His father was born in Pennsylvania in 1729, and was married to Rachel Moore, with whom he lived to rear a large family; served as magis-

trate, and was a ruling elder in the congregation of which Archibald Scott was pastor. Dr. M'Pheeters was reared in the faith of his mother and grandmother. Rachel Moore was born in the year 1736: her mother was a Walker, from Wigton, Scotland. Through the Walker family there is a connexion traced back to the illustrious Rutherford, of Scotland. The Doctor was more careful to preserve some written memorial of his mother's experience than of his own. She was of a lively disposition, cheerful, but never fond of trifling conversation, and much given to secret prayer, in which she had great enjoyment, before she was fifteen years of age.

"When my mother was about thirty years of age, on a certain communion Sabbath, her exercises during the day were unusually comfortable. Some pious friends from Walker's Creek accompanied her home; that night, their conversation till bed-time, was on the subject of religion. After retiring to her bed, my mother was favored with such overwhelming views of the beauty and glory of the heavenly inheritance, as to deprive her of nearly all her bodily strength. These rapturous views continued to recur, at short intervals, during the whole night, and sleep was entirely taken away from her. About daybreak her views were more rapturous and overwhelming than before. During the next day she experienced great composure of mind, and felt no inconvenience from the want of sleep. After this her exercises were various; sometimes she was happy in the enjoyment of religion, sometimes destitute of feeling, and sometimes backward in receiving, as coming from God, the comforts bestowed upon her.

Her son David died from home, in his twenty-fourth year. Some short time after his death, on a certain Sabbath, while reclining on her bed, it pleased God to give her clear and satisfactory evidence of her acceptance in the Beloved. Being thus near to God, and enjoying in so great a degree the gracious smiles of his reconciled countenance, the thought occurred to her that she might now inquire respecting her son, and ask of God some evidence of his happiness in the world of spirits. But soon did she check her presumptuous inquiry, and felt reproved for attempting to pry into the unrevealed secrets of God's righteous government. 'With this great truth,' said she, 'I must be satisfied; the Judge of all the earth will do right.'

Then let my Sovereign if he please  
Lock up his marvellous decrees,  
Why should I wish him to reveal  
What he thinks proper to conceal?

His mother died January 30th 1826, aged about 90 years, without a groan or struggle, as in a sweet sleep; literally falling asleep in Jesus. Her end was a fitting conclusion of her life, as some extracts from a letter from her pastor to her son, some years after her death, will show. "She took great delight, as you know, in attending at the house of God, especially on communion Sabbaths. But as she advanced in years she was not always able to be present on

these occasions. On the Sabbath before alluded to, when we were celebrating the Lord's Supper, she being too infirm to be present, about the time, as I suppose, when we were at the table, she told me, that in musing she thought herself at the Lord's table, and seated at the end of it next to me; that she plainly saw the bread and the wine; that as I handed the bread to her, and pronounced the words, 'Broken for you,' that those words came with such power to her mind as almost to overwhelm her; and that the delightful state of mind that followed continued the whole day. I remarked to her that I supposed she enjoyed the occasion as much as she sometimes did when she was actually at the table. O yes! said she, I have been twenty times at the table when my enjoyment has not been so great. I then said, Now when you are deprived of the opportunity of attending on the ordinance, the Lord you see is giving you the enjoyment without it. At this her heart was filled and her utterance checked. On another occasion, July 1825, she told me, that recently, just before a severe turn of illness, she had such a sense of nearness to God as she had scarcely ever experienced before, or as she supposed was possible in the flesh. Indeed she thought her frail body could not have borne much more. At another time she told me — that as to the matter of dying, she had no fear about it; and that if she should be called off suddenly, she wished me to preach her funeral sermon from Amos 4th, 12th. Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel. And from that text I did preach her funeral. Her piety was of the very highest order.

Your Brother,

FRANCIS M'FARLAND.

March 12th, 1842.

Dr. M'Pheeters commenced his classical studies in Staunton, and completed his education at Liberty Hall under Mr. Graham. Oct. 1797, he commenced the study of medicine with his brother James in Kentucky. In the course of the two years he pursued that study, he became deeply exercised on the subject of his salvation. Having professed his faith and united with the Church under the care of Wm. Robertson, his heart was drawn to the ministry of the gospel. Returning to Virginia he put himself under the care of Lexington Presbytery, and pursued his Theological reading with that logical man Samuel Brown of New Providence. His first piece of trial, on the words "Here am I, send me," was exhibited at Hebron, Oct. 12th 1801. He was licensed at New Providence, April 19th 1802, the Rev. Benjamin Erwin officiating. In June 1803, he took charge of the Church in Danville, Kentucky; and to aid in his support taught school. In 1804 he visited Chillicothe. In September he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of John M'Dowell, near Lexington Kentucky, and returned to Virginia. After visiting the counties of Greenbrier and Monroe, and preaching for some time in Windy Cove and New Lebanon, he took charge in December 1805, of Bethel, his native congregation; and on Monday the 22d of April, was ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry, Dr.

Baxter preaching the sermon, which was printed in the Magazine, and his theological teacher, Mr. Brown, delivering the charge. In the December following he laid the remains of his wife and child side by side, the first occupants of the grave-yard by Bethel Church now so full of mounds. In 1810, his second wife was taken from him leaving a young daughter.

"About this time," as he writes, "I received, by the hands of a special messenger, an invitation from the Trustees of the Academy, Raleigh, North Carolina, to preside over the institution as principal teacher; and to preach to the town congregation, then vacant in consequence of the removal of Rev. Wm. L. Turner to the town of Fayetteville. Having visited the place and being pleased with the prospect, I accepted the invitation, and in the month of June 1810, took charge of the congregation and academy."

Dr. M'Pheeters resided in Raleigh from this time with one short interval till his death in 1842. In March 1812, he was united in marriage with Miss Margaret A. C. M'Daniel of Washington, North Carolina. She survives him, the mother of twelve children, seven of whom survived their father.

In June 1816, a Presbyterian Church was organized in Raleigh, consisting of four elders and eighteen members. In about two years from that time their spacious and neat house for worship was ready for occupation. The congregation continuing to increase, Dr. M'Pheeters, thinking that the duties required of the principal of the Academy and the pastor of the Church, were sufficient for two men, and believing that his proper sphere was in the Academy, on the 18th of March 1824, resigned the pastoral office. While he continued to supply the pulpit there appeared to him a slackness in efforts to procure a pastor, he therefore declined preaching to the congregation. The Rev. Thomas P. Hunt was induced to remove to Raleigh, Nov. 1828. He remained about two years. Rev. Michael Osborne ministered to the congregation for a few years. In 1836, Dr. M'Pheeters still refusing to become pastor, the congregation called the Rev. Drury Lacy D. D., who remained with them till invited to the Presidency of Davidson College, in 1853.

In 1836, Dr. M'Pheeters opened a female school in Fayetteville, and received extensive patronage. His health failing, he was succeeded by Rev. Rufus W. Bailey. Returning to Raleigh, he became agent for the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, and served about two years, with great bodily suffering. In 1840 he was elected President of Davidson College, successor of Dr. Morrison. Though fond of giving instruction to youth, and desiring earnestly the prosperity of the College, he, on account of his health, declined the offered honor. His habits of correctness, his amiable disposition, and deep sense of responsibility, qualified him in a peculiar manner for the office of teacher, which he occupied for so many years in Raleigh. As a member of Church judicatories he was invaluable. Cool, deliberate, cautious, kind, in the exercise of sound sense and cheerful piety, as an adviser he was not surpassed. To

a casual observer he would sometimes appear to be moving sluggishly, while he was pondering the subject in hand, weighing causes and effects, and probable consequences, and moving on to a conclusion, which, once expressed, was not speedily changed. Few men, called to do so much, have had as little to undo. He was not a splendid man; but for the Church he was something better. He loved her interests, and labored for her through life, with a reputation above reproach, too modest to perceive that his influence was increasing with his years, and that in his last days no man's opinion weighed against his in that Synod of which he had been a member for more than thirty years.

After resigning the pastoral office, knowing as he must, the kind feeling of the whole community to him, he was particular never to propose anything to the attention of the congregation, or advocate anything proposed until he was satisfied that the approbation of the pastor had been fully expressed. Honor to whom honor is due, was the maxim of his heart and life. Of course he lived on the most friendly and intimate terms with his successor. He took a lively interest in the erection of a parsonage for the minister of the church, and encouraged the lady, by whose means it was accomplished, with more earnestness than if it had been erected for himself.

In his domestic relations he was pre-eminently happy and lovely. Could an open, or secret enemy have passed a few days under his roof, witnessing the untiring efforts of the father to lead his family to the love and service of the Lord Christ, he must have felt it impossible longer to contend with such a man; that even in the mistakes into which, as a man, he might fall, the mercy of a covenant-keeping God was a shield and defence. His daughter that passed away before him, in her mature years, gave evidence of conversion to God in early life. In her fourteenth year she wrote to a young friend.

April 19th, 1831.

MY DEAR MARY ANN:— I do hope your prayers and the prayers of my other dear friends have been answered in my behalf. Yet my dear Mary Ann continue to pray for me that I may not be deceived; for you know that the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. On Sunday last I heard Mr. Beard, of Philadelphia, preach twice. In the morning he preached to Christians; and in the afternoon he addressed sinners from the text— "And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled and answered, go thy way for this time, when I have a convenient season I will call for thee." Oh! he preached an awful sermon about grieving the spirit. I was afraid I had grieved him, and that he would take his final flight. My dear friend, you cannot tell what feelings I had. Oh! I felt if I did grieve him he would leave me forever, for I know that God hath said in his holy word— "My spirit shall not always strive with man:" and when I considered how often I had been warned of my

danger, I thought, if I did grieve the Holy Spirit, that he would never return any more. So I determined through God's strength, that I would never rest till I should give myself away to the Saviour.

That evening after sermon a young female acquaintance came home with me, and Satan told me I had better let it alone until the next day, that it would not do for me to leave my company. But I thought with myself— is not the soul of more value than anything else? Yes. I knew it was. So I determined that nothing should hinder me. I went to my room up stairs, and did not come down till the family were ready to go to night-meeting. In my retirement I felt I could give up all to the Saviour. But I did not feel so happy as I wished to feel. So I determined I would give myself away again. The next morning I went alone, and tried to give my whole heart to the Saviour. I hope I did so. I felt that he was able and willing to save me. But I was so afraid lest I might be deceived, that I said nothing about it to any body. I did wish, however, that you were here that I might talk with you. After breakfast, I visited two of my pious female friends, and staid with them till nearly-dinner time. Then I came home, and after dinner retired again, and gave myself away, and all that I had unto the Lord, for time and eternity. Oh, then I was happy, happier than I had ever felt in my life before. But still I had not yet courage to tell any body. The change in my feelings, however, was noticed by the family; and my mother the next day called me into the room and asked me what made me so happy. I then told her all about it. She prayed with me, and you may be sure we were both happy. But my dear friend I can't tell you all. I must save the rest till I see you. Mrs. M——, I hear has obtained a hope, and several others are very serious.

O, that all might believe,  
And salvation receive,  
And their hope, and their joy be the same.

My dear Mary Ann pray for me that I may grow in grace, and love the Saviour more and more, who has done so much for me. Farewell dearest friend, and pray for me.

MARGARET ANN M'PHEETERS.

The hope of this young girl strengthened with her years and cheered her in death. In about a year after her marriage with Mr. John Wilson of Milton, she was called into the presence of her Lord, and went cheerfully.

In October, 1836, Dr. M'Pheeters lost by death a son, David Brainerd, in his seventh year. From very early in his life this little boy manifested deep religious feeling. As he drew near his end, his exercises became more interesting. His parents were more than usually exercised at the time of his baptism; and the attention of the little child had from the first been turned to the work, in

which, that good man, whose name he bore, had been engaged. His infant feelings were all enlisted in the cause. He knew himself to be a sinner. After worship he was often found in tears. To his mother, who one day inquired of him what was the matter, he replied, "I am afraid God will not love me, I am too sinful." Being directed to the Saviour, and urged to pray for a new heart, he replied — "I do love him, and have prayed to him for a new heart." He felt the duty of prayer to a great degree of tenderness. One night observing that his little brother, in bad humor, was retiring without prayer — he refused to sleep with him, and sat up in bed till the offender arose and attended to his neglected duty. A short time before his death he called for his purse, having about fifty cents in it. "If you die," said his mother, "what shall be done with your money?" Looking at her for a moment — "Mother, if I die, give all my money to send the gospel to the heathen;" and then he earnestly repeated — "Mother, if I die, give all my money to send the gospel to the heathen."

The death of Dr. M'Pheeters was preceded by the distressing pains that accompany the successive stages of calculus. He was under the scientific operations of distinguished physicians. He had a distinct view of his approaching dissolution, and through the power of unbroken faith contemplated it with entire resignation. On Wednesday, 9th of November, 1842, an immense congregation was assembled in the Presbyterian Church, Raleigh, to attend his funeral. The stores of the city were closed: the church was in mourning attire. Rev. Drury Lacy pronounced a sermon, and delineated the character of his predecessor and friend. That stern integrity, that uncompromising adherence to truth and right, that modesty that kept him from pride and vanity, and that piety which clung to Christ as his Lord, that amiable deportment in his intercourse with man, which had been the crown of his life, seemed brighter when contemplated from the grave.

The University of North Carolina, some time before his death, conferred upon him the title, D. D., one richly deserved, if successful training of youth has any merit, and a life of piety any charm, and success in building up the church of Jesus Christ any admiration. Dr. M'Pheeters did not seek wealth for his children; and he left his family the inheritance of a good name, and the blessing of a covenant-keeping God.

In the agitations of the Presbyterian Church, which for some ten or twelve years before his death absorbed the attention of the Judicatories, Dr. M'Pheeters always was decidedly in favor of that system of doctrine and practice commonly called "Old School," and was in advance of his Virginia brethren.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

## ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER — HIS LICENSURE AND SETTLEMENT IN CHARLOTTE.

ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER made his first efforts, as a licensed minister, in the extensive contiguous congregations of Moses Hoge, William Hill and Nash Legrand. From his narrative, told in all the simplicity of truth, we learn that the people were willing to hear the gospel; that he must have been an acceptable preacher; that although the congregations gave him no further remuneration for his services than his board and horse-keeping, leaving him to pay, after his return to Lexington, for a pair of pantaloons he purchased in Shepherdstown, he was yet contented with the temporal result of his labors; that he felt himself under obligations to Mr. Hoge, for the benefit derived from intercourse in his family, and that he left the lower end of the valley improved in his theology, or rather confirmed by Mr. Hoge in a full belief of the immediate and personal action of the Holy Ghost on the heart of man in regeneration.

The eighth session of Lexington Presbytery was held at Brown's meeting-house, now Hebron, commencing Tuesday, Oct. 26th, 1790. Members in attendance were Rev. Messrs. Scott, Crawford, Montgomery, Erwin and Houston; with Elders William M'Pheeters, William Yuell and Thomas Shanklin. On account of the cold the Presbytery convened at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at the house of William M'Pheeters; and Mr. John Lyle read part of his trials. Rev. Messrs. Brown and Graham, with William Alexander as Elder, came in the next day. The record says that "Information was made by a member that Mr. Archibald Alexander, of Lexington, desired to be taken under the care of this Presbytery, as a candidate for the gospel ministry, and Presbytery having a favorable account of his moral and religious character, and literary accomplishments, introduced him to a conference, in which, having given a narrative of his religious exercises, and of his evidences of faith in Christ and repentance towards God, together with his call and motives to the gospel ministry, and a specimen of his skill in cases of conscience; Presbytery having considered the same, do approve thereof, and agree to take him under their care as a candidate for the gospel ministry. Mr. Alexander is appointed as parts of trial an exegesis on the following theme—'An fide sola Justificamur?' and an homily on this theme—'What is the difference between a dead and living faith?' to be delivered at our next." This application was made at the earnest request of his teacher, Mr. Graham. Mr. Alexander was averse to taking the lead in religious meetings. Mr. Graham supposed his aversion would be less, if not removed entirely, after he should be acknowledged as a candidate for the ministry, and proposed that he should be a candidate under the

care of Presbytery as long as might be thought desirable by the parties concerned; and that he and the other candidates should be employed as the young men, Hill and Calhoun and Allen and Legrand had been, east of the Ridge, in holding prayer-meetings and meetings for exhortation, where there might be a necessity. The Presbytery acted on the first part of the request, and gave no decision on the latter, leaving it to the discretion of the ministers in whose congregations the candidates might be placed.

Mr. Alexander commenced his theological studies with but one companion, John Lyle, who was afterwards the pastor of the church in Hampshire County. Upon asking Mr. Graham what books he should read, Mr. Graham smiled and replied — “If you mean ever to be a theologian, you must come at it not by reading, but by thinking.” The astonished youth said, in after life, “This did me more good than any directions or counsels I ever received.” He was not aware then, that he was, and had been engaged in that very course recommended by his instructor, while he was investigating the whole subject of conversion and Christian experience.

At the ninth session of Presbytery, held at Hall’s meeting-house, now New Monmouth, commencing Tuesday, April 26th, 1791, Mr. John Lyle delivered his trial sermon for licensure at the opening of the sessions, and on Wednesday he and Mr. Alexander were examined on the Latin and Greek languages; and Mr. Alexander read his exegesis. On Thursday morning Mr. Alexander read his homily, and Mr. Lyle his lecture; in the afternoon the two candidates were examined in Geography, Natural Philosophy, Criticism, Astronomy, and Moral Philosophy; and Mr. Lyle was examined in part on Theology. On Friday the Presbytery sustained all these parts of trial, and gave Mr. Alexander for a lecture, to be read at the next meeting, Hebrews, 6th chapter, 1st to 7th verse. Mr. Graham urged the Presbytery to assign a subject to Mr. Alexander for a popular sermon. Mr. Alexander was reluctant, and plead his youth, and general unpreparedness. The urgency of Mr. Graham prevailed. At the suggestion of Samuel Houston, the text assigned was — “Say not I am a child;” Jeremiah 1st: 7th. On the same day three of Mr. Alexander’s fellow-students of theology were received as candidates for the ministry, Thomas Poage, of Augusta County, Benjamin Grigsby, of Rockbridge County, and Matthew Lyle, also of Rockbridge County, and a cousin. The reasons given by Mr. Graham for pressing the young candidate so speedily into the ministry were: that his manner of conducting meetings was captivating, his instructions sound; that his acquirements were greater than ordinary; and that his own expectations of success were vastly higher than the candidate’s humility permitted him to indulge.

At this meeting of Presbytery Mr. William Alexander, the father of the candidate, declined the offer conferred in the fall, that of Commissioner to the General Assembly. On request of Mr. Graham, the candidate, whom he had ordained as elder during the winter,

was appointed Commissioner. To all this the candidate yielded, as a pupil to his instructor, whose judgment he esteemed more highly than his own. In after life he doubted the propriety of the course. On his journey to Philadelphia, performed on horseback, he stopped, in Frederick County, at the house of Solomon Hoge, brother of Moses Hoge, and became acquainted with the father, of whom he says — "I know not that I ever received so much instruction in the same time, from any one, as from this old gentleman." He spent the Sabbath with Mrs. Riley, on Bullskin; and by a happy mistake a congregation assembled in the evening to hear him preach, and listened to his exhortation with great solemnity. His graphic sketch of the Assembly, preserved in his memoirs, is an example of the practicability of daguerreotyping both the spirit and appearance of every Assembly.

The course of study and recitation to which Mr. Graham called Mr. Alexander and his fellow-students, assumed the form of a seminary. Once a week they met in his study, to read compositions on presented subjects, to discuss given points of theology; and most particularly to hear the masterly reasonings and clear statements of the teacher. A profound reasoner himself, Mr. Graham taught his pupils to think as profoundly as their capabilities permitted. Endeavoring to avoid partiality in his intercourse with his students, he nevertheless could not conceal his opinion that his young pupil was as profound a thinker as himself. His own safeguards were the Bible as the book of God; the great principles of Calvinism, true both in nature and revelation; and a teachable spirit relying upon the promised aid of the Holy Ghost. He thought he saw all these things in the young man, and he loved him. True to his master's great principles, the youth sometimes differed from his master in the conclusion from given premises. The young men under Graham's instruction, at this time, all acquired the habit of discussion and extempore speaking. One of these was George A. Baxter, member of college, who, Dr. Alexander says — "Had a mind formed for accurate distinctions and logical discussions." Mr. Baxter became Mr. Graham's successor.

The tenth session of Lexington Presbytery was held at the Stone church in Augusta, commencing Tuesday, Sept. 20th, 1791. The members present were Messrs. Graham, Scott, Crawford, Montgomery, Erwin, Wilson, McCue, and Houston; Elders, John Wilson, John Dunlap, Thomas Frame, and Samuel Pilson. "Mr. Archibald Alexander, a candidate for the gospel ministry, opened Presbytery with a popular sermon, from Jeremiah 1: 7, the text assigned at our last meeting." The candidate was called, according to usage in those days, to open the Presbytery with his trial sermon, in the old fort church, standing in the capacious pulpit, in the back of which, by an entrance through the wall, was the door leading to the room, then called the session room, but in days of savage warfare, the kitchen. He had urged his youth and inexperience, and want of knowledge, as bars to licensure. Mr. Graham and others

called for the sermon. He came forward, and from the words — “Say not that I am a child, for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee, thou shalt speak” — discussed in a plain and manly manner the call to the ministry, avoiding all allusion to himself in the most distant manner. Every one was surprised. Graham wept for joy. His young friend had proved himself no longer a child, and had declined even calling himself a child — when the allusion gave such opportunity. On Thursday he read his Lecture; and Mr. Grigsby a homily on the question — “Did Christ die indefinitely for all men, or for the elect only.” Messrs. Lyle and Poage exhibited their pieces of trial; and Mr. John Campbell, of Augusta, another fellow-student of Mr. Alexander in Theology, was received on trial. The examination on theology was postponed to an adjourned meeting, to be held in Winchester during the meeting of the Synod, the succeeding week.

On Wednesday, Sept. 29th, 1791, the Presbytery convened in Winchester, at the house of Mr. James Holliday. Present, Messrs. Graham, Montgomery, Erwin, Houston, and Hoge; with Elders, John Campbell and John Wilson. Rev. Messrs. J. B. Smith, from Prince Edward, and Joseph Smith, of Redstone, by invitation, took seats. The examination of Mr. Alexander in theology, the only business of the meeting, was conducted principally by Mr. Smith, of Prince Edward, and closed by Mr. Hoge. On Saturday, Oct. 1st, in the old stone church, now occupied by the Baptists, the services of licensure were performed by Rev. J. B. Smith, with intense feeling and pervading sympathy. From that day a warm friendship was cherished by the two pastors, Smith and Alexander. “That evening,” says Dr. Alexander, “I spent in the fields in very solemn reflection and earnest prayer.” In the latter part of his life, spending a few days in Winchester with Dr. Atkinson, in the house built by Judge White, he remarked, pointing back of the house, “In a strip of woods out there, I spent the afternoon after I was licensed.”

Mr. Legrand, pastor of Cedar Creek and Opecquon, and Mr. Hill, in Jefferson, each derived the aid of Mr. Alexander for the winter. By direction of Presbytery, contrary to his own plans and desires, he passed the winter in Frederick, Jefferson, and Berkeley, principally in the two latter. There had been, and was an unusual attention to religious things in all that section of country. Mr. Hill preached but little that winter, on account of ill health. The lively, earnest preaching of Mr. Alexander excited attention. Old and young listened to him. After the wind blew away his manuscript in Charlestown — “I determined,” he says, “to take no more paper into the pulpit.” He preached after profound meditation, memorizing thoughts and arguments, and often sentences, without writing. For a part of the winter he made his home with Alexander White, father of Judge White, and was greatly pleased with the old father of his host, John White, an eminently pious man. His visits to Moses Hoge, of Shepherdstown, were more and

more pleasing and profitable; their influence remained through life. He thought the views of Mr. Hoge in regard to the influence of the Holy Spirit in conversion were more correct than those of his teacher, whom in the general he delighted to follow.

The report of the pulpit services of Mr. Alexander, awakened all along the Valley a great curiosity to hear "the boy," Archy Alexander, preach. Staunton, with Judge Stewart at its head, expressed its admiration of his preaching, by wondering that the young man should be so well acquainted with Mental Philosophy. The people of Lexington, his native town, filled the Court-House on Sabbath, to hear their fellow-townsmen. All had known him from a child; and many had been his companions. He was now in the beauty of youth; rather small of his age; very active, with a bright sparkling eye, and melodious distinct voice; rapid, often vehement in his utterance; and the attention he so easily arrested, he preserved to the end. Every person could easily hear his clear musical voice, filling the whole space without apparent effort. His text, John 9: 25, "One thing I know, whereas I was blind, now I see," by whatever circumstances, or agent suggested, was in its discussion a happy answer to that act of his uncle, Andrew Reid, who, soon after the company returned from the meetings in Prince Edward and Bedford, walked over to Mr. Alexander's dwelling, and presented to the young people a volume of Locke on the Human Understanding, with the leaf turned down at the chapter on Enthusiasm.

At the eleventh session of the Lexington Presbytery, held in Lexington in April, 1792, Messrs. Thomas Poage, Matthew Lyle and Benjamin Grigsby were licensed to preach the gospel. On Saturday the Presbytery recommended Messrs. Alexander, Lyle and Grigsby to the Commission of Synod. A few days before, the Commission had elected Mr. Alexander a missionary on condition he were recommended by the Presbytery; and Mr. Graham and Elder John Lyle were appointed to bring the matter to a proper issue. The Commission asked for one; and the Presbytery gave them three choice young men, of precious memory. This Commission of the Virginia Synod, whose history may be found in the first series of Sketches, in its successive efforts to publish the gospel, gave the first example of a Board of Missions, responsible to an ecclesiastical superior, that may be found in the Presbyterian Church in America. At this time great efforts were made to remove Mr. Graham to Prince Edward. The Presbytery could not decide the question; it was referred to Synod. In looking at the events that so soon occurred, we can scarce restrain the wish — oh, that he had gone! But, as in the case of Jonathan Edwards, we check ourselves by the reflection that either of these events changed must have changed the whole course of events in the church; and God's orderings are always best.

The recollections of the missionary tours performed east of the Blue Ridge by Mr. Alexander, under the direction of the Commission of Synod, form a most interesting part of the autobiography published by his son. At the seventeenth meeting of Hanover Pres-

bytery, held at Briery, commencing April 8d, 1793 — present Messrs. McRobert, Mitchel, Mahon, Lacy and Turner; Elders Michael Graham, James Venable and John Hughes; Mr. Pattillo, from North Carolina, and Devereux Jarratt, an Episcopal clergyman, and Jacob Cram, a Congregationalist, were corresponding members. Mr. Samuel Brown was licensed; and calls were put in from Briery, Buffalo and Cumberland for Mr. Lacy and Mr. Alexander as collegiate pastors. Mr. Lacy agreed to the arrangement, and leave was given to prosecute the call for Mr. Alexander before the Presbytery of Lexington. At the nineteenth meeting of Hanover Presbytery, held at Cumberland Meeting-House, commencing November 7th, 1793, Wm. Williamson was ordained, and Wm. Calhoun and Cary Allen received back from the Commission. Mr. Alexander was on the 8th received from Lexington Presbytery, and “the Moderator called upon him to know whether he accepted the said calls; but he desiring longer time to consider of the matter, the Presbytery granted it.” “On motion it was resolved that Mr. Alexander supply in said congregations in the same manner as if he had accepted the calls.” The reason of the delay of Mr. Alexander was the hope he and others had that Mr. J. B. Smith might be induced to return to the churches he had left; and so the three would be employed on some system agreed upon, managing the College and supplying the congregations. The Presbytery gave leave to the Churches of Briery, Buffalo, Cub Creek and Cumberland, to prosecute the call for Mr. Smith. He declined the invitation. Messrs. Lacy and Alexander supplied the congregations at six preaching places, Cumberland Meeting-House, College, Briery, Buffalo, Cub Creek and Charlotte Court-House, each preaching to them all in succession, and each congregation having public service once in three weeks.

At the twenty-first meeting of Presbytery, held May, 1794 at the house of Dr. Waddell, preliminary steps were taken for the ordination of Mr. Alexander as evangelist. On the day appointed, the 7th of June, Messrs. Lacy, Mahon and McRobert, with Elder John Morton, met at Briery. Mr. Mahon presided. Mr. Alexander preached from the words “Thy word is truth,” John 17:17. Mr. Lacy delivered the ordination sermon, from Coloss. 4:17, “And say to Archippus — Take heed to the ministry which thou hast renewed in the Lord that thou fulfil it.” And Mr. Alexander — “having declared his acceptance of the Confession of Faith as received by the Presbyterian Church in America, and promised subjection to his brethren in the Lord, was set apart to the whole work of the gospel ministry by prayer and imposition of hands. A solemn charge was then delivered by Mr. McRobert.”

The experiment of supplying six preaching places in rotation by two ministers, was perfectly satisfactory in about one year. Accordingly arrangements were made that at the twenty-second meeting of Hanover Presbytery, held at the Cove, in Albemarle, May, 1794, calls were put in for Mr. Alexander to become pastor of

Briery and Cub Creek; and for Matthew Lyle, received from Lexington Presbytery as licentiate, to become pastor of Briery and Buffalo. By this arrangement the brethren were to be co-pastors of one church, and each sole pastor of another. Mr. Lyle was ordained pastor on the 17th of February, 1795. There is no mention made of any installation services for Mr. Alexander.

In October, 1795, the Presbytery, in session at Briery, directed that all materials collected by members according to previous orders, and all that should be collected before the first of February, should by that date be sent to Messrs. Lacy and Alexander, who were to prepare a narrative to be sent to the General Assembly, according to a resolution of that body enjoining each Presbytery to collect materials in its bounds for the history of the Presbyterian Church. The narrative was prepared, and sent on in the beautiful writing of Mr. Lacy, by the Commissioners to the Assembly, and is preserved.

Mr. Alexander had his residence with Major Edmund Read, about two miles from Charlotte Court-House. This family was one of the many greatly beloved by their ministers, and chosen by him for his residence on account of its greater convenience and abundant accommodations. In the society of this family he perfected those manners so universally pleasing wherever he went; simple, pure, just as they should be in a good man. Whoever became acquainted with Mrs. Read — afterwards Mrs. Legrand, loved her as a woman of no common excellence. Her bearing and manners were unrestrained, simple, modest, dignified; there was a something lady-like and pure, gaining confidence and inspiring respect, and forbidding undue familiarity; and yet so easy of access to all that might with propriety approach, and so entirely safe from all that ought not to intrude into a woman's presence. Every one could see, could feel, the excellence of her manner and the corresponding spirit; but none could properly describe the various attributes that united in the charm her presence always wrought. To all acquainted with the two persons in their advancing years, they appeared formed on the same model.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

⊙ ⊙ CARY ALLEN AND WILLIAM CALHOON.

In the congregation of Rev. Samuel Davies, in Hanover County, were five brothers of the name of Allen. Soon after Mr. Davies left Virginia, these brothers, with others of the congregation, sought locations in the more fertile lands along the frontiers, and made their home on Great Guinea, in Cumberland. Four of these brothers successively became elders in the church in Cumberland County, of

which they were, in part, the founders. Daniel Allen, by his first wife, a Miss Harrison, had ten children; of which Cary was the eighth, born April, 1767. For his second wife, he married the widow of Joseph Hill, with five children, Mrs. Joanna Hill. Her fourth child was William, from whom, through Dr. Hill, of Winchester, very many of the circumstances concerning the life of Cary Allen have been preserved for the public. When these two families were united, Allen was in his ninth and Hill in his seventh year.

Cary was remarkable, from his early childhood, for his good temper and amiable deportment among his associates. Mr. Allen reared his numerous family on religious principles. His children, in their retired situations, grew up strangers to vice and immorality. The cheerfulness of Cary often approached levity. He was very agreeable, as his eccentric thoughts and speeches had a peculiar drollery of an amusing nature. He could make others laugh to excess, without laughing himself, or appearing to know that he had said anything to cause a laugh. This power appeared to be exercised without premeditation, and the habit was fixed from very early years, and continued through his whole life. His talent for the acquisition of knowledge was moderate: for investigation and close reasoning, still more circumscribed. His voice was clear, his utterance easy, his frame tall, and built for strength. His whole appearance was that of a pleasant, eccentric man, from whom drollery might be expected, whose oddities were no disparagement to his usefulness in common life. Gravity sat illy upon him, even when he was oppressed with serious reflections. There was often something of the ludicrous mixed up with his mental distress. One afternoon, reclining upon the hill-side with young Hill, and looking at the fatted hogs in a pen, and at the preparations made for their slaughter the next morning, after contemplating the entire unconsciousness and ease of the hogs, and the certainty of their approaching destruction, he exclaimed, "Oh! that I could exchange lots with one of those hogs!" "What upon earth do you mean?" said young Hill; "I always thought you much better than myself, and I would not exchange lots with one of those hogs, with a knife so near my throat, for the world." "But," says Allen, "you forget that those hogs have no souls; and when they are killed, there is the end of them, but I have a never-dying soul, which is unprepared to meet God, my judge; and, whether I shall ever be prepared, God only knows."

When about seventeen years of age he was visited with a typhus fever. For weeks he was either raging with a fever, or overcome with torpor. His recovery was unexpected and gradual. His emaciated limbs required the use of crutches. His friends, believing that his bodily vigor would never be sufficient for active employment, turned his attention to the preparation for some profession suited to his condition. He commenced a course of study at Hampden Sidney. His health and strength slowly returned. His sickness had not led him to godly living; he was more droll and volatile than



ever. Though his progress in literature and science was laborious and slow, he was desirous of completing the course he had begun. His moral conduct was correct. He was very studious. His eccentric mirth was an unfailing source of amusement to the students and the young people of the neighborhood. In the exhibitions given, spring and fall, by the students, for improvement in public speaking, Allen became a favorite. Choosing subjects congenial with his mirth-inspiring spirit, he deluged the audience with his fun. His appearance was the signal for uproarious laughter. He was commonly put last on the list, because, after his address, the audience were not prepared for serious discussion. He got possession of the first copy of Cowper's John Gilpin that came to the neighborhood, and kept it carefully for his appearance at the exhibition. A large audience was assembled. Allen's appearance on the stage was the signal that the exercises were coming to a close, and the fountain of mirth to be opened. Rehearsing the stanzas, with proper tone and gesture, he speedily broke up the gravity of the most sedate, and for a time was the personification of fun and drollery. His complete success was injurious. His eccentric ways became fastened upon him beyond his power of escape. He was evidently a man for comedy. He was comedy itself; outwardly all fun and merriment, and inwardly pained at heart, and envying the swine.

With light and joyous mind he went to spend his vacation in the fall of 1787, with his father and friends in Cumberland. The Rev. Hope Hull, a popular and impressive preacher, well skilled in setting forth the claims of God's violated law, preached in the neighborhood. He was a follower of Wesley, and had not yet separated from the Episcopal Church. The Methodists were then considered revived Episcopalians, and found ready access to Episcopal neighborhoods, desirous of hearing on the subject of spiritual religion. Young Allen went one night to hear Mr. Hull. The house being crowded, he stood in front of the preacher, and very near him. Before the exercises closed, he trembled, shook, and fell prostrate upon the floor. After the congregation was dismissed, he was in great agony, crying for mercy. He afterwards declared that he then put up his first earnest prayer to his justly offended God. When asked why he had never prayed before, having been religiously educated, and taught to repeat forms of prayer from his childhood, he replied, that in his view the character of God was so great, glorious and exalted, in his holiness, justice, omnipotence and omnipresence, that it appeared to him irreverence and mockery for him to speak to the Majesty of heaven, who well knew what a sinful wretch he was. Before he rose from the floor, he professed to surrender his rebellious heart to God, and to find peace in believing on the Lord Jesus. In a few days he returned to college, and renewed his studies. President Smith examined him closely on his experience and his views of religious truth, instructed him in the life of godliness, and gave him books to read; among others, Edwards on the Affections. Allen professed to have been long in trouble about his soul, had

felt the wickedness of his heart, and his unfitness even for prayer; and that on the night he heard Mr. Hull, he had cast himself on the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. In every thing but his eccentricity and aptness for drollery, Allen was a changed man; and these his foibles were henceforth under a restraining influence.

After much enquiry and reading and self-examination, he came to the conclusion that he loved the Lord Christ and ought to spend his life in preaching the gospel. Having finished his college course with honor, his morals untarnished and his profession of religion unspotted, he commenced the study of Theology in preparation for the gospel ministry. His friends were in great doubt about the propriety of his choice of profession. His way of thinking and speaking would provoke a smile when there was no cause for ridicule or sneering because there was nothing mean, or vulgar, or vile in the subjects under consideration. Carrying the impress of honesty and frankness, he had no natural or acquired gravity. But while smiling at the oddity of the speaker in his exhortations at prayer-meetings, the hearer would be arrested by his intense earnestness. He, that began to listen with a smile, would in the end be bathed in tears. Allen seemed to those, who knew him best, to live only for religion; his heart was filled with desires to do good. His acquaintances loved him for his devotion to God, while they feared he would mar his usefulness as a minister, by his strange fun-producing ways; and threw many obstacles in the way of his entering the ministry, to divert his attention and lead him to some other pursuit in life. But all these efforts were in vain.

In January 1789, he was received by the Hanover Presbytery, met at Buffalo, as candidate for the gospel ministry, after an enquiry at some length — “into his experimental knowledge of religion, and a work of grace in his soul, and after some time spent in hearing from him a detail of God’s dealings with him, and examining into his motives for desiring to preach the gospel.” At the next meeting held April 26th, in the same year, at Buffalo, Mr. Legrand delivered his popular sermon and read his lecture, and on the next day Mr. Allen read an essay on the Extent of Christ’s Redemption, and a Presbyterial exercise upon John 3d. 8th,—The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the spirit. Mr. Legrand was licensed to preach, and Mr. Allen had other parts of trial assigned him. At Pisgah, in Bedford, Oct. 1789, Mr. Allen was called on to open Presbytery with his popular discourse on Rom. 7th. 13, 14; he read his lecture upon Luke 15th, from the 12th to the 32d verse, inclusive. Wm. Hill and Daniel Wiley were received candidates. Mr. Allen’s pieces of trial were sustained. At Mr. Mitchel’s house on the 19th, “The Presbytery then entered upon the examination of Mr. Allen on Divinity, and after spending a considerable time thereon, were of opinion that he is not so well acquainted with that necessary science as to be sufficiently qualified to teach others, at present. They therefore recommend to

him a diligent attention to the study of Divinity till the next session of Presbytery." At this decision Allen was surprised and mortified. Legrand was licensed after about a year's study; a Methodist minister was at this meeting received and ordained; the revival was progressing, and calls for preaching came from every direction; and his trial pieces had been sustained. The Church has long since decided that two years in study are not improperly spent in preparation for the ministry; and Allen had passed but one, but had studied as long as was usual in his day. The want of ministerial gravity impressed the Presbytery with the fear that the spirit of Theology had not sufficiently imbued his soul. Allen bowed meekly to the decision and without a word of complaint pursued his studies. On the 8th of May, 1790, at Briery, after examination at length in Divinity, Mr. Allen was licensed to preach the gospel. The Presbytery took him by the hand as a token of fellowship. This ceremony became a standing rule from that time. Mr. Pattillo preached on the occasion from the words, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor."

Mr. Hill was licensed in the following July. He and Mr. Allen passed the summer as missionaries in the counties along the Carolina line. In October the Presbytery, "recommended Mr. Hill and Mr. Allen to the care and direction" of the commission of Synod on a request from that body. Allen had during the summer surpassed the expectations of his warmest friends. His whole soul was in his work. The careless and profane would listen to his talk; and whoever listened for any time must hear some great truths of religion. His frank open countenance, his polite demeanor, and his cheerfulness tinged with his indescribable drollery, attracted attention, and that once arrested Allen was sure of a hearing, be the auditor who he might, young or old, learned or unlearned, infidel or Christian. A sentence that provoked a smile would be followed by sentiment that shot like a barbed arrow to the heart. Often the very sentence that provoked the smile would make the heart ache. No one talked with him or heard him preach without feeling that he was a devotedly pious man. Multitudes under his ministry were turned to God. He continued in the employ of the commission of Synod about three years. In this time he made two trips across the Alleghenies.

The first tour of missionary service in that part of Virginia now embraced in the State of Kentucky, was performed by Mr. Allen and Robert Marshall, under the direction of the Commission in 1791. The route to Kentucky was dreary and dangerous. A vast wilderness intervened the settlements east of the Alleghenies and the scattered inhabitants on the Western rivers. Indians, hostile to the progress of the white man to their hunting grounds, infested the route by land or water. The emigrants were accustomed to assemble at Fort Redstone, the head of boat navigation on the Monongahela, now called Brownsville. They might descend the Monongahela and Ohio rivers in boats, or cross the mountains on

pack-horses. Emigrants commonly preferred to descend the rivers, as less fatiguing. Those returning from Kentucky preferred crossing the mountains.

As some time was necessarily consumed in the preparations for embarkation, Messrs. Allen and Marshall had opportunity to make proof of their ministry in Pennsylvania. Their zeal in the cause of the gospel excited great attention; and the use of Watts's psalms and hymns provoked opposition. Many refused to hear them; but crowds of young people flocked to their appointments in private houses. A large number became deeply interested on the subject of their salvation. When the emigrants embarked there was a company of inquirers left around Redstone, many of whom afterwards became, hopefully, Christians, and were united with the Church of Christ.

After the usual exposures and labors of the passage down the rivers in boats, the missionaries arrived safe in Kentucky, and without delay commenced their labors. Both were popular and useful; and both eventually settled in that State. In habits and manner of preaching they were antipodes. Marshall was grave and reserved; Allen cheerful to excess and social. Marshall declaimed powerfully, and could reason closely and exhibit much research. Allen, by his manner and cheerful speeches, would arrest attention, and fill the mind with pious thoughts without any pretence to argument or research, or splendid declamation. For a time they went along in company. The calls for preaching becoming numerous, and at great distances, they separated to supply the urgent demand for the ministration of the word. In due time Mr. Marshall became pastor of the churches Bethel and Blue Spring. His ashes lie near Bethel church.

On Silver Creek was a settlement from Virginia. With them was living a Baptist minister, who had removed with them. He had grown lax in his sentiments, and preached Universalism. Many admired the new doctrine. Reports respecting Mr. Allen awakened a desire to hear him preach, and an invitation was sent to him to visit Silver Creek. On an appointed day a large crowd was assembled. The log meeting-house being small, a stand was erected in the woods. When Mr. Allen ascended the stand the Universalist took his seat by his side. After a pause, Mr. Allen arose and looking round upon the concourse assembled, seemed lost in thought. At length breaking silence—"I do not know to what to compare the people in Kentucky." Another long pause. "But I think they remind me of a nest of young robins as much as anything I can think of. Go to their nest and chirp, and every one will hold his mouth wide open, and you may put in what you please, food or poison, and it all goes down alike. Get up here and tell the people you are going to preach to them, and they stare at the preacher with eyes and mouth open, and you may say what you please, truth or error, sense or nonsense, and they are equally pleased, if you call it preaching. A man has been preaching here, who tells you

he has found out a little back door in hell, where you may all step out, and get safely round to heaven at last; and because he called it preaching you gulped it. *Poison, rank Poison.* If you trust to this unscriptural fancy, you will land in that place of fire and brimstone between which and heaven there rolls the unfathomable gulf you can never pass." He then gave a plain, pungent sermon, warning his hearers of the doom of all impenitent sinners. The audience were captivated by the honesty of the man, and deeply impressed with the truths he delivered. He preached to the congregation repeatedly. On the 21st of April, 1792, a call was made out for him by desire of the people, and signed by Thomas Maxwell, Samuel Woods, Alexander Mackey, James Henderson, John Cochran, John Young, and Robert Dickey. They pledged for his support £150 the first year, and afterwards as they might agree.

Mr. Allen returned to Virginia soon after this call was made out. He went with a company on horseback across the mountains, carrying his rifle like the rest, in defence against the patrolling Indians, girded with a wampum shot pouch that had been taken from a hostile Indian, and presented to him, in appearance more like a real backwoodsman than a gospel minister. The party often saw the trail of savages, but met no enemy. After parting with his travelling companions, passing on through Campbell County alone, towards evening, after a long day's ride, he determined to call for the night upon an old gentleman, an elder in the Church, in easy circumstances, who lived not far from the road. The day had been warm, and he had put on a yellow grounded calico morning gown, with his wampum belt for a girdle. About dusk he approached the house, and asked the lady, who answered his call, for lodging and food. Not liking his appearance in this strange costume, with rifle in hand, she said they were not in the habit of entertaining strangers, and begged him to apply elsewhere. Allen replied—"The day is spent, I and my horse are weary; and I have been taught that it is right for good people to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." Moved by the text of scripture, the old lady bid him come in. He entered cheerfully, set his rifle in the corner of the room, hung his wampum belt upon the muzzle, and set himself at ease. "You have been travelling some distance?" "Yes, a considerable distance, madam." "Pray, sir, where are you from?" "From Kentucky, madam." "And what news do you bring from that new country?" "Nothing much out of the usual way." After a pause—"There is something which has excited a good deal of interest and talk among the people. Certain men have been there and brought strange things to their ears. Some do not understand these things; and others think there is a great deal of truth in them." "Why, who are they; and what do they talk about?" "They call themselves preachers, and talk much about the Bible, and say people must be born again, and be converted, and the like of that; and many folks don't know what to make of such talk." "Well, if we believe the Bible, people must

experience these things." "Aye, that is another thing which they talk much about—experience: they often talk of experience as an important point; but many do not know what is meant by it." "Every true Christian knows what is meant by it," said the lady.

At this point in the conversation the old gentleman came in and took his seat. "But Madam, resumed Allen, you said every good Christian knows what experience means. Pray Madam can you tell what it means?" The old lady appeared unwilling to talk more before a thoughtless stranger, on the subject of experience. But Mr. Allen pressed the matter, saying he wished to know what it was. With some hesitation she told him the exercises of her mind till she found peace in believing on the Lord Jesus. Indeed, said Allen, is that what people mean by Christian experience? Then turning to the old man—he inquired of him—if he had the experience of grace in his heart. The old man said he hoped so—but did not know for certain that he was ever converted. Do you think, said Allen—an experience of religion necessary?—for instance—if a man is strictly honest, pays his debts, is charitable to the poor, and upright, and moral, may not such a man be saved without all this fuss about religion? The old man thought that such a man might probably be saved. "In fact, says Allen, is it any matter what religion a man is of, if he is only sincere, and charitable, and honest, and lives a good moral life?" The old man thought such an one might be saved as well as others. Supper was now announced.

Allen walked to the table, devoutly asked a blessing, and sat down. The old lady gazed at him for a time. In the name of common sense who are you? Are you a minister of the gospel? Allen smiled, told his name, and said he had been trying to preach the gospel. Now Mr. Allen, said she, aint you ashamed to play such pranks on an old woman, to make her expose herself. Never mind, said Allen, you have not exposed yourself; you have borne an honorable testimony, that you are not ashamed of your religion, but are willing to confess Christ before men. But as for you, turning to the old man—you have given evidence that you know nothing about religion—and that you are in the gall of bitterness, and the bond of iniquity. He then exhorted the old man to flee from the wrath to come.

After a short visit at home, Mr. Allen prepared to return to Kentucky. The commission were well satisfied with his report; and in sending him back to his former scene of labor, they gave him for a companion, the Rev. William Calhoun, who had been licensed to preach on the 12th May of that year, 1792. In descending the Ohio, the boat in which they were embarked was attacked by Indians. Mr. Allen insisted on having his post, and rifle in hand, with cheerfulness, faced the danger as fearless and composed as if the enemy were not near.

On reaching Kentucky and resuming the work of a missionary, Mr. Allen resolved to get clear of his eccentric ways, and be as grave as Marshall, and his present companion, Calhoun. The year

previous, Marshall seeing the impression made by Allen's humor, resolved to relax somewhat of his gravity and follow the track of Allen. A few attempts, however, convinced him of the absurdity of all such attempts; and he renewed his efforts to improve the powers God had given him, and became the most impressive speaker in Kentucky. Allen admired gravity in others, and felt his want of it; charmed with the ministerial dignity of his young friend, he determined to imitate him. With all the gravity he could assume, he went to his next appointment, rode to the house slowly, dismounted in a slow quiet manner, spoke gravely to the people, moved about in a solemn manner without a smile or exciting a smile in others. People were astonished. Are you unwell, Mr. Allen? Has anything happened, Mr. Allen? Have you heard any bad news, Mr. Allen? Any affliction among your friends, Mr. Allen? At last bursting into a laugh, to the surprise and merriment of all, he exclaimed — "I can play Calhoon no longer." When the excitement was over, he made them weep under his sermon.

In the fall of 1793, Messrs. Allen and Calhoon returned to Virginia, and met the Presbytery at Cumberland meeting-house, Nov. 8th. The record is — "Mr. Carey Allen and Mr. William Calhoon who have been under the direction of the commission of Synod producing their dismissal from that body with recommendations to the Presbytery, were again received and recorded as probationers under their charge." On the next day, Mr. Allen was appointed to supply in Albemarle, Madison, Louisa, Goochland, and Buckingham; Mr. Calhoon in Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Nottaway, and Amelia. The tour performed the succeeding winter by Mr. Allen was remembered through life by the youths and children on whom his conversation made the deepest impression. The cheerful man of God fastened their attention, and engraved on their memory the things of religion. Some living now will say — "I remember him at our house," and will tell what passed.

In the Spring of 1794, Mr. Allen removed to Kentucky. In preparation for a permanent residence west of the Alleghenies, he was married to a daughter of Col. Fleming, of Botetourt. In passing back and forth during the winter, he preached at Pattonsburg. Col. Skillern, an amiable old Virginia gentleman, not particularly inclined to religion, supposed to be somewhat infected with infidelity, went to hear him. Struck with the benignant countenance of the preacher, and impressed favorably by his singular sermon, he sought an introduction, and invited him to his house. Mr. Allen declined the invitation, having agreed to pass the night with another family. "Well, Mr. Allen," said the Colonel, "I shall be happy to see you at my house at any time that will suit your convenience." "But, Colonel, I am sent out to preach the gospel, I have no other business; so I preach wherever I go." "That forms no objection, Mr. Allen, I shall be glad to see you, and have some of your conversation." "Well now, Colonel, suppose I make an appointment to preach at your house a little time hence?" "Agreed, Mr. Allen,

make what appointment you please." Mr. Allen immediately gave notice that on a certain Sabbath they might expect preaching at Col. Skillern's. "Now, Colonel, you may expect me the Saturday before."

On the appointed Saturday, Mr. Allen was most kindly received by the Colonel and his family; and the afternoon and evening were spent in cheerful conversation. The improvement of James River was the absorbing subject at that time. The passage of a canal through the Blue Bidge, on the banks of the river, was considered of vital importance to the Valley. The Colonel was greatly interested, as his possessions in lands and negroes were very large, and the difficulties in reaching market very much diminished the profits of his farming operations. Mr. Allen made no effort to turn the conversation in which the Colonel's heart was so engaged. At bed time he said, "It is my custom, Colonel, wherever I lodge, to have family prayers before I retire, will you call in your family?" "Certainly, sir;" and the family were assembled, and worship attended with great solemnity.

On Sabbath morning the Colonel began on James River, and its improvements. "Colonel," says Mr. Allen, "what day is this?" "Sunday morning, sir." "Aye, so it is; and now will you tell me the design of the Sabbath day?" "It is for rest, and the worship of God." "Well, then, Colonel," said Allen, in his most pleasant manner, "we have had six busy days on James River, we are to let James River rest to-day, and all worldly matters, and attend to the proper business of the day. We will, if you please, begin with family worship before breakfast." "Certainly, Mr. Allen;" and the family attended worship with great solemnity. After breakfast the Colonel began again on James River. "To the point, Colonel, to the point," said Allen, and turned the conversation upon the unsatisfying nature of earthly things, and the necessity of laying a good foundation for time to come.

At the hour of preaching, the house was filled; rooms, passage, porch, all were occupied, and some even standing in the yard. The attention to the sermon was good; some of the hearers were deeply affected. Towards the close of the sermon, Mr. Allen turned to the Colonel's negroes who had been assembled, "You negroes, I have a word for you. Do you think that such poor black, dirty-looking creatures as you can ever get to heaven? I do not speak this because I despise you, and have no tender feelings for you; by no means. I pity you from my heart. You are poor slaves, and have a hard time of it here; you work hard, and have few of the comforts of life that you can enjoy; but I can tell you that the blessed Saviour shed his blood as much for you as for your masters, or any of the white people. He purchased pardon for you as much as for the white people. He has opened the door of heaven wide for you, and invites you to come in. I have thought the poor negro slaves, of all people, ought to strive the hardest to get religion, and make their peace with God. Your masters may make some sort of excuse for serving the devil, because they have many



of the good things of this life, with the pleasures of sin for a season. But what have you to make a heaven of in this world? What do you get for serving the devil here? You may become religious, and find peace with God as easy as white persons, and I think easier too, for you have not half so many temptations in your path. Make God your friend, and take Jesus for your Saviour, and he will keep you through all your troubles here; and though your skins may be black here, you will hereafter shine like the stars in the firmament. I entreat you, set about this work without delay. Break off from all your wicked ways, your lying, stealing, swearing, drunkenness, and vile lewdness; give yourselves to prayer and repentance, and fly to Jesus, and give up your heart to him in true earnest, and flee from the wrath to come." The negroes wept abundantly. The white people were more affected with the address to the black people than with the sermon to themselves. Allen parted with the family on the kindest terms. He never visited them again. He soon left Virginia for ever.

In one of his various journeyings, he found at the tavern at which he called to pass the night, a company of young people assembled for a dance. The landlord, at his request, accommodated him with a comfortable room and blazing fire; and announced to the company, when about to begin the dance, that a very agreeable gentleman had arrived at the house and taken lodgings, and perhaps might be induced to join the dance. Well, said a lively, pretty girl, I will go and get him for my partner. Entering his door, she dropped a handsome curtsy, and said—sir, shall I have the pleasure of a dance with you this evening? Allen eyed her for a moment, and said—well, my little sweet-heart, I cannot deny such a charming little girl what she asks. So taking her by the hand, they together entered the ball-room, and took their stand upon the floor. Just as the fiddle was called for to begin—stop! stop! says Allen, we are a little too fast; I make it a point to engage in nothing without asking heaven's blessing upon it. Let us pray. He put up a fervent prayer of some length. At its close, discovering he had made a deep impression, he gave a solemn exhortation. His lively partner, trembling with alarm, fell upon the floor, and was laid upon a couch. Some of the young men left the room; others wept profusely; and many exhibited deep feeling. The dance was broken up, and the evening spent in religious worship; many were asking what they should do to be saved. Tradition says there were some hopeful conversions from among the enquirers. In his talent, or capability of saying and doing things which ordinary men could never accomplish, and should never attempt, was the secret of Allen's popularity. His sanctified eccentricity made him a useful man.

A little before his removal to Kentucky, he preached in Lexington. Paine's Age of Reason had been circulated among the youth, and a number of store boys and apprentices were quite captivated with the work. There was much talk among the young people about the

soundness of the arch-Infidel's opinions. A large company had assembled to hear Mr. Allen preach. Towards the close of the sermon he said — "Young men I have a word with you before I close; — you say some of you, that by the help of Paine's Age of Reason, you have found out that religion is all a fable, and that the Bible is nothing but a pack of priest-craft. Now, I ask you what do you know about religion and the Bible? When did you bestow half of the pains and time in studying the Bible that you have upon Paine's Age of Reason? You green-heads, you are nothing but the retailers of the shreds and scraps of Infidelity; mere echoes of an echo. You know no more about religion than a goose does about geography." This attack came unexpectedly. The serious and grave could scarce restrain a laugh; the contaminated youth bit their lips. Infidel talk was however banished from Lexington, or confined to private places. "Green-heads," and "goose's geography," would silence all cavils at religion. The infidel was killed with his own favorite weapon.

Early in the spring, having accepted the call from Silver Creek and Paint Creek, which had been in his hands about two years, Mr. Allen removed to Kentucky. His father sent by him the following letter to Jacob Fishback:

Cumberland Cy., Virginia, March 7th, 1794.

SIR—I received your letter by my son Cary; and I read it, and I believed every word that you wrote to be the truth. My heart said give him up, cheerfully up, to do the Lord's work, be it where he was called for most. But my flesh scringes at it, and would make the water flow out of my head very freely; and I could not help it. But it appears to me now, at this time, he is wanted here as much as at Cantuck; and I will give reasons for it. Cary's connexion is very large, and people that are of no church are very fond to hear him; they have faith in him. He is now married, and I am pleased at that; perhaps it may be a means of hearing from him oftener than had he married in Cantucky. But now, my dear sir, you have all the advantage of me, his old father, who must go out of the world shortly, and Cary a favorite child. Will you sympathise with me, and let him come to see me. His friends would now stop him from going could they do it. But his heart is at Cantucky; and I never did undertake to persuade him against going, but often told him I was opposed to it, and could not be angry with him. I am now sixty-five years old, a planter, and never was but a little over one hundred miles from home in my life. I have seen and felt two revivals in my time; and now we are very cold in religion again. I was in Hanover when religion first sprung up in my neighborhood; and now at that place there is scarcely the shadow of religion. And will it be so here? God forbid it should. If it should I cannot stay here. But I am in hopes when the seed is sown in the heart it will not die. My desires are the same now as ever; and I feel now like I never could give up to the foolish fashions and customs of the world. I remain a stranger, but am in hopes a friend to you and you to me.

DANL. ALLEN.

The simplicity and godly sincerity that appear in this letter characterized all that section of country around Hampden Sidney College, occupied by the Presbyterian congregations. Mr. Allen would probably have yielded to the wishes of his father and friends, and have remained in Virginia for life; but his numerous admirers in Kentucky gave him no rest, sending messages and letters to call him west of the Alleghenies.

On the 11th of October, 1794, he was ordained pastor of the two churches that had given him the call. Feeling himself the shepherd of the flock, he was ready to spend and be spent for those for whom Christ laid down his life. One cold winter night he preached in a log cabin to a crowded auditory. After service, leaving the room in a free perspiration, he rode some miles to the place of his lodging; took cold and fell ill. A cough succeeded, and a rapid decline. On the 5th of August, 1795, he breathed his last, being in his twenty-ninth year; leaving a wife and one child, a daughter. As he approached his end, his desire to be useful lost none of their intensity. He called the elders to his room for counsel and exhortation. He sent for members of the church in companies, and exhorted them; and thus kept the spirit of piety alive. He departed in the triumph of faith. His grave is in a burying-ground near Danville, marked by head and foot-stones, erected in 1823 by the Presbytery of Transylvania.

( WILLIAM CALHOON.

The sedate, unaffected, sincere, and conscientious young companion of Cary Allen, on his second trip to Kentucky, William Calhoon, was reared in Prince Edward County, the son of a pious elder in the Briery Church. Born in 1772, and early instructed in religious truth, and the practice of strict morality, unusually inclined to gravity, and very respectful to religion, and its ministers, he became a member of Hampden Sidney College, at the age of fourteen. He was a student there during the great revival, which made its appearance, among the Presbyterians, first in Briery; and was a partaker of its blessings. His father lived about six miles from the College, and required his son to return home every Saturday, and pass the Sabbath with the family in private, social, and public worship of God. This keeping the Sabbath holy cherished in the mind of the youth those religious impressions early made. All the jeers and laugh of the thoughtless boys in College, not one of whom was known to be religious, could not destroy the conscientious sedateness of young Calhoon in any matters that concerned morality and religion. In cheerfulness and close attention to his studies he was surpassed by none.

When William Hill began to be disturbed about the condition of his soul, he requested this sedate lad, as he was going home of a Saturday, to ask his father to send him some good book to read. The message was delivered in presence of the family. Miss Peggy, a pious elder sister, said, "I know what to send—I have got the very

book for him." And on Monday, young Calhoon carried to College a much used copy of Alleine's Alarm to the Unconverted. This book was the occasion of discovering the seriousness in College, and of uniting the prayerful in a social band. In the revival which followed, the bearer of the book was a hopeful partaker of the blessings. That Allen, and Hill, and Read, and Calhoon, and Blythe should cherish a warm friendship for each other and for Legrand, was but the natural consequence of companionship in the early exercises of a renewed heart. Allen, mirthfully eccentric; Hill fiery, passionate and lofty, yet mirth-loving; Read, resolute but full of kindness, with the simplicity of a child; Blythe, full of generous feeling, and from the hour he wept in Hill's room over his remissness in religion, an unflinching defender of the truth as it is in Christ; and Calhoon, with his gravity, ardor, and tender conscience, all of them ran for Christ a race marked with their individual characteristics, and abounding in blessings to the church.

When about nineteen years of age, Mr. Calhoon offered himself a candidate for the ministry, to the Presbytery holding its sessions at the Briery Meeting House, April 1st, 1791. His examination took place that evening, in the dwelling of Mrs. Morton, and record was made of his acceptance. In the absence of the moderator, Robert Marshall, a licentiate under the care of the commission of Synod, opened the Presbytery, being present, in preparation to go with Allen to Kentucky on a mission. In October, at Cub Creek, the candidates, Moses Waddell and William Calhoon, appeared for examination. In the evening, at the house of Littlejoe Morton, they read their trial pieces, Mr. Calhoon's being a lecture on 110th Psalm. The examination on Greek and Moral Philosophy was on May 10th, 1792, at D. S. Mr. Calhoon was called to open Presbytery with his trial sermon for licensure, on John 6th, 37, All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out. On the 12th, William Calhoon, Moses Waddell, and William Williamson, having passed the various examinations and trials required by Presbytery, were licensed to preach the gospel. One of the candidates for licensure, Mr. Waddell, had a seat in Presbytery as elder from Cumberland congregation. At a meeting of the Presbytery at Bethel, July 27th, 1792, Mr. Calhoon was recommended to the commission of Synod:—And at a meeting of the commission, in Harrisonburg, Sept. 22d, he was appointed missionary, and sent with Mr. Allen to Kentucky, on his second visit to that region.

In descending the Ohio, the boat in which the missionaries were embarked, was fired upon by some bands of savages, for plunder. The cheerful Allen, and the sedate Calhoon stood bravely for defence, and demanded an equal exposure to danger. Allen, by his mirth-moving eccentricities, would first attract the attention of strangers, and his frank, open-hearted bearing in his piety, would impress those whose attention he had won. The youth, gravity, uprightness, and bravery of Calhoon, now about twenty years of age, made

an impression in his favor as a minister of the gospel, who was to be listened to with respect. His sociability in private circles, and deep earnestness in the performance of his ministerial duties, held the attention once gained, and often ripened it into abiding seriousness. Allen preferred Calhoun's manner to his own, and would have adopted it if he could; but found, like Marshall, who preferred Allen's, in some things, to his own, that in style and manner, it is better to improve nature, than to try to change her; imperfections may be remedied, and excellencies improved.

Mr. Calhoun was an acceptable missionary, and travelled extensively among the infant and scattered settlements of Kentucky. He left no diaries or journals. It is not known that he ever kept any. He had an excellent memory. He trusted it like Robinson of North Carolina; and it was faithful to him. Almost everything respecting himself he committed to her charge, the dates and facts of his various travels, his experience, his reading, his observations on men and things, the sayings of those he loved, his interviews and discussions, all were safely treasured up for time of need. He often entertained his family and others with his adventures in Kentucky; but left no record.

In November, 1793, he was received back from the commission by the Presbytery, at Cumberland meeting-house, at the time Mr. Alexander was received a licentiate from Lexington; on December 25th, of the same year, he was transferred to Transylvania Presbytery to become a resident of Kentucky. On the 12th of February, 1795, he was ordained pastor of Ash Ridge and Cherry Spring. Not being entirely satisfied with his position and prospects he returned to Virginia, and at the Cove, May 9th, 1799, was, without written credentials, received, on oral testimony of a dismission from Transylvania, a member of Hanover Presbytery. For some years he preached at D. S. and other places in Albemarle. On the 3d of May, 1805, at a meeting of Presbytery at Bell Grove, he accepted a call from Staunton and Brown's meeting-house, and was on the same day transferred to Lexington Presbytery. To these he devoted his time and strength for a series of years. The increasing services, required by the enlarging congregations, induced him, as the infirmities of age came on him, to withdraw, first, from Staunton which he thought, and rightly, required the undivided attention of a minister; and then, from Brown's meeting-house, which had taken the name of Hebron, and which required the labors of a strong man. Retaining a great degree of activity and resolution he supplied vacancies, and preached in neighborhoods that were desirous of hearing the gospel, and not favorably situated to attend upon divine service in the regular churches. His ministerial labors were always equal to his strength, and often, in the estimation of his family, beyond it. He was never satisfied, in that particular, till he felt conscious he had gone to the utmost of his strength, and that consciousness he often found on a bed of pain and exhaustion. His

family were never afraid that he would rust out. He was always afraid that he should not wear out.

He was united in marriage to the eldest daughter of Dr. Waddell; and was happy in his domestic relations. She survived him, having been his companion in his joys and sorrows about half a century.

Mr. Calhoon was a hearty Presbyterian. Reared under the fostering wing of Virginia Presbyterianism, he gave the Church of his parents his earliest and his latest love. He carefully studied her doctrines, examined her forms, and investigated her history. In comparison with the Church of Rome, he was a Protestant upon conviction; in the philosophy of his religious creed, he was a Predestinarian; in the forms of the Church he held to the parity of the clergy and simplicity in worship; in practice he was pure in morals, upright between man and man, and exercised a benevolence that would embrace the whole race. He was a friend of all institutions by whomsoever conducted that contemplated the conversion of the world to God, and the elevation of the human race, on Christian principles.

Mr. Calhoon was a ready, prompt man. All his stores were at his command at a moment's warning. His self-possession was never surprised. He always appeared at ease. Preaching, at a certain time, at Rocky Spring, Augusta County, a member of another church exclaimed in the midst of sermon — "I deny that doctrine," and by his rudeness excited some uneasiness in the congregation. "Good people," said Mr. Calhoon, "be pleased to be quiet; that gentleman and myself will discuss the matter." In a few moments the discussion was through, and Mr. Calhoon went on with his argument, and finished his discourse as if nothing had happened. Quick in retort, he would sometimes disconcert that master of words and humor, Dr. Speece. The directness of the thrust was equalled only by the kindness of the manner.

Mr. Calhoon was a brave man. Unobtrusive, unpretending in his manner, very polite in his intercourse with his fellow-men, frank, open and cheerful, and master of his passions — he was never known to show any cowardice. He seemed to know his position and the danger that was imminent, and the way he must ward it off, escape, or overcome, and could adapt himself to circumstances with wonderful facility. In one of the necessary journeyings from Kentucky, which in those days were always performed on horseback, he was passing alone a track of wilderness, and was overtaken by the approach of night, some miles from the lonely tavern where he might lodge. A bright moon cheered him with her light. Suddenly a horseman emerged from a forest path, and, in silence, took the road a few steps in his rear. Annoyed by the singular conduct of the stranger, after proceeding some distance, he suddenly wheeled his horse and said — "Sir, I am strongly impressed with the belief, from your appearance, that you are a robber. I must protect myself. Now I order you to take the road before me until we reach the

next house. Then if it appears that I have wronged you, I will make any amends in my power." The horseman, after a moment's delay, took the lead in silence for about a mile, then suddenly by a side path dashed into the forest. It was the opinion of those at the tavern, which Mr. Calhoun soon reached, that by his presence of mind and promptness he had escaped the hands of one of those who had for some time infested the wilderness and committed numerous robberies, and some murders. Prompt in command and in danger, he was profoundly submissive to constituted authority in its legitimate exercise, fearless of exposure or of disgrace.

Mr. Calhoun was a social man. He enjoyed society and made himself agreeable. Always preserving the propriety of his ministerial character, he would approach the young and thoughtless, and even opposers of religion, with cheerful news and pleasing anecdotes, and give the conversation a religious turn to impress some great truth of a spiritual nature. In the discussions that would sometimes follow, he was remarkably happy, in setting forth the truth, removing all difficulties and objections. In the opinion of some his preaching talents, of a high order, were excelled by his conversational powers. It is certain that the good impressions made by his pulpit services were not obliterated by his private intercourse. "Do you remember" said Dr. Speece to Mr. Calhoun, soon after the death of the Honorable William Wirt, "the discussion you had with Mr. Wirt when you were living in Albemarle?" "I do very well" replied Mr. Calhoun. "Well," said the Dr. "I visited him in his last sickness, and he told me that he was a miserable man ever after till he embraced Christianity."

Mr. Calhoun related the circumstance of the discussion. He called to see the family of Dr. Gilmer at Pen Park, near Charlottesville. Mr. Wirt the husband of the eldest daughter made a part of the family. In the afternoon the origin and authority of the Christian religion became the subject of conversation. Mr. Wirt arrayed the arguments and facts and illustrations of the French infidel philosophers, at that time exercising a vast influence in Virginia by their novelty, apparent fairness and the support they received from men high in the public estimation. Mr. Calhoun was endeavoring to convince the young lawyer of the dangerous ground on which he was standing, and the unsoundness of the positions he had assumed. Mr. Wirt was arguing that Christianity was of human origin, and of course its facts fabulous; Mr. Calhoun, that it was from God and its facts and doctrines of course all true. The discussion grew warm. Both felt its importance. At late bed time Mr. Wirt himself conducted Mr. Calhoun to his room, conversing all the way, and while he was preparing for bed; then sitting down continued the discussion till the candle flickered in its socket. Then undressing he threw himself into an adjoining bed and continued the discussion. The dawn found them still warmly engaged, unconscious of the passage of the hours of night. After breakfast Mr. Wirt accompanied Mr. Calhoun several miles on his way, still earnestly en-

gaged in the discussion. In consequence of that discussion Mr. Wirt said he was a miserable man till he embraced Christianity.

Mr. Calhoon was a punctual and pleasant member of judicatories, fond of discussion, and not tenacious of an opinion about mere circumstantials. Contending valiantly for the truth, he could yield a world of non-essentials for love, and give up a proposition frankly expressed for the proposition of a brother that would secure unanimity. His conscientiousness was sometimes extreme. He knew not how to give up an appointment for preaching, except for sickness or some most marked providence of God. Distance, cold, storm, mud, waters, must be in excess to shake his resolution one moment. His conscience was more likely to make him do and suffer more for little things than the generality of men will for the greatest. He would sooner ask an ungodly crowd at a village tavern to join with him in prayer before he went to rest, than many others would call their quiet families to the worship of God. His greatest difficulty with his conscience was to find the boundaries of prudence. His great horror of being at fault in his duty as a Christian minister, or man, often led him into positions which the prudence of some would have avoided, and the cowardice of others would have shunned. He never counted the cost of fearing God and keeping a good conscience.

Mr. Calhoon was not fond of his pen. He could use it. It probably would have been better for him and those that came after him, had he used it more. One short letter of recollections sent to F. N. Watkins, enriched the sketch of the revival at Hampden Sidney College, in the former series. He could tell an anecdote, or relate a fact, well. He had multitudes at command; and often resolved to commit, some of them at least, to paper; and at last suffered most of them to pass away with himself. He wrote but few sermons. He meditated and arranged his thoughts with care. But if, in the warmth of his public exercises, any new thoughts, or a new arrangement pleased him, he adopted them forthwith. Sometimes like his beloved preceptor, he would follow one head of his discourse or the new thought, to the entire neglect of the symmetry of his announced plan, or pre-arranged order; and so subject himself to the suspicion of having lost his way, or of not having prepared his sermon. Those that knew him understood the whole matter, and sometimes rejoiced, and sometimes mourned, at the event. In any circumstances he was not a dull preacher; always good, he was often deeply interesting. God appointed him trials fitted to his nature; he felt them and acknowledged the hand that smote. A particular relation might instruct others how to bear, and how to avoid, afflictions. But like his brother Hill, having reaped the benefit of sore trials, he has left the record of them to the book of God.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

JOHN H. RICE, D. D.

THE birth-place of JOHN H. RICE was in Bedford County, Virginia, in sight of the Peaks of Otter. Fearlessness, composure, frugality, open-handed hospitality, frankness, and deep religious feelings, characterized the region in which he was born. Plain fare, plain dress, little money, cheerful hearts, active spirits, capability of endurance, and shrewd minds, were to be found in log-houses in that fertile and magnificent county, lying south of the river James, and at the base of the Blue Ridge.

Benjamin and Catherine Rice had six children, Edith, David, John Holt, Sarah, Benjamin Holt, and Elizabeth. John Holt, the third child, and second son, was born the 28th of November, 1777. The father grew up in Hanover County, and was by profession a lawyer, a man frank in his manners, sociable in his disposition, and shrewd in his apprehensions. A natural vein of humor, and his determined piety, made him a pleasant and safe companion, and a desirable friend. At the time of the birth of his second son, he was deputy Clerk of Bedford County, and ruling elder in the congregation of Peaks and Pisgah, the pastoral charge of his uncle, David Rice, afterwards known as the apostle of Kentucky. The mother, Catherine Holt, a near relative of the second wife of Rev. Samuel Davies, born and reared in Hanover County, possessed a gentle disposition and a cultivated mind, was domestic in her habits, and devotedly pious.

Mr. Rice lived upon a small tract of land belonging to the brother of his wife, the Rev. John White Holt, an Episcopal minister, and had an income of eighty pounds from the Clerk's Office, in addition to the profits of his legal practice. His unsullied purity of principle and life, and his unsophisticated manners gave him influence and a high standing in society. Hospitality, in those days of simplicity, unincumbered with expensive entertainments, was the source of great enjoyment and mental improvement. The habits of the country ensured the visitor a cheerful welcome to a plentiful supply of any provision the host might have prepared, or was convenient. Of books the number was small, and the circulation of newspapers very limited; and the conversation of intelligent visitors, at the evening fireside, or the table of refreshment, was eagerly sought for the passing enjoyment, and the improvement of a rising family. Some of the finest characters of the Revolution, and the times succeeding, were formed under this social influence, this contact with enlarged and improved minds. The earliest associations of Mr. Rice's young family were with the good and the intelligent. The uncle of the father, the pastor of the Presbyterian congregation, and the brother of the mother, an Episcopal minister, exercised an elevating religious influence in their familiar intercourse with the young people.

brother

The son John Holt, when about two years old, appeared, after a long illness, to be near his end. He was taken from his cradle and laid upon the bed to breathe his last. Suddenly, to the surprise of the family standing around, and commending him to God, he began to revive. His recovery was rapid. His uncle Holt, declared solemnly, that he believed the child was spared for some great and good purpose, and charged the mother to bring him up piously for the work designed by divine Providence. He promised his aid in giving him a classical education. These words, like those spoken to Hannah, deeply impressed the mother's heart; and, in after years, affected the child's mind. Who can measure the influence of the thought — "I am called of God" — on the heart of a noble-minded child? Soon after this sickness his uncle, William Rice, taught school in the neighborhood, at Coffee's old field, and resided with the family. The little boy often went with his uncle to the school, sometimes riding on his shoulders; and the uncle amused himself by the way, and at home, in teaching the boy to call the letters, and spell words. The father was surprised to find that he could read, before he thought him old enough to be taught; and in his joy exclaimed — "that boy shall have a good education." By the time he was four years old, he would sit on a cricket by his mother's knee, and read aloud to her in the Bible, and Watts's Psalms and Hymns.

When about eight years of age, he commenced the Latin Grammar at the school of his uncle Holt, in Botetourt County. That school being broken up in about a year, on account of his uncle's health, he returned home, and was, for a time, under the tuition of Rev. James Mitchel, the son-in-law and successor of David Rice. He then came under the instruction of a number of teachers in succession in the neighborhood, from none of whom he received any particular advantage. The general impression on his mind, from the whole, was unfavorable to systematic study; the evil of which he felt many years, perhaps the consequences followed through life; first in the time lost in making acquirements in after years which might have been made in these, and then the effort to counteract a bad habit of thinking and acting. His mind, however, was slowly maturing, and gathering stores of miscellaneous wealth for future use.

In his thirteenth year, young Rice suffered a calamity in the affliction that came upon him, the death of his mother. Mr. Rice and his children saw more clearly from day to day, as weeks and months rolled on, the length and breadth of the distress that followed the bereavement. The guiding hand of Mrs. Rice being paralyzed, discomforts came in upon the family, and the widowed husband, like many another man, felt he had lost the comfort and charm of his house. John Holt was old enough to appreciate and remember his mother; and through life he cherished a lively recollection of her form, her affection, and her instructions. She had already cast the mould of the boy's character, and laid the foundation of the

man. The habit of entire self-control so remarkable in him, he attributed, under the blessing of God, to the earnest persuasion and instruction of his sainted mother to govern his naturally hasty temper; and his thirst for knowledge and desire for improvement had been cherished, if not instilled, by her tender care.

When fifteen years of age he was permitted by his pastor, James Mitchel, to make a public profession of religion. He had witnessed the great revival in Bedford, the revival that began in Charlotte and Prince Edward, and was promoted by the labors of Smith, Graham, Legrand, Lacy, Mitchel, and Turner. From his earliest life in religion, he believed that true piety consists in a spirit of ardent devotion, deep penitence, love of purity, and an earnest attachment to Christ. He had trembled under the warnings of Mitchel, been agitated by the pathetic exhortations of Turner, moved by the persuasions of Legrand, and enlightened and impressed by Smith and Graham. The standard of religious experience formed in the churches about the time he became a member, he labored to erect wherever he preached in after life; rallying the church around that, he strove to lead her on to high achievements of godly living; a standard higher than any since the days of Davies, and having the elements of perfection.

On the division of the County of Bedford, in the year 1784, Mr. Rice removed to Liberty, the new County seat. His worldly circumstances were improved by his marriage with a widow of the brother of Patrick Henry. The first Mrs. Rice excelled in tenderness and piety; the second in domestic management and success in worldly affairs. The step-mother not being deeply impressed by the abilities of John Holt, and perhaps not valuing at a high rate a liberal education, and consulting for the future welfare of the boy, proposed that, as the father probably would not be able to give him a farm, he should be put to some good trade. The father and the son objected. The son thought of nothing but an education, and the father cherished the desire, and God's providence favored the child.

Dr. Rice used to tell some circumstances of his early life, characteristic of himself and the country. Cotton was reared as an indispensable material for clothing, and was manufactured in the family. Whitney's cotton-gin was not then invented, and the preparation of the cotton for the spindle was a tedious operation, and gave employment to the fingers of servants and children the early part of the long winter nights. After supper, the children and servants were gathered round the blazing hearth, each with his regular task of cotton from the field in balls, to be freed from seeds and impurities. Pieces of the heart of pine, and knots saturated with turpentine, by a process of nature, supplied the place of candles and lamps. Burning on the hearth, they gave a splendid light. Where the rich pines abounded, candles were scarcely known in the domestic concerns. Thousands of families in the Southern and Western country at this time enjoy this light by night. By this, young Rice performed his

regular nightly tasks of cotton picking, and then indulged his appetite for reading and study. "Often," said he, "as the flames wasted, have I thrown myself at full length upon the floor, drawing nearer and nearer the decaying brands, and finally thrusting my head into the very ashes, to catch the last gleam of light." Multitudes of Southern youths have coned their school tasks by the pine light; and men in high station have amused their visitors, by contrasting the simplicity of their boyish days with the luxuries of their grandchildren. Dr. Hill was accustomed to describe the cotton pickings with great glee.

Young Rice was sent to Liberty Hall Academy; Rev. William Graham, in the meridian of his fame, presided. Mr. Edward Graham, the brother and assistant of the president, writing, in the later years of his life, says: "his moral character was entirely correct; that he gave much of his time to miscellaneous reading, and was not particularly distinguished in his classical studies." Young Rice manifested a desire of excellence, but never appeared ambitious of surpassing his classmates. It is not probable that he studied one hour, during his academic life, with the desire of supremacy. His habits of mind did not fit him to shine in the class-room, and he was probably too indifferent to classic honors. After remaining at the academy about a year and a-half, he was recalled by his father, for reasons of a pecuniary nature. Mr. George A. Baxter, the pupil, and ultimately the successor, of Graham, was teaching an academy at New London. Learning the circumstances of young Rice, he invited him to pursue his studies with him, and be a partner of his room. He remained with Mr. Baxter about a year, reciting regularly in the school, and in his leisure hours perusing choice works of English literature. His acquaintance with the classics became intimate and correct, and the productions of his pen manifested the advantage of his English reading. Mr. Baxter considered young Rice correct in morals and pious, kind in heart, reserved in company, conversing on moral and religious subjects with propriety, but possessing little of that small talk essential to the cheerfulness of social circles. He gave no intimations of any extraordinary powers, or brilliancy of intellect. His mind was slow in its operations, but safe in its conclusions. The friendship formed between the teacher and his pupil ripened with increasing years; the one became President of Washington College, and the other Professor in Union Theological Seminary, which position he yielded by death to the friend and teacher of his youth.

Mr. Rice commenced the work of a teacher in the family of Mr. Nelson, of Malvern Hills, about thirty miles below Richmond. Judge William Nelson, while attending a session of the District Court at New London, made inquiries for a teacher for the family of his kinsman. Mr. Baxter recommended young Rice; and, with the consent of his father, he was engaged for the office. Patrick Henry being at this sessions of the court, the step-son of his brother's widow was introduced to him in the court-house yard. The orator addressed a

few words of encouragement to the youth, and said, "be sure, my son, remember the best men always make themselves." Inoperative at the time, this sentiment was pondered, in after years, as a great historic truth in Virginia, among statesmen and divines. An eminent British statesman said, "No man can rise without patronage." Patrick Henry, after untold mortifications, had risen to a commanding position; and the youth he addressed at New London, in his kindness, after efforts equally great, without the mortifications, left a name among the churches never to pass away.

With his father's blessing, ten shillings in his pocket, and all his wardrobe in a handkerchief, he walked to James River, stepped on board a market boat, and floated down to Richmond. Canal boats, rail cars, and trunks of baggage, were unknown in those days; and young Rice would probably have been amazed at the luggage of some students in these days of progress in education. In Mr. Nelson's family he showed himself worthy of the great kindness he received, by his diligent attention to his duties as a teacher, his modesty, and obliging deportment. Here he was introduced to the highly polished society of the "Ancient Dominion," at an age to feel its allurements, and its power to refine. He made himself agreeable to the family, and the numerous visitors. His high tone of honorable and refined intercourse with ladies, which rendered him peculiarly pleasing and useful in Richmond, and throughout Virginia, and wherever else he visited, was greatly improved by his social relations with the society of Malvern Hills. Naturally unsociable, he learned winning manners. With his kind heart and sound principles, he became irresistible, where he determined to please a social circle.

This improvement in his manners was bought with trials of heart. His sense of truth and justice was accompanied with a keen perception of the ridiculous and absurd. He could be pleasant in his remarks, like his father, humorous in his observations, and when excited or offended, keenly satirical. The world opened upon him with her enchantments, and touched his heart. His well arranged principles guarded him against the persuasives to sin, while the softening influence of refined society wore away his awkwardness, and reserve, and the greenness of boyhood. Religious society once familiar, now necessary to preserve the balance of his mind, and purity of his heart, was a rare enjoyment, almost a thing unknown. Men of sprightly minds and pleasing manners uttered in his hearing the sentiments that prevailed in Paris, and produced the arguments of the leaders of the French Revolution, which he was not prepared to answer, and by the novelty of which he was sometimes confounded. In the midst of luxuries unusual, and prospectively beyond his enjoyment, and not congenial to his moral tastes, he began first to feel lonely; and then an indifference towards his fellow men came over him; and then lastly a strange coldness towards his God. He was passing the trial which in some form awaits all youth as they come upon the great theatre of the world. First, is the kind feeling towards all; then, as bitter experience makes them partially wiser,

comes the distrust of men which may be very general ; then as the tide of affairs roll on, unless prosperous business, or kind attention of the good, or the internal influences of God's amazing grace arrest the downward course, come misanthropy, hardness of heart, free thinking, perhaps dissipation, Atheism, and an unhonored death.

Young Rice never knew, till this time, the power within him to hate his fellow man, nor the bitterness, that hidden under ridicule and sarcasm, could amuse and sting the world, and torment the possessor's heart. He knew he had a power that might be fearful or amusing, but its two edges he found out by some inward wounds that were healed by a kind mother's hand in Prince Edward. He remained in the family of Mr. Nelson about a year and a half. On a visit to his father's house he was seized with a violent and protracted fever. During the progress of the disease he fathomed the excellence of Deism, of the French Moral Philosophy, of the being without God in the world : and the line soon reached the bottom. Deism became his abhorrence on principle and on feeling. He sounded the grace of the gospel, and like the God from whom it flowed, it was without shore or bottom, an ocean in which he might swim for Eternity. The one might be charming in the revelries of a voluptuous city, the other was the help of a sinner as he approached his God with the veil torn from his heart. The world now appeared to him, empty as a treasure, false as a support, lovely as a work of God ; and full of wisdom and goodness, as man's place of trial. The cheerfulness and piety of his father were priceless in his eyes. His heart was broken, and not healed ; the fashion of Christ was appearing, but not the full image of unsullied brightness that shone out in succeeding years. The work of reconstruction was reserved as the work of another agency more winning than sickness.

On the restoration of his health he sought employment as a teacher. Bearing in the kindest remembrance the family in which he had been employed ; and carrying with him their warmest wishes for his prosperity, and enjoying their friendship through life, like all youth pleased with "novelty and fond of change," he turned his attention to another part of his native state. Hearing that a tutor was wanting in Hampden Sidney College, he sought the office. The Presbytery of Hanover held its fall session, Oct., 1796, at Bethel Meeting House in Bedford. Besides Mitchel and Turner, the co-pastors of his native congregation, Lacy, Alexander, and Lyle, were present. The father of Mr. Rice, as an elder, was member. The ministers were all deeply interested in the College, and some of them warm friends of the father, and prepared to favor the son. With such introduction as he could procure he made application to the trustees, by a personal interview.

With his bundle in his hand, he proceeded on foot through Campbell County, and part of Charlotte to Prince Edward ; and found that the trustees were in correspondence with Robert Logan of Fincastle, and waiting a final answer. Encouraged to expect the appointment if Mr. Logan declined, and anxious to know the event,

he returned to Bedford, crossed the Blue Ridge, and waited on Mr. Logan. Returning to Prince Edward with a communication from Mr. Logan declining the office, and recommending Mr. Rice to the attention of the trustees, this long pedestrian journey was crowned with success; he received the appointment.

Major James Morton, Treasurer of the Board, took him to his residence to remain the short time intervening the commencement of his labors as teacher. From that visit Willington became associated, in the heart of young Rice, with all that is kind, and excellent, and lovely. The Major advanced a small sum of money for some claims due in Lexington, and furnished him with clothing for the winter. And Mrs. Morton, in her kind and Christian manner, won his confidence. The intimate friendship that followed, Dr. Rice always acknowledged as having a most controlling influence throughout his whole succeeding life. He had passed his childhood in retired life; in his early youth he had been with the polished world; and now he was introduced to a sphere of activity in pursuit, and seclusion in living, under the influence of Christian example of the most endearing domestic nature at Willington, in Mrs. Morton; and the most admirable public exhibition in Archibald Alexander. In Mrs. Morton he seemed to himself to find his own dear mother revived, and by that name he called her long before the thought was formed that she might be so in reality. With the confidence of a son he laid open to her his distress of soul, and told her his hopes and fears, and the perplexing experience through which he had passed. Her counsels and instructions were, by the blessing of God, the means of rescuing him from the hardening influences of an infidel philosophy, which he could neither believe, or with clear reasons decidedly reject; they closed the springs of bitterness, and opened the fountains of benevolence. He used to say of Mrs. Morton — "It was impossible to know such a woman without thinking more kindly of his fellow-men for her sake." During the winter the pupils were few and the duties of the teacher light. The hours not required in teaching and preparation for recitations, were devoted to literary reading and composition. He practised the celebrated rule of reading some well-written piece, and then, without relying upon verbal memory, attempting to reproduce the style and thoughts of the author. He wrote narratives and essays, and made compends of important treatises. His facility in composition, in after years, may be traced to the efforts at improvement made at New London, and his early residence at Hampden Sidney.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## MESSRS. ALEXANDER AND RICE — ASSOCIATED AT HAMPDEN SIDNEY COLLEGE.

THE connection of Mr. Archibald Alexander with the College in Prince Edward County, was not desired by himself, or hastily formed. The knowledge of the circumstances leading to that event is from the Records of the Trustees of the College, November 1st, 1792. "The Board having failed in their attempt to get the Rev. Mr. Graham to take charge of the College as President, have thought proper to secure to the Rev. Drury Lacy the office of Vice President for the term of four years from the present time. It is also the intention of the Board to secure to Mr. Lacy the use of the house and lands that he now occupies, for the above-mentioned term." On the 12th of the same month the Board made another entry: — "The Rev. Drury Lacy, who has at present the charge of the College, with the office of Vice President, attended the Board, and desired that the Board would think of some suitable person, who should be associated with him in the charge of the College with equal authority, to take an equal share of the labor, and have an equal share of the emoluments. The Board having thought the proposal such an one as they ought to accede to, and Mr. Archibald Alexander being proposed as a proper person — ordered, that Samuel W. Venable and Joseph Venable be a committee to write to Mr. Alexander, and in behalf of the Board to propose to him to accept the charge of the College, in conjunction with Mr. Lacy, to have, as has been proposed, equal authority, and to bear an equal share of the labor, and to receive an equal share of all the emoluments. Ordered, that the same committee appointed to write to Mr. Alexander, be appointed to write to the different congregations about now to be associated for supporting a minister, to inform them of this resolution of the Board, and to propose to them to join their interest with us, and to endeavor to induce Mr. Alexander to undertake the charge of the College, with Mr. Lacy, on the proposed plan, and to preach to the congregations as one of the ministers proposed to be employed in the plan of association mentioned above." *April 9th, 1793.* — "A letter from Mr. Archibald Alexander being read to the Board, in which he stated the objections to his accepting the invitation of this Board, that was given him some time ago, to take part in the management of this College, it is agreed that the Board will consider it at their next meeting, and that they will take no resolution on it at present." At the next meeting, the prospect of Mr. Alexander's accepting being in no respect more favorable, Mr. Lacy was requested to consult the two former Presidents, on his trip to Philadelphia, as Commissioner to the Assembly.



The time for which Mr. Lacy was engaged being about to expire, the Board, December 22d, 1795, ordered — “That Paul Carrington, Sen., Esq., F. Watkins, S. W. Venable and A. B. Venable be a committee to make inquiry for some suitable person to take charge of the College as tutor, when the term for which Mr. Lacy is engaged has expired; and also to make inquiries for a suitable person who will be disposed to undertake the office of President; and report the success of their inquiries to this Board, from time to time.” In the previous April Mr. Alexander had been chosen member of the Board of Trustees.

In the summer of 1796 propositions were made to Rev. John D. Blair, of Richmond, to become the President, but without success.

In the month of August, 1796, the attention of the Board was once more turned to Mr. Alexander. Mr. Lacy was about removing to his farm, Mount Ararat, a few miles from the College, and the institution was on the point of being left without instruction. On the 13th the records say — “The Board will engage to him £50 per annum from the funds of the College, and that the tuition, until it shall amount, with the sum of £50, to £180, shall be divided between him and one assistant; and when the tuition shall amount to more than this, that then the trustees will appropriate the overplus as to them shall seem best.” Besides this salary, Mr. Alexander was to have the use of the dwelling-house provided for the President. On the 1st day of the succeeding September, Mr. Alexander's reply was read — “In which he expresses a wish to decline giving his final answer till November: the Board, on considering the same, have agreed to await his answer till that time.” An order was passed the same day to take the proper steps to obtain a teacher for the approaching winter session. In November the Board met at the Court House, on the 21st. Mr. Alexander met with them as trustee, and gave for answer to their appointment — “That he would accept their invitation, provided the Board would be satisfied that he should defer taking the actual charge of the College until the month of April next. The Board determined to accept of his proposal; but they wish and expect, that if he can find it convenient, he will come at an earlier period.” Rev. Matthew Lyle was chosen trustee at this meeting.

At a meeting of the Board, December 19th, 1796, “Samuel W. Venable, from the committee appointed to employ a teacher, reported — that he and Mr. Francis Watkins, part of that committee, had contracted, on the part of the Board, with Mr. John Rice, to act as a teacher in College, till the last of April next; for which they have engaged that he shall receive twenty-five pounds. The Board approved of this arrangement, and ordered it to be entered on their minutes.” As soon as practicable after his appointment, Mr. Rice began his labors, teaching the pupils assembled at the College. The winter was passed usefully and happily by him, ambitious to make the best preparation for the President, whom he

occasionally saw and heard preach, and began to love and to hold conference with about their future course of teaching.

May 31st, 1797, at the College. Present—“Col. Thomas Scott, Major James Morton, Charles Allen, Charles Scott, Jacob Morton, Francis Watkins, Samuel W. Venable, Joseph Venable, Richard N. Venable, and Dr. Robert L. Smith and the Rev. A. Alexander, the President, who this day appeared and entered on his office. On motion by Mr. Alexander, Major James Morton is appointed in future to receive the tuition, room-rent, and deposit from such students as shall wish to enter College, and grant them receipts for the same, which they shall present to the officers of College when they enter. Mr. S. W. Venable, from the committee, reported that he had agreed with Mr. John H. Rice, for the next term, and that he had agreed, on the behalf of the Board, to pay him twenty-five pounds for the term.”

Here are two young men brought, in the Providence of God, to become acquainted, and act together upon the arena of labor, and struggle, and usefulness; and to form a friendship to be perpetuated through life, unharmed by those changes incident to mortals, loving each other more strongly and more purely to the last. They met, the one in his twentieth year, prepared to perform the duties of teacher, and the other in the beginning of his twenty-sixth year, to assume the responsibilities of a president of a college, where in fact there was no college. There was a small but pleasant wooden dwelling for the president; a moderate sized brick building for college purposes, recitations, and lodging the students; a wooden building to serve as a college hall, the place for assembling the students for prayer, and the neighborhood for public worship; a small library; a meagre apparatus; and an amount of funds to yield an inconsiderable income. But of college classes there were none; and of students few. Under the first and second presidents the college was crowded with students: would it be a gain?

Though not symmetrical in its arrangements, the usefulness of the college was almost unbounded for a series of years in a country of exceeding loveliness, and among a population of great moral worth. The second president saw the beginning of its decline. The revival of religion, of which he had been a great and honored instrument, called him away from college duties, and complaints came up, perhaps not well founded, that he neglected the college. Upon this came also complaints, found in the end to be unfounded, that the college was sectarian. And fears were expressed also lest, somehow, politics had or would get into college. The region of country occupied by Davies and Todd and Waddell, north of the James, had not been bound as firmly to the college as it might have been. Smith's strong resolutions in Presbytery had a severity not soon forgotten. Under all these influences the college was drooping, when J. B. Smith left the presidency. The vice-president, Lacy, on whom the college rested for a time, struggled manfully with great difficulties. He loved to preach, and his calls for preaching were numerous, and

to distant places. The trustees could not offer a salary to sustain a president and a professor. Weary with over labor, and oppressed with feeble health, he retired. Graham, though invited by the trustees, and the congregations which were expected to aid in supporting the president, would not take the responsibilities and the labors. Mr. Lacy had been contriving from the time of Mr. Alexander's first visit, to get him engaged in the college; and he rejoiced when at last, as he removed from the hill, he found Mr. Alexander preparing to take the responsible office.

The board acted wisely in committing the college to two young men. It was a position for the energy and enterprise and vivacity of young men. And the providence of God, most kind and wonderful, led them to employ those whose worth and influence and usefulness cannot be estimated. The elder came from Rockbridge, the younger from Bedford, counties divided by the Blue Ridge, and in all their religious history intimately blended. Upon James Mitchel's and James Turner's altar the sacred fire often blazed forth; and then they ran from Rockbridge to carry a coal to the altars in the valley. Mr. Rice had excited no high expectations; of Mr. Alexander his friends anticipated much. Both had taught in private families; and both were untried in the management of a classical school or college. With the trustees the experiment was hopeful; with the public, a trial by which they might gain; with the young men, a labor in which Alexander had much to lose and more to gain, and Rice nothing to lose and everything to gain.

The years these young men passed at Hampden Sidney were years of vast improvement. The college gained in numbers and in reputation; the trustees gained confidence; the public gained in their educated sons; and the church gained gems, the value of which she could not know, and does not now, after more than half a century, fully estimate. In the spring of '97 the college classes all commenced anew. The talents of the young men for instruction, discipline, arrangement of classes, and the course of college studies were fully exercised. The college began, went on enlarging, unfolding, improving, advancing. The salaries were small, the labors great, and the trials many. If the students were few, the salary of the teachers was of course small; if numerous, still it was limited to a very moderate amount. But their own mental improvement was incalculable. When they left the college, as both did in about nine years, they were worthy of the positions they occupied, and were prepared for any exertions the church might demand. From preparing boys for college studies, and arranging the upper classes, and educating youth for the various departments of life, both went to arrange theological seminaries, and prepare ministers of the gospel of Christ.

When preparing to remove to Hampden Sidney, Mr. Alexander obtained from Presbytery a dissolution of his pastoral relation to Cub Creek. The connexion with Briery Congregation he still retained. The arrangement made for preaching for Messrs. Lacy, Alexander and Lyle was, Mr. Lacy alternated at college and Cum-

berland Church, about ten miles distant, Mr. Lyle at Buffalo and Briery, Mr. Alexander at Briery, on alternate Sabbaths with Mr. Lyle, and at college, or elsewhere, at discretion. For a series of years, the history of the internal affairs of Hampden Sidney was like that of every incipient college. Boys came in all stages of education, were formed, as speedily as convenient, into college classes, and carried on, as far as practicable, before they left the institution, some but a little way, and some to the degree of A. B.; the larger portion leaving college with an imperfect education. First the institution appears a grammar school, then an incipient college, and then a college in full operation, with regular classes, a library and apparatus, and a full list of professors and tutors.

At the time of opening the college by Messrs. Alexander and Rice, Hanover Presbytery embraced in its boundaries all Virginia east of the Blue Ridge and south of the Rappahannock. The ministers were, James Waddell, D.D., without charge in Louisa; William Irwin, without charge in Albemarle; Archibald M'Robert, Old Concord and Little Concord, Campbell County; Messrs. James Mitchel and James Turner, co-pastors, Peaks in Bedford; J. D. Blair, Hanover; Drury Lacy, Prince Edward; Archibald Alexander, Hampden Sidney College; Matthew Lyle, Prince Edward; one licentiate, Samuel Ramsey; one candidate, John Todd, son of John Todd, co-laborer with Davies. The numerical strength of the different congregations was not reported.

In obedience to the direction of the Synod of Virginia, in Winchester, October, 1791, respecting the education of youth for the ministry, the Presbytery of Hanover, at a subsequent meeting, present Messrs. Mitchel, Turner, Irvin, Mahon and Lacy, with Elders John Hughes, Andrew Wallace, Andrew Baker and Jonas Erwin, after receiving back from the commissions of Synod Cary Allen and William Calhoon, and from the Presbytery of Lexington A. Alexander, resolved "*to raise a fund for the education of pious youth.*" The resolution lay inoperative. In October, 1794, at the Cove, Mr. Alexander was requested to prepare a proper subscription paper for raising the fund. In October, 1795, at Briery, Presbytery determined that the fund raised should be under the direction of Presbytery, and not under the Synod, as had been proposed. In the fall of 1796, it appeared that some progress had been made in raising the fund. In the spring of 1797, as "something considerable had been done," Messrs. Alexander and Lyle were appointed a committee to draft rules for the management of the fund.

The plan was finally settled at Pisgah, in Bedford County, Friday, October 26th, 1797: present, M'Robert, Mitchel, Lacy, Turner, Alexander and Lyle; Elders, Benjamin Rice, John Leftwitch and William Baldwin. "The committee appointed to prepare a plan for the regulation of the charitable fund for the education of poor and pious young men, informed the Presbytery that it had occurred to them, some other important objects might be embraced by the plan, besides the education of poor youth, which they now laid before the

Presbytery for their advice; whereupon the Presbytery continued the committee, and directed them to include any other objects in the plan which they judged proper, and to report." On the next day, Saturday, 21st, "the subject of the charitable fund was taken under consideration; and, after being discussed a considerable time, it was resolved, 1st, that the members immediately proceed to exert themselves to raise money; 2d, that the outlines of a plan, comprehending the general object to which the money is to be appropriated, be prepared, to be annexed to the subscriptions, for the information of the public; 3d, that Mr. Alexander be directed to draft the outlines of such a plan, and to report in the afternoon."

In the afternoon, Mr. Alexander produced the following outlines of a plan for appropriating the proceeds of the charitable fund, which, being read, were approved, viz: 1st. "The objects which are intended to be embraced by this fund, are the education of poor and pious youth, the support of missionaries, and the distribution of useful books among the poor. 2d. The moneys which may be collected shall be deposited in a fund, and this principal shall not be diminished, but the interest arising from it shall be appropriated to the aforesaid purposes. 3d. The profits of the fund shall be used for the education of such youth as this Presbytery shall judge might be useful in the church, and who are in such circumstances as prevent their obtaining an education without assistance, until the annual profits shall be more than sufficient to support more than two young men. 4th. Whenever this shall be the case, the surplus shall go to the support of missionaries to be employed to preach the gospel in destitute places. But if the interest of the fund should ever be more than sufficient to educate two young men and support two missionaries, the balance shall be used to purchase useful books to be distributed amongst the poor.

"If, however, it should happen at any time that no young man of the above-mentioned description can be found, the annual profits shall be applied to the support of missionaries; and in case no missionaries can be obtained, the moneys designed for their support shall be appropriated to purchase useful books. The Presbytery may, at any future period, if they think proper, include other objects in the management of the fund, than those already specified, provided there be more money than is needed for the aforesaid purposes. The Presbytery of Hanover shall have the whole direction and management of this fund, and shall deposit the principal in such hands as will promise the greatest security and increase. All donations hereafter given shall be added to the principal. A register shall be kept by the Presbytery, in which the names of all the contributors shall be entered, and the respective donations specified." In the spring of 1798 one hundred and fifty-nine dollars were reported as collected. Collections were proposed to relieve the distresses of the citizens of Philadelphia suffering from the yellow fever. These collections, as stated in the fall of 1799, were 78*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*, and the charitable fund had increased to 95*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* This is

the beginning of the fund that now sustains the Union Theological Seminary in Prince Edward, and may be considered the first step towards that institution.

The peculiar and urgent duties of College induced Mr. Alexander to ask of Presbytery, November 16th, 1798, at Cumberland, "to be released from the pastoral charge of Briery congregation." No objection being made, the request was granted. With the firmest attachment to Mr. Alexander as a preacher, the congregation appreciated his worth as a president. His labors were unremitting. He resided in the president's house, but commonly took his meals in the steward's hall. It was a time of great mental effort, intense study and bodily exertion. He was resolved to be prepared to give instruction in all the departments devolving upon him. The advantages of the close regular study, and the habits of exact acquisition in himself and recitation in his classes, were manifest in after life, when called to preside over the Seminary at Princeton. He was familiar with the Latin and Greek classics, became fond of the exact sciences, and pursued the study of mental and moral philosophy on the plan of his beloved instructor, Graham.

The number of students increasing, the Board authorized the employment of assistants. In the summer of '98 the President employed Mr. James Aiken, and for his services for the session gave him £15. Mr. Aiken was continued the next session, and by order of the Board was paid £36.

In the fall of 1798, Mr. Rice gave notice that he should resign his office, at the close of the winter session. "Mr. Alexander is requested to endeavor to procure a suitable person to take Mr. Rice's place, at College, in case he shall persist in his determination to resign his office." The President obtained the services of Mr. Conrad Speece in the spring of 1799. Mr. Rice was disconnected with the College some time in the fall of that year, and made preparations to attend the medical lectures in Philadelphia. While pursuing medical studies he devoted a part of each day to the instruction of a class of young pupils, principally girls, of the family at Willington, and their connections.

Mr. Rice soon found himself in a position, in relation to one of the young misses at Montrose, to make him most earnestly desire to hold Mrs. Morton in the near relation of mother. This fact he felt bound to reveal to the young lady herself before he went to Philadelphia, and also to be entirely candid with the mother, who was to him so true a friend. Mrs. Morton heard his avowal with the kindness and prudence of a loving mother and true friend; the daughter with girlish mirth, chastened by her great respect for his moral worth. Probably no lover ever left the scene of his enchantment with more mutual kindness than Mr. Rice left Willington; or a more resolute intention of abandoning a pursuit he considered hopeless. He went to reside at Montrose, in Powhatan, with the family of Josiah Smith, the brother of Mrs. Morton, whose children made part of his class of pupils. With the family at Montrose he com-

menced a lasting friendship. The piety of Mr. and Mrs. Smith was of the earnest, lovely cast of Mrs. Morton's, which had charmed and improved him. Could he have hoped that the desire of his heart would be finally gratified, his cup of happiness would have run over. He pursued his medical studies under the direction of an eminent physician, Samuel Wilson, and in the fall of 1800 was ready to attend the medical lectures in Philadelphia. But instead of prosecuting his design, he yielded to the persuasions of some friends and returned to the College, and engaged in teaching with his friend Alexander, and his young companion, Speece.

In the month of January Mr. Alexander had given notice that he intended resigning his office at the close of the summer session. The confinement of College life with all its excitements, had lost its charms for a young man thirsting for excellence and usefulness in the ministry, and with a heart to love and be loved. Probably the three young friends had a mutual influence over each other's course. Rice came back to the College, and Alexander remained the president.

In the spring of 1800, the Trustees, "ordered that the spring vacation be extended to the 15th, instead of the first of June next, in order that there may be time to repair the College." It is probable that the exploring expedition Dr. Alexander made to Ohio, of which his family have lively traditions, was made this spring and summer. In April of this year, Mr. Speece was immersed by the Rev. James Saunders. While preparing for the ministry under the care of Lexington Presbytery he, in the winter of '97, '98, while giving the doctrines of the Confession of Faith a thorough examination, became doubtful of the propriety of infant baptism. He communicated his doubts in April '98. His licensure was delayed while he might still further consider the subject. When he went to the College, in the spring of '99, he was unsatisfied on the questions respecting the mode and subjects of baptism. He found Mr. Alexander and Mr. Lyle, making diligent enquiries on that same subject. The two young ministers became greatly perplexed; and by mutual agreement for a time discontinued infant baptism, determining not to resume the practice till their minds were settled on its validity. Like Mr. Speece they communicated their doubts to their Presbytery. But of that fact the Presbytery made no record. The young men were left to their investigations without reproach or suspicion. The immersion of Mr. Speece was unexpected at the time. Mr. Alexander continued his researches and came to the conclusion that the baptism of infants was of Scripture authority. Mr. Speece was greatly impressed by the fact that Mr. Alexander had arrived at a conclusion contrary to his own. "My friend the Rev. Archibald Alexander, having obtained in the autumn of this year (1800), the removal of his objections against infant baptism, soon convinced me of the necessity of reconsidering the subject for myself." In consequence he says, "April 9th 1801, having read before the Presbytery of Hanover a discourse on baptism, by way of trial, they

licensed me to preach the gospel." About this same time Mr. Alexander carried into effect the resignation he proffered more than a year preceding.

For about two years, baptism was a standing subject of thought and investigation by Messrs. Alexander, Lyle and Speece. Speece committed and re-committed himself. Alexander and Lylo acknowledged their difficulties, and after wading through doubts and apprehensions and fears, were firmly settled in their faith. Mr. Rice, does not appear to have been particularly troubled on this subject of enquiry. But that he derived great advantage from the discussion, is evident from the production of his pen in after years, the biblical argument having been stated in a masterly manner in a large pamphlet. After the baptism of Mr. Speece, the expectation of the public was on tiptoe about the other two young men. The Baptist community were confident of their acquisition; and the Presbyterian public in anxiety for their young ministers. By rumor, days were appointed for assembling the multitude to witness the immersion. But this anxiety of the public neither hastened or hindered the process of investigation in the mind of Alexander. Speece gave the substance of his investigations in a paper he read to the Presbytery. He and Mr. Alexander, some years after, published numerous papers on the different heads of the subject of Baptism, in the Virginia Religious Magazine, printed in Lexington. Some of the sentences appearing there, from the pen of Mr. Alexander, are similar to those appearing in his autobiography, published by his son.

That the mind of Mr. Alexander should be exercised on the subject of baptism, is not at all surprising. His first deep religious exercises commenced by the means of a baptist lady of sincere piety. She impressed upon his mind the great truths of her own belief, and above all, the reality of her Christian experience. That she should endeavor to impress upon him her views of baptism was both natural and Christian, especially as she manifested nothing of a proselyting spirit. And then the great revival in Charlotte and Prince Edward; whose power he had felt, began under the preaching of a baptist minister by the name of Williams. Under those circumstances he could but investigate the subject of baptism; and for him to doubt was to be unhappy till the doubt was removed. Speece was fond of such kind of investigation, and very naturally would take hold of the subject, and having taken hold would go through to a conclusion; in his early years much more hastily than after his mind had become more matured. At the College, Alexander could wait longer for light on a dark subject than Speece could. Rice could wait longer than either, but it was perhaps because his mind moved slower. Lyle was not inclined to be doubting or misgiving, on any subject he had once received as true. But a doubt of its truth once obtaining entrance, he could never rest till the exact state of the case was satisfactorily discovered.

At the time Mr. Alexander left the College, in 1801, the students



were numerous; the classes had assumed some regular form, and a few students had completed their course and received the degree of A.B. In September 1799, Robert Dobbins and Benjamin Montgomery received their degree; in April 1800, William Venable and George Brown received theirs; in April 1801, Ebenezer Cummins and Wm. Barr received theirs. In the February of this year is a record — “Mr. Alexander permitted William Matthews, an orphan, to come to College without paying tuition. On a question whether his tuition shall be charged to Mr. Alexander in his account with the College, it is determined it shall not.” The committee appointed to find a successor of Mr. Alexander as president, reported, April 23, 1801, they had not succeeded. “It is therefore determined that the charge of the College be committed for the next sessions to Mr. Speece and Mr. Rice, the present tutors in College.” The committee were directed to procure an assistant teacher. “Mr. Speece and Mr. Rice,” at the same time, “the present tutors in College have given notice, that they will resign their offices at the next session.” The committee were directed to engage suitable persons to teach in College in the place of these gentlemen. Mr. Speece left the College in September, and never returned. Mr. Rice was engaged for another series of years with Mr. Alexander.

Of the religious exercises of Mr. Rice, we learn something from a letter to Mrs. Morton, July 27th, 1800 — “I every day feel with emphatic force, the truth of that saying — of yourselves ye can do nothing. Surely, no wretch ever felt as entirely helpless as I am. I feel that my attempts are all fruitless, that my labors are all in vain, that my righteousness is as filthy rags, that it is, indeed, nothing, that my wisdom is all folly, my strength is all weakness, and my best services all sin and impiety. With propriety I may exclaim, O, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? These feelings naturally cast down my soul; but now and then I feel cheered by some gracious promise. Some portion of the balm of Gilead is poured into my wounded heart, some comfort from the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. But soon my comforts vanish. Sin hangs heavy like a clog upon my soul, chills my love, and almost extinguishes my zeal. Do you, my friend, feel these alternations of light and darkness, of pleasure and pain, of rapture and grief? or, do you go on from one degree of strength to another? Do you feel faith lively, hope strong, evidences bright and unclouded? If so, you have abundant reason to be thankful. If not, God grant you may. I can wish no better wish to my best of friends, than that she may daily feel comfortable assurances of divine favor, and that her soul may constantly rejoice in God, the God of her salvation.”

With these views, and the example of Lacy, Alexander, and Lyle before him, and the declared intention of his companion Speece to preach the gospel, Mr. Rice began to consider the importance of the ministry of the gospel. There were present to him the example of his uncle David, the apostle of Kentucky; of Mitchel and Turner

in his native county; and the remembrance of his mother's desires, expectations, and prayers. He compared the healing art with the gospel of Christ in its power to bless mankind, and as a pursuit for life. The current of his feelings, and the decision of judgment were for the gospel ministry.

Messrs. Rice and Speece went on with the instruction in College, the summer session of 1801, while Mr. Alexander was abroad on an excursion through New England. The estimation in which Mr. Speece held his friend Rice at this time, is thus expressed in a letter to Mr. Maxwell — "My friend did not possess, in those days, the habit of close persevering study, which he afterwards acquired. His reading was a good deal desultory. I remember feeling surprise, now and then, on his owing to me, concerning some book of prime merit, that he never had read it through. Still his quick mind gathered and digested knowledge with great rapidity. I considered him an able teacher, both in language and science. There was in him a vein of dry playful humor, which made his conversation very pleasant to all companies which he frequented. Meanwhile his conduct was such in all respects as to adorn his Christian profession. The satirical talent, which you know he possessed in no ordinary degree, always levelled its shafts against vice and folly.

His friend Alexander thus writes — "When I came to reside at that place (the College), I found him there; and from this time our intercourse was constant and intimate as long as I remained in the State; and our friendship then contracted continued to be uninterrupted to the day of his death. It is probable, therefore, that no other person has had better opportunities of knowing his characteristic features, than myself; and yet I find it difficult to convey to others a correct view of the subject. 1st, One of the most obvious traits of mental character at this period, was independence; by which I mean a fixed purpose to form his own opinions; and to exercise on all proper occasions, entire freedom in the expression of them. He seems very early to have determined not to permit his mind to be enslaved to any human authority, but on all subjects within his reach, to think for himself. He possessed, in an eminent degree, that moral courage or firmness of mind, which leaves a man at full liberty to examine and judge, in all matters connected with human duty or happiness. But though firm and independent, he was far from being precipitate either in forming or expressing his opinions. He knew how to exercise that species of self-denial, so difficult to most young men, of suspending his judgment on any subject, until he should have the opportunity of contemplating it in all its relations. He was 'swift to hear and slow to speak.' No one I believe ever heard him give a crude or hasty answer to any question which might be proposed. Careful deliberation uniformly preceded the utterance of his opinions. This unyielding independence of mind, and slow and cautious method of speaking, undoubtedly rendered his conversation at first less interesting, than that of many other persons; and his habit of honestly expressing the convictions

of his own mind, prevented him from seeking to please his company by accommodating himself to their tastes and opinions. Indeed, to be perfectly candid, there was in his manners, at this period, less of the graceful and conciliatory character than was desirable. He appeared, in fact, to be too indifferent to the opinions of others; and with exception of a small circle of intimate friends, manifested no disposition to cultivate the acquaintance, or seek the favor of men. This was undoubtedly a fault; but it was one which had a near affinity to a sterling virtue; and what is better, it was one which in after life he entirely corrected.

“2d. Another thing by which he was characterized, when I first knew him, and which had much influence on his future eminence, was his insatiable thirst for knowledge. His avidity for reading was indeed excessive. When he had got hold of a new book, or an old one which contained matter interesting to him, scarcely any thing could moderate his ardor, or recall him from his favorite pursuit. When I came to reside at Hampden Sidney, he had been there only a few months, and I was astonished to learn how extensively he had ranged over the books which belonged to the College library. And, as far as I can recollect this thirst for knowledge was indulged at this time, without any regard to system; and often it appeared to me without any definite object. It was an appetite of the very strongest kind, and led to the indiscriminate perusal of books of almost every sort. Now, although this insatiable thirst for knowledge, and unconquerable avidity for books, would in many minds, have produced very small, if any good effect, and no doubt was in some respects injurious to him; yet possessing, as he did, a mind of uncommon vigor, and a judgment remarkably sound and discriminating, that accumulations of ideas and facts, which to most men, would have been a useless, unwieldy mass, was by him so digested and incorporated with his own thoughts, that it had, I doubt not, a mighty influence in elevating his mind to that commanding eminence, to which it attained in his maturer years.

“3d. A third thing which at this early period was characteristic of him, and which had much influence on his capacity of being useful to his fellow-creatures in after life, was a remarkable fondness for his pen. He was, when I first knew him, in the habit of writing every day. He read and highly relished the best productions of the British Essayists; and in his composition, he would imitate the style and manner of the authors whom he chiefly admired. Addison appeared to be his favorite; but his own turn of mind led him to adopt a style more sarcastic and satirical than that which is found in most of the papers of the Spectator or Guardian. These early productions of his pen were never intended for the press, and were never otherwise published than by being spoken occasionally by the students on the college stage. I may add, that his first essays in composition, though vigorous, and exuberant in matter, needed much pruning and correction.

“4th. There was yet one other trait in his mental character,

which struck me as very remarkable in one of his order of intellect. He never discovered a disposition to engage in discussions of a speculative or metaphysical kind. I cannot now recollect that, on any occasion, he engaged with earnestness in controversies of this sort; and this was the more remarkable because the persons with whom he was daily conversant, were much occupied with them. To such discussions, however, he could listen with attention; and would often show, by a short and pithy remark, that though he had no taste for these speculative and abstruse controversies, he fully understood them. Yet I am of opinion that he took less interest in metaphysical disquisitions, and read less on these points, than in any other department of philosophy. On some accounts this was a disadvantage to him, as it rendered him less acute in minute discrimination, than he otherwise might have been; but on the other hand, it is probable, that this very circumstance had some influence in preparing him to seize the great and prominent points of a subject with a larger grasp, while the minor points were disregarded as unworthy of attention.

“5th. As a teacher he cherished a laudable ambition to know thoroughly and minutely all the branches of learning in which he professed to give instruction. His classical knowledge was accurate and highly respectable; and the ease with which he pursued mathematical reasoning gave evidence that he might have become a proficient in that department of science. At the same time, he was apt to teach, and succeeded well in training up his pupils in all their studies.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D. — FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS RECTORSHIP OF WASHINGTON ACADEMY.

THE man that succeeded William Graham in Washington Academy, and John H. Rice in the Union Theological Seminary, was second to neither in mental endowments, magnanimity of soul, or tenderness of heart. A pupil of Graham and tutor of Rice, he admired their character, appreciated their labors, and was beloved by both. Equal to Graham in mental acumen and comprehension, he lacked somewhat of his bold daring: superior to Rice in metaphysical and logical acuteness and taste for metaphysical discussions, he was greatly his inferior in constructive power, and activity, and efficiency in benevolence. With as clear a knowledge of human nature as it is, and as it came from the hands of the creator, he knew less of men in society than Rice, and more than Graham. With a guileless spirit and brave heart he marched with logical pre-

cision to the conclusion of an argument, irrespective of those circumstances Rice would have explained to his hearers; and he announced the right and the obligation, with a simplicity as remarkable as it was complete. Governing less strongly than Graham, and moulding less plastically than Rice, he nevertheless bound the hearts of his pupils with chains of gold. Afraid to offend Graham, who always put his foot on the neck of a rebel, not knowing how to escape Rice who would surely mould them to his will, the students yielded to that authority of Baxter that counted punishment his strange work. Graham read little and thought much. Baxter read much and thought much, and forgot nothing. Rice read more than either; and elaborated with his pen for the instruction of the public more than both.

All three excelled as preachers. Graham starting high, then descending in the scale of excellence and interest; and then ascending higher than ever. Rice and Baxter constantly ascending from the first. All were unequal in their performances; but seldom appeared unequal to the time and circumstance, and subject. Their knowledge and judgment, and piety preserved them from dullness; but some exciting circumstance called forth all their powers. Then Graham cut like a two-edged sword dipped in the balm of Gilead; Baxter, resistless in argument, overwhelming in pathos, often preached in tears, and was heard in tears and sighs; Rice brought forth his stores of theology and literature, and deep feeling arranged with wonderful skill, himself calm, self-possessed, his hearers often in tears. Their mental power, tenderness, strong feeling, combined in different degrees, were all under the controlling influence of the love and mercy of God. Graham in private, sometimes in public, indulged his power of sarcasm with exasperating effect. Rice, in public assemblies restrained his, and in private circles subdued it to playfulness. Baxter had none, but was quick and playful in retort, and enjoyed wit and humor. Graham and Rice were always on their guard. Baxter, in his simplicity, often seemed credulous. His unsuspecting manner might have led to the conclusion that the toils of the designing were around him, when suddenly awakening as from a revery, with a rapidity astonishing, he would unravel the whole tissue of sophistry, and laugh with exquisite delight at the exposure, and the awkward position of him that presumed on his ignorance of facts and of logical precision. Quicker in his mental operations than either his master or his pupil, he loved the truth with equal fervor, and counted no cost in its defence. A powerful opponent, seldom foiled, and never exasperated in debate. What Rice could sketch grandly, Baxter could see clearly and defend strongly. Graham could open the gates, and say like the empress-mother, "This is the way to Byzantium." Baxter and Rice could walk in the path, put up way-marks and clear obstructions for others to follow. All saw the church arise around them and by their instrumentality; and each has a name among those who have done well for their race and for their God.

George Addison Baxter was born in the county of Rockingham, Virginia, in the great valley of the Shenandoah, July 22d, 1771. His parents, George Baxter and Mary Love, were emigrants from Ireland, at a very early age, landing on the banks of the Delaware. The parents of George dying soon after their arrival, he was received into the family of Thomas Rodgers. This gentleman had married Elizabeth Baxter, and emigrated from Londonderry to Boston, Massachusetts, in the year 1721. In about seven years he removed to Philadelphia, and there reared a family of eight children, of whom John Rodgers, the companion of Davies, was one. George Baxter, when of mature years, followed his emigrating countrymen in their search for a home on the frontiers of Virginia, and chose his residence in Mossy Creek congregation, once a part of the Triple Forks, and afterwards of Augusta Church, and now a separate charge. Here he was married; his father-in-law having previously settled in the same neighborhood. Here he became ruling elder, Benjamin Erwin being pastor. Here he answered the calls made on the militia during the Revolutionary war for active service. In the course of his life he represented his county in the legislature about fifteen times. He reared his family according to the customs of his fatherland, and the habit of his emigrating countymen, in industry and economy; giving all an English education, in a manner as liberal as circumstances would permit; and choosing, if possible, one child of talents, whose desires were favorable, for a liberal education and a professional life. Of all the professions, the ministry held, in his estimation, the highest place.

Mary Love, his wife, left among her descendants a memory precious for her exemplary piety and prudent conduct as a wife and mother, in situations calling every day for the exercise of Christian graces, and seldom offering occasion for the lofty display of any accomplishment. The lives of her children were her best eulogy. George Addison was the second son, and the third of eight children, all of whom he survived. Vigor, frankness, uprightness and industry characterized all the members of the family, reared in the simplicity and hardships of a frontier life. The happy influence of the revolutionary trials and hardships was often alluded to by Dr. Baxter in his advanced years. The mother laid the foundation of morals and religion in her children while they were young; and expressed the most decided unwillingness to part with any of them till their faith in Christ was established. Her unremitting attention to the spiritual concerns of her children was followed by the unspeakable reward of seeing them all consistent professors of religion, according to the faith she trusted for her own salvation. The Bible, the Sabbath, the Assembly's Catechism, the preaching of the gospel, family worship and private instruction were things of solemn interest to the family from the earliest recollections; and connected indissolubly with the memory of their parents, the influence was tender and perpetual. The image of the mother stood before the children

rejoicing when their faith triumphed, and weeping when they sinned. Blessed is the mother that knows her power.

Of the sayings, doings, and mental exercises of Dr. Baxter, in his childhood, there is no memorial. One event only is remembered as peculiar. It fixed a mark that went with him to his grave. Put in mind of it every day of his life, and exhibiting it to others in his slightly limping gait, he never referred to it in conversation. Any direct notice of his halting step was painful to him, and all curiosity repressed with dignity. "He got a fall in early life," was all the tradition generally known. He could no more forget the cause than he could remove the consequences. One Sabbath morning, when he was about five years of age, the negro woman came running to the house, crying out, "the bears have got Master George." Following his cry of distress, he was found stretched on the ground. His statement was, that in chase of a squirrel he had climbed the tree under which he was lying, and venturing on a feeble limb had been precipitated to the ground; that he had lain there some time in great suffering, unable to move homeward, or attract notice by his cries. One of his limbs was badly fractured. With maternal care the wound speedily healed; but the injured limb was ever shorter than the other. A high heel to his shoe, and a slight swing to his gait remedied the evil; till late in life it was not generally observed that he limped, and few knew his abiding memento of the fourth command.

To a peculiar train of circumstances Dr. Baxter attributed much of that thirst for literature which made him earnestly desire a liberal education, and willing to spend his share of the patrimony in its accomplishment. From the earliest period of Virginia history the planters and farmers supplied themselves with laborers, either from the African race, or that class of people called "indented servants," or "redemptioners." Coming from some part of Europe, not unfrequently from the British isles, and unable to pay the passage money, they made arrangements with the captains and ship-owners to serve in the colony, till such time as their wages should equal the expense of their transportation. In some cases, the agreement was to serve a given time, any person who would pay the captain the demands for the passage. In other cases the amount of expense was agreed upon, and masters were sought that would pay the sum for the shortest time of service. Large companies often came together. The landing places were frequented by those in want of laborers, and presented scenes of thrilling interest, as young and old, men and women, were parcelled out at the bidding of the masters, and the will of the captain. Each redemptioner was prized according to his ability to labor, or the caprice of those seeking servants. Persons of sterling character and skill in the mechanic arts, were found in these companies, and having served their allotted time, with credit and cheerfulness, became wealthy, and held an honorable position in society, the descendants being unapproached for the faithful servitude of their ancestors.

Colonel Love, the father-in-law of Mr. Baxter, purchased an

indentured servant, a young Irishman, while his son-in-law was absent at the Legislature. About this young man there were various opinions,—some supposing him insane—others that he was suffering under some calamity—and others that he was above his condition, and had fled for crime. His appearance and manners were those of a gentleman. Mr. George Baxter became interested in the young man, and learning some facts of his history, and that he was well educated, purchased his indentures. Giving them to him, he said, "You are now perfectly free, Sir—but I shall be glad to have you stay and teach my children." The young man engaged in teaching. He assumed the name of McNemara, and would give no account of his parentage. The cause of emigration he said was a calamity he would not explain; it was supposed, from circumstances, to have been of a political nature. He said that he expected to find in Baltimore an uncle. Upon reaching the place, he learned that his uncle had removed to Charleston. He was penniless and friendless, and to his great mortification, was sold to pay his passage.

Under the instruction of this young man Dr. Baxter acquired the rudiments of education; and from hearing him quote the English classics with great appropriateness, became desirous of drinking at the fountain of "English undefiled." A thirst for knowledge came with his desire to read the classics. His mother encouraged this strong desire of her child, with secret hopes and prayers, that he might in mature years preach the gospel of the Son of God. We have no further account of his "log school-house days," or his progress in learning while growing to the stature of a man, at the base of the North Mountain, on the head streams of the Shenandoah.

After some years the teacher accompanied one of Mr. Baxter's sons to Richmond, the market of that part of the Valley. He avoided as much as possible meeting with his countrymen. Stepping into a store he was accosted by the merchant as an old acquaintance. Alarmed and distressed he asked a private interview. The merchant would give no further account respecting the teacher to young Baxter, than, that his father was a merchant of the first standing in Cork. Soon after this interview, the young man prepared to return to Ireland. Upon bidding Mr. Baxter and friends farewell, he said, if he should be successful in an enterprise in which he was about to embark, they should hear from him; if he failed, they should know nothing more of him. Some time after, on looking over a list of persons executed in Ireland for rebellion, the friends in Rockingham were induced, from various circumstances, to believe he was among the sufferers.

George Addison Baxter preferred a liberal education to a farmer's life. His father assented to his choice, the expenses of his education to be the principal part of his patrimony. In the year 1789, he became a pupil of William Graham, at Liberty Hall, near Lexington. His literary course, pursued with ardor and delight, was more than once interrupted by failure of health, which sent him for a season to the pursuits of agriculture. His boarding-house was four miles



from the Hall, and this distance he regularly walked morning and evening; but the exercise was not sufficient to counteract the lassitude consequent upon his intense application. His progress in the acquisition of language is thus related by one that had the means of accurate knowledge:—"On his first coming to Liberty Hall, one of the trustees, in advising as to his course of study, told him if he would make himself completely master of his Latin Grammar, read some Latin books, which he mentioned, together with some other study, during the session, he might think himself successful. He remained but six weeks, and in that time completed his course, and progressed a good deal further, making himself, in ten lessons, so completely master of his Latin Grammar that it was never afterwards necessary for him to review." Unless he had paid some attention to the Latin under M'Nemara, or his successors, this progress was altogether extraordinary.

About the time of his becoming a student at Liberty Hall, Mr. Baxter made profession of his faith, and united with the church of his parents, Mossey Creek, under the care of Benjamin Erwin. Of his spiritual exercises there is no record or tradition. In the fall of 1789 the happy revival that had spread so widely east of the Ridge, began to be felt in the valley. Mr. Graham made his memorable visit to Prince Edward, and had been a co-worker in the harvest at the Peaks of Otter, and returned to Lexington with a company of young people rejoicing in the Lord. "The Blue Ridge rang with their songs of praise." The voice of a young man, in a public prayer-meeting in Lexington, was that night heard for the first time, between whom and George A. Baxter the acquaintance of students was mingled with the highest respect. From that night onwards, for more than two years, the converting influences of the Holy Spirit accompanied the preaching of the gospel throughout the great valley of Virginia. Graham was in his best days. J. B. Smith came over occasionally. And Legrand, young, ardent, and successful, went as evangelist wherever there was an open door. Not a congregation was unmoved.

Mr. Baxter, whether pursuing his studies at Liberty Hall, or laboring on the farm, was in the midst of this great awakening. His ideas of revivals, and of preaching, were formed when the standard of doctrine and practice and Christian experience was settled for generations in Virginia. Professors of religion, of long and respectable standing, were greatly impressed, and not a few as deeply exercised as new converts. The minister at Timber Ridge, Mr. Carrick, had great troubles of soul about his own spiritual condition. In simplicity and frankness, yet privately like Nicodemus, he sought an interview with Mr. Smith, of Prince Edward, and stated his fears, not that he held wrong doctrines, but that, observing the mental exercises of the converts, he feared he had mistaken the exercises of a true Christian man, and that the truths of God had not produced their proper effect upon himself, in his previous experience. He, after the conference, found peace in the gospel he had

been preaching; his distress gave place to joy; and he went on proclaiming the gospel of the Son of God with a glad heart. Dr. Baxter never referred to this revival but with emotion; his voice trembled as he spoke. A reference to it would kindle a fire in his heart. Throughout his life the mention of a revival anywhere would enlist all the sympathies of his soul. In his later years, when God was pleased to revive his slumbering church, after a long period of inaction, some of the young agents that knew not the days of power Baxter had witnessed, proclaimed him a convert to revivals, expressing surprise that the old preacher should become a warm advocate of what appeared to them new. He, in the simplicity characteristic of him, was but living over again the days of his youth, and in his modesty claiming nothing for himself in the present or the past.

The Rev. Robert Stuart, of Kentucky, says part of the time Mr. Baxter was a member of Liberty Hall Academy, they were room-mates, and bears testimony to his great application and success in pursuing his studies. "He was instrumental in establishing in the Academy a debating society, of which he was a prominent member, and early showed that talent for debate which rendered him, in after life, a distinguished member of the judicatories of the church. He had naturally a slight hesitancy or stammering in his speech. In order to correct this defect and acquire a distinct enunciation, he imitated Demosthenes in frequently speaking with pebbles in his mouth; and to strengthen the volume of his voice, to declaim by the noise of the waterfalls. I state these incidents, being a witness to them, as a clear and distinct evidence of the ardor and zeal with which he cultivated the talents with which his Maker had endowed him for future usefulness."

Again Mr. Stuart says, in writing to a daughter of Dr. Baxter — "As to his theological course of study, I can give you no satisfactory account. Although my impression is that we were nearly of the same age, (this day, August 14th, 1845, I have entered upon my 74th year,) yet I was much farther advanced in my literary course than he, having commenced earlier in life. I had finished my theological course in company with your uncle Ramsey, (the Rev. Samuel Ramsey,) who had been my room-mate and companion during the whole theological course and trial before Presbytery. We were licensed to preach the gospel on the same day, April 20th, 1795. There were none in the theological class at this period but Mr. Ramsey and myself."

The time that the degree of A. B. was conferred on Mr. Baxter, is uncertain. The early records of the Academy were loosely kept, and some are, in all probability, irrevocably lost. Dr. Speece in his autobiography says, "I entered the school," (New London Academy) "in November 1792. At the end of my first year Mr. Graham left the school and was succeeded by Mr. George A. Baxter. God's providence continued me at school a year and a half longer." By this it appears Mr. Baxter was at New London the latter part of

1793. He went from Liberty Hall with a high reputation as a tutor, having served in that office, for the lower classes, while he was completing his own course under Mr. Graham. He had for his associate, in Bedford, for a length of time, Mr. Daniel Blain, afterwards Professor in Washington Academy and minister of the gospel. Under the supervision of these gentlemen, the reputation of the Academy was still more widely extended. Some pleasing instances of careful attention to the moral and spiritual concerns of the youths under their care are remembered by the surviving pupils. An elder in the Church says, that going on a Sabbath morning for his books, left at the Academy, Mr. Baxter invited him to the room, occupied by himself and Mr. Blain, to attend morning prayers, and that the conversation of the two men, and the prayer offered by one, made impressions on his heart that resulted in his conversion. John H. Rice became a pupil; and Mr. Baxter made him an associate. Drs. Speece and Rice cherished through life the warmest friendship for their instructor, to whose care and attention they owed much of their eminence in literary acquirements. Some private memoranda in possession of his family lead to the conclusion that his degree of A. B. was not conferred till the year 1796.

The records of Lexington Presbytery from December 1792 to June 1800, cannot be found; and the time of his being received a candidate, and the various parts of trial required of him previously to his licensure are unknown. Mr. Stuart says, "my physician gave it as his opinion, that unless I quit speaking, I would soon fall into confirmed consumption. He advised me to spend the winter in the South, which I did, the winter of 1796. In the spring, April 1797, I returned to Rockbridge; and on my return I had called at your grandmother's, which was a kind of resting place to the clergy." Having met Mr. Baxter the next morning on his way there, he turned back — "I spent the day and night with him, and he started the next morning with me, and we travelled together to Lexington. At that time I am assured he had been teaching east of the Blue Ridge, and had not obtained license." Private memoranda in his family say, he was licensed at New Monmouth, April 1797. Immediately after being licensed, he made a tour through parts of Maryland and Virginia, taking collections for the advantage of New London Academy.

The earliest presbyterial record respecting him, is dated October 20th 1797, at Pisgah, Bedford County, at a meeting of Hanover Presbytery. "A letter was received from Mr. George A. Baxter formerly a licentiate under the care of Lexington Presbytery, containing a dismission from Presbytery, and expressing his desire to put himself under our care; which request being agreed to, he was accordingly received as a probationer under our particular charge." At this meeting Mr. Samuel Ramsey, mentioned by Mr. Stuart, accepted a call from the Church in Grassy Valley, Tennessee; and Dr. Alexander's plan for the appropriation of the charitable fund of Presbytery was adopted. The only other notice of him on the records

of Hanover is dated May 9th 1799, at the Cove meeting-house, Albemarle, and is a dismission to put himself under the care of Lexington Presbytery. Mr. Baxter confined himself to his Academy, preaching as occasion required, but not encouraging any call from a church, or vacancy, in the bounds of Hanover.

Having found his way to — “the resting place of the clergy” — Widow Fleming’s residence in Botetourt, he continued his visits for special reasons, other than the hospitality of this family of standing and wealth. Dr. Hall in his journeyings to and from Philadelphia, as commissioner from Orange Presbytery, used to rest with the family in his simple character of minister of the gospel, and always found a welcome. Cary Allen in his journeyings to and from Kentucky as a missionary, rested here as a missionary, and was welcome to all the refreshment the family could give. His agreeable entertainment resulted in his asking, and, in 1794, obtaining the hand of the eldest daughter. After the death of Mr. Allen, this lady became the wife of Mr. Ramsey mentioned by Mr. Stuart. Mr. Baxter obtained the object he went for, and on the 27th of January, 1798, was married to Miss Anne Fleming. With her he lived about forty-five years.

Col. William Fleming to whose daughter Mr. Baxter was united, was a Scotchman emigrating to Virginia in early life. Of the nobility of Scotland, he received an education becoming the rank of the family, and sought in America a more ample field for his exertions, than his native land could afford. Of fine manners, vigorous constitution, and enterprising spirit, and delighting and excelling in the sports common among the young men of Virginia, fond of society, and not unmindful of the fair, and not averse to those occasional indulgences at the plentiful board, that marked the age among the politer classes in the “ancient dominion,” he became a favorite with the Governor. Rambling through the western domain of Virginia, he was enamoured with the mountain scenery and the productive valleys, and took his residence in Botetourt County, on the waters of the James. Getting possession of fine tracts of land, for which his friendship with the governor afforded great facilities, he became wealthy. His enterprise and social manners made him popular. He led a regiment in the expedition to Point Pleasant; and in the bloody battle received a wound, the effects of which followed him to his grave, and hastened his death.

In the fall of 1798, the New London Academy could boast of a greater number of students than Liberty Hall; and Mr. Baxter had a greater reputation as a teacher than any person in the great Valley. The trustees of Liberty Hall, Oct. 19th, 1798, offered to him the professorship of Mathematics, with which was connected Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. Mr. Edward Graham with tutors had carried on the instruction of the students during the interregnum succeeding the resignation of President Graham. Mr. Baxter accepted the invitation and removed to Lexington. He was accompanied by Mr. Blain and ten students, and found Mr. Graham

with seven students prepared to welcome him. The trustees had not provided a house for any of their teachers, but offered Mr. Baxter the use of the steward's house till it should be wanted for the use of the steward. On the records of the Academy he is called tutor.

On the 16th of October, 1799, he delivered in the Presbyterian church in Lexington, by request of the trustees of the Academy, an oration on the death of William Graham, the rector. He was—"requested to furnish the Board with a copy of this oration that it might be filed with the papers of the Academy." This oration can no where be found. As a specimen of the writings of Mr. Baxter at that time it would gratify the public, and be a memorial of his teacher and friend. On the same day he was elected rector of the Academy, and entered upon his office. He was on the same day requested to draw up a code of laws for the government of the students of the Academy. With the rectorship of the Academy, Mr. Baxter accepted the invitation of the church of New Monmouth, which included Lexington, to hold the pastoral office. The proceedings of the Presbytery are among the lost records. In the double capacity as Rector and President of the institution, and pastor of the church, he served his generation about thirty years. He found, in his public ministrations an ample reward for all his efforts to correct his enunciation. His impediment was not noticed. His voice was clear and his pronunciation distinct. Speaking was no labor to him. Preaching was pleasant as a spiritual and mental exercise, and as a physical act: in his late years few of his hearers had any knowledge of his early impediment. They all knew that he had never given any signs of exhaustion; and the occasional stoppage in his speech they attributed to deep emotion. He was frequently heard to say the exercise of preaching refreshed him, and that he was better prepared for a fatiguing exercise after officiating in the sanctuary than at its commencement.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### MESSRS. ALEXANDER AND RICE A SECOND TIME ASSOCIATED AT HAMPDEN SIDNEY.

THE Presbytery of Hanover met at Hampden Sidney, April 8th, 1801. Mr. Alexander was free from his pastoral charges, having resigned the care of Cub Creek in 1797, on entering upon the duties of President; of Briery in the fall of '98, on account of the increased labor of his position; and at this time he carried into effect his contemplated resignation of the Presidency. At this meeting of Presbytery, Mr. Speece was licensed; libraries for min-

isters and congregations were recommended; Mr. Amos Thompson of Winchester Presbytery, took his seat as corresponding member; a regular assessment for the expenses of Commissioners to the Assembly was, for the first time, laid on the churches; and Mr. Alexander and Wm. Calhoon were chosen Commissioners to the Assembly.

Mr. Alexander asked for credentials, as he proposed visiting distant parts of the country. The church of Briery put in a call for his ministerial services one-half his time. He enquired if an immediate answer was necessary. It was replied the congregation would wait a time for his consideration. The committee of trustees appointed to obtain another President, also determined to wait the issue of his visit. He set out upon his journey uncommitted.

When he left the college, he tells us he was not settled in mind whether he would go the upper road as it was called, along the foot of the mountains, or the lower road more commonly travelled, and on which he had been invited to stop and assist Mr. Todd at a communion season. He does not tell what decided his doubtfulness; but Mrs. Legrand (Mrs. Read) would have suggested that it was a living reason, in a very pretty form of flesh and blood. "Are you not afraid, if you stay away so long, that some of the young ministers visiting Mr. Waddell's, will get away Miss Janetta?" "I shall conclude then—she was never intended for me." He took the upper road and tarried some days at Dr. Waddell's; and when he went on he left his plighted vows with Miss Janetta. The mother moulded the destiny of Waddell; and the daughter, of Alexander.

In the Assembly of 1801 he became acquainted with Dr. Edwards, the mover of the famous plan of Union, Dr. M'Millan, venerated in Western Pennsylvania, Dr. Green, for years a leading member of the Presbyterian Church, and Dr. Miller, with whom he was afterwards associated in office. Reports of extensive revivals in the West were laid before the Assembly; and the Synod of Virginia had credit for sending six missionaries west of the Alleghenies. He received the appointment of delegate to the General Association of Connecticut, with Dr. M'Knight, of New York, and Dr. Linn, of Philadelphia.

This journey through New England left footprints not yet worn away. His sketches afford the finest picture of New England as it was, that can be found. Its graphic power is equalled only by Davies' journal in England, and the notes of his friend Rice, as he recorded his views of New England, in subsequent years.

On his return to Virginia in the fall, he became the second time a member of the family of Major Read. Negotiations were at once commenced by the committee of the trustees of the college, which resulted in propositions more agreeable to him, than any offers made him on his journey. On the 18th of January, 1802, at Prince Edward Court-House, the trustees "appoint Mr. Alexander President of the College, in conformity with the agreement made with him by committee." The terms made his salary dependent on the

success of the college, and limited it, at the maximum, to about six hundred dollars, with the use of the president's house. The dwelling was put in readiness for the new president to commence house-keeping; and on the fifth of April, he became son-in-law of James Waddell. The two most eloquent preachers of their day were thus united by domestic bonds. The elder had passed his days of usefulness, and speedily ended his course; the younger, not yet in his meridian, surpassed all the expectations of his early friends. With similarity to make them congenial, and individuality to make each pleasing to the other, their excellencies commended them to the church. Waddell was tall and spare, Alexander short and firmly built, both active and manly in their bearing, without the least appearance of ostentation. Both possessed a clear penetrating voice; Waddell's perhaps the most musical, Alexander's the most piercing. Both talked their sermons with inimitable simplicity and earnestness. The younger, the more excitable, and more vehement in that excitement; the elder preserved his composure, though the very fires of Vesuvius raged within. Both possessed graphic sarcasm. Alexander seldom indulged it; Waddell would not unfrequently inflame his audience with his scorching invectives. The affections of both were strong; but Alexander was the most lovely. Waddell was always in all things more stately—he could not help it: he had most dignity; but, if equal in age, could not have inspired more reverence. Blessed in their domestic relations, Alexander was most intensely beloved. In their sermons, the power that subdued was more visible in Waddell than in Alexander. The swing of Waddell's long finger was more often seen than the motion of Alexander's hand. Waddell could write with the keen terseness of Junius; Alexander would not, if he could. In the sentences of Waddell, the words would sometimes be seen; in Alexander's, never.

On the 15th of the same month, a call from the Cumberland congregation was presented to the Presbytery, at Bethel Meeting-House, in Bedford, for Mr. Alexander, for one-half his time. A letter was received from Mr. Alexander, declaring his acceptance of the same, and also of the one committed to his consideration the previous spring, by the congregation of Briery. By the arrangements completed by Presbytery, Mr. Alexander was president of college, and co-pastor with Mr. Lacy, of Cumberland congregation, which embraced the college, and with Lyle in Briery. The entire absence of jealousy in the hearts of these two pastors, at the overshadowing influence of the young president, is to be admired. For about four years, Mr. Alexander occupied the president's house, and the co-pastorship continued in perfect harmony; and for a part of the time, Mr. Rice was co-laborer in the college.

The interest felt by Mr. Rice in the pupils of his charge, may be learned from a letter of March 5th, 1802, addressed to Mrs. Morton: "I am not much in the habit of writing to you lately, but it is not because I do not love you as much as I ever did; indeed, my affec-

tion for you increases. I suppose you can conjecture the reason; but I did not begin to write, that I might talk of this subject: I have one more interesting to your feelings. Think now what event, of everything in the world, would give you most pleasure; think of that for which you would, with the fullest heart, return thanks to Heaven, and you will know what I am about to write on. I have good news, which will delight your soul. I am delighted myself; how then will the heart of a fond mother,—but I am going too fast; my feelings are very apt to hurry me away. This evening, William came into my room, and, after some indifferent conversation, he informed me that he was at a loss for a subject for a composition to read before the society to-morrow. I told him it would be well to write on the advantages of a religious education. He might show, I told him, the great benefit of having pious friends, and advise his friend, (for I recommended an epistolary form,) to make a wise improvement of the great privileges he enjoyed. This touched a string which touched his heart. God seemed to have put it into my mind to say this, that a way might be made for what followed.

He immediately replied that it was truly a great advantage; but remarked that very many who had enjoyed it were worse than others. I observed that the remark was just, and proceeded to account for it in this way, that those who were so highly favored very frequently had serious impressions made upon their minds, which they gradually wore off till their hearts became hardened, and they were given up of God to work all manner of iniquity with greediness; and this was the most awful situation in which a soul could be placed on this side of everlasting destruction. He then observed he frequently had felt such impressions, but they had left him he hardly knew how. I told him then that I felt extremely anxious for him; that I had observed him looking serious lately, and that I was much pleased with it. I know of no event, said I, that would give me such pleasure as to see you a Christian.

He then opened his heart to me, and said that since he first came to college, he had felt serious impressions. I believe, continued he, that God gave them to me that I might be preserved from the bad courses of the students. When I was with you in Powhatan, I felt more seriously than I had ever done before, but I soon forgot it. However, since last Sunday I feel more on these subjects than I did then. While I am alone I can think of nothing else; it even interrupts my studies; indeed, says he, I am apt to forget while I mix with the boys, but then it constantly returns. He then complained of his inconsistency; and said he had felt more to-day than he ever did in his life, though perhaps he had never been wilder, or played more with the boys. I have, said he, felt ashamed to talk about religion; but I believe that is not a good way, and I came this evening on purpose to talk with you, that I might have something more to bind me, and keep me from doing what I ought not. I know, says he, that my heart is so bad that I shall wish I had not done so, but I am determined while I feel as I do to try every way, in my



power, to be religious, but O, I am so afraid that before to-morrow night I shall forget all this.

In reply, I informed him that he gave me very great pleasure by talking thus. It will be well for you said I to converse frequently on this subject with those who feel the powers of religion in their hearts. Solomon says, that he that walketh with wise men shall be wise, and by wisdom he means religion. Whenever you are disposed to talk on the subject, I shall be highly pleased to converse with you. And let me observe to you that this is a gracious season, and O improve it as such. You know not but that it may be the last. I know that college is a very unfavorable place for religious exercises; that indeed is the principal objection I have to it myself; I had much rather see you placed in a private family, with a pious teacher, but you are at college; and while here you will be exposed to many temptations and hindrances; but we are all subject to difficulties, and when they come in your way you must remember your soul is at stake, that your eternal welfare depends on your conduct now; for now is the accepted time, and now the day of salvation. God, the infinitely great God, has been graciously pleased to say, I love them that love me, and those who seek me early shall find me. This is a gracious promise which should encourage you to go on to seek the Lord. And as for the difficulties you complain of, there is only one resource; go to God for assistance, he will give it to those who ask him. We are indeed poor helpless creatures, we can do nothing ourselves; but he is able and willing to help us. If you are always thus fearful of losing your serious impressions, you will be in no danger on that score; the danger is lest you should grow indifferent about them; and O beg of God that he would not take his spirit from you. I trust the Lord has begun a good work in your heart, and will carry it on to perfection; and be assured that when I pray for myself, I shall pray for you too.

This is only a specimen of our conversation. I could not detail it all in the compass of three or four sheets. We talked for a considerable time, and for the greater part of it he was melted in tears. You know not how much better I love him. Among other things which I suggested to his mind, I mentioned the anxiety of his dear parents,—O, says he, I know nothing would please them half so well. When I mentioned the Saviour, he said, I have tried to depend upon him alone. When I told him that if he obtained religion he would have a treasure which he would not exchange for the whole world, Ah, says he, I would not take the world for it now. I could go on much further, but I must stop. I know that you would enjoy much by knowing what passed between us, and I therefore resolved to send you this little account. May God grant that not only your William, but your Mary, your Johnny, and your Fisher, may be made partakers of Christ's purchase; and in the great day may you, and your dear Major, say here we are Lord, and all whom thou hast given us. And may I too be of the number; pray to God that I may.

Your most affectionate,

J. H. RICE

This letter, though directed to you, is for the Major, and for Nancy too. I know that you all will be equally glad." The William mentioned is still living (1855), an elder in the church of his fathers.

Mr. Rice had three fine and perfectly distinct models of preaching before him. Mr. Alexander, whose simplicity of manner and thought, clearness of arrangement and expression, force of sentiment and directness of reasoning, sometimes metaphysically and sometimes by collocation of facts and apparently simple truths, sweetness of manner and ardor of soul, and entire losing of himself in his subject, all taken together as united in a handsome, active person, formed, in the eye of Mr. Rice, a surpassing model of excellence. Mr. Lyle, whose pure thoughts and classic language, clear enunciation of the great gospel truths, entire soundness in the doctrines of faith, pleasant and frequently impressive manner, the correctness and often great strength of his positions, and varied exhibition of the doctrines of grace in a form to instruct and interest the common mind, presented another model as symmetrical and as hard to imitate as that of his beloved co-pastor; and Lacy, with a more commanding person than either, a musical voice, simple-hearted and guileless as a child, that loved to preach for the very benevolence of the truth he announced, and which flowed in and out from his own heart and the hearts of his hearers while he announced the truths, a child of impulse, a slumbering giant that roused himself to the height of any position a preacher is called to, with no ambition to surpass his brethren in anything, and not knowing that he did till they told him of it, and one that looked for his happiness in his domestic relations and his God. Alexander, in the buoyancy of his spirits, would sometimes seem to leap, to run, to fly and come back again and split the rocks and rive the gnarled oaks; Lyle moved on with the solemn march and measured tread of the heavy-armed soldier, with the heart of compassion for the widow and orphan, and of a lion for the foe, and never turned back in kindness or in war; Lacy would sometimes talk like a child, it would seem as if he was going to babble, then, by some sudden inspiration, would sound the alarm, the rallying cry, longer, louder, sweeter, stronger, more melodious, tears and exultations, sighs and gladness in the tones, more strong as they were sweet, and sweeter as they were more strong, filling the whole atmosphere and thrilling to the very horizon; and as he sat down people would sigh—oh why does he stop! And the excellencies of these men both animated and discouraged him. To be as useful as they were his heart panted; but, alas, there were great difficulties in the way, such as deterred him for a time, and made him think of the medical profession. He was not fluent in speech. By some peculiar disarrangement of his vocal powers, he frequently found great difficulty in the utterance of words, and was often brought to a disagreeable pause. By prolonged effort this vicious habit of lungs was improved, but never entirely overcome. Through life it was occasionally apparent in his public services, sometimes affecting himself and the audience disagreeably,

and at others adding greatly to the solemnity, particularly when his mind and heart were struggling under a tide of emotion. Once, in the city of New York, he was violently affected suddenly, in the midst of an impassioned address, of great feeling. One or two that knew the cause were alarmed for the consequence, seeing his violent struggles for breath. The mass of the audience leaned forward in profound silence till he finished the sentence, thinking nothing else than that it was a natural pause from the struggling emotions of the speaker's heart. As they passed from the house, one and another was saying, did you ever hear such a pause? did you ever see such an effect? In man's weakness God is strong. That he engaged in the study of theology, that he struggled with his impediments and overcame them, and that he entered the ministry, the church will thank God for ever.

While engaged in the duties of the college, and in preparations for the ministry, he maintained his high stand in the esteem and affections of the family at Willington. The attachment he had formed for the eldest daughter had, to his surprise and joy, become mutual. The mother, in feeble health, counting death near, gave him, on a visit to the family, in a private interview, an account of her situation, and her hopes and fears as respected the world to come and this mortal life, and solemnly charged him to be a friend to her young children after her departure, and, as far as possible, lead them in the way of salvation. With some fears lest the daughter's delicate health should not be equal to the duties of a wife, to a minister in narrow circumstances, the parents had given their consent to the marriage, which was probably hastened by the delicate health of the mother. On the 9th of July, 1802, John H. Rice and Ann Smith Morton were united in bonds to be separated only by death. Through life he alluded to this union as the source of his greatest earthly enjoyments, and the spring of much of his usefulness. Immediately after the marriage, Mr. Rice commenced housekeeping near the college, in a small tenement provided by Major Morton. This house, much enlarged, is now the residence of Mrs. Rice (1855) and her sister, Mrs. Wharey, the widow of a clergyman. About this time Mr. Rice was ordained elder of Cumberland church. In a letter he expresses his estimation of his friends in Prince Edward and Powhatan: — "In no other circumstances do I more plainly see the hand of God than in bestowing upon me so many honest-hearted friends as I have. They are all among the excellent of the earth. Their regard is worth having, because they esteem only what is good. May the Lord make me worthy of them."

At a meeting of Hanover Presbytery at Hanover meeting-house, April 9th, 1803, present Rev. Messrs. John D. Blair, Drury Lacy, and James Robinson; Elders, John Parker and Andrew Hart; a record was made — "Whereas, it was represented by one of the members present, that Mr. John H. Rice, a tutor in Hampden Sidney College, was desirous of coming under the care of this Presbytery as a candidate for the ministry, and that subjects had been

assigned him by Mr. Alexander, as pieces of trial, which he had intended to have produced at this time, but was prevented by sickness; on motion, resolved, that Messrs. M'Robert, Lacy, Alexander, and Lyle, and also Messrs. James Allen, Nathaniel Price, and James Morton, Elders, and any other members of Presbytery, who may find it convenient to attend, be a Committee to receive Mr. Rice as a candidate if they deem it advisable, and to examine such pieces of trial as he may produce." This Committee met, with the exception of Mr. Price, on the 29th of July, at Hampden Sidney, and "examined Mr. John H. Rice on his experimental acquaintance with religion, and respecting his motives for desiring to preach the gospel, on which they received competent satisfaction; that Mr. Rice then proceeded to read an essay on the question—"are the miracles of Christ of themselves sufficient to prove the truth of the Christian religion;" and also a lecture on Romans 8: 1-4 inclusive, which pieces of trial were sustained. They appointed him to write a discourse on Acts 10: 34, 35, and also on John 5: 40, as the subject of a popular sermon, to be preached as soon as convenient." On Friday, Sept. 9th, 1803, at the Cove meeting-house, Albemarle, one of the preaching places of James Robinson, "Mr. John H. Rice preached a sermon on John 5: 40, the subject which had been appointed by the Committee, which having been considered was sustained. Mr. Rice then read an exercise on Acts 10: 34, 35, which had also been appointed by the Committee, which was sustained as part of trial." On Monday, the 12th, Mr. Rice was licensed according to the forms of the Presbyterian Church; the Rev. James Robinson performing the services of the occasion.

Mr. Alexander gave himself to the spiritual welfare of the church, as well as to the progress of literature in the College; in fact the progress of science and literature had charms for him, mostly as they might in their diffusion advance the cause of truth and uprightness. The Assembly of 1801, that sent Mr. Alexander a delegate to New England, also gave him a commission to visit Georgia as a missionary. This he could never find time to fulfil. It also enjoined the Presbyteries to collect information on the *five* following subjects, for the use of the Assembly. 1st, The Indian tribes among them, or on their borders, and their readiness for instruction. 2d, The frontier settlements, and the facilities for missionary operations, and the circulation of religious books. 3d, The interior districts that are destitute of the means of grace, and the facilities for supply. 4th, The colored race, and the opportunities for instruction. 5th, Proper persons for missionaries in any of these departments. All these things had been claiming the attention of the Virginia Synod, and were in part supplied by her Commission. In October, 1802, Messrs. Waddell, Alexander, and Calhoun were appointed to collect the required information. The Virginia Synod having been divided in the Spring of 1802, and the Synods of Kentucky and Pittsburgh taken from her bounds, her relative position was changed, and she began to change her method of procedure. The

Presbyteries also felt the necessity of a modification of their actions. Search was made by this Committee for the old records of the Presbytery, to direct them in their course. Some of the volumes could no where be found. The Committee answered the demands of the Assembly on the five heads of information to the best of their knowledge; and the paper with others was committed to Dr. Green and Mr. Hazard, to prepare a history.

The Presbytery at Hampden Sidney, April 7th, 1804—“Having received information that the minutes of the old Hanover Presbytery were recovered, and were in the possession of the Rev. Archibald Alexander; ordered, that they be deposited in the hands of the Stated Clerk for safe keeping, and that he transcribe, or procure to be transcribed such parts of them as need it, in order to their preservation, and present his account for this service to the Presbytery when it is completed.” In September, Mr. Lacy, the Clerk, reported that he had performed the duty, and presented a quarto volume of beautiful penmanship. The Presbytery agreed to allow him thirty dollars for the work. The Presbytery then were in possession of two copies of all their records that could be procured, from the formation of the Presbytery, in 1756, to the division in 1786, one copy just made by their Stated Clerk, in one volume; and the other in a number of small volumes, by different Stated Clerks, the covers of some of the volumes being of parchment or leather, the others of frailer material. Of some of the sessions the minutes were irretrievably lost. By a previous order of Presbytery, Mr. Lacy, the Clerk, had procured a thick quarto volume of durable materials in which he had transcribed, in an engrossing hand, the records of the Presbytery from its division, 1786, down to the current time. So that, in 1804, the Presbytery had two copies of records made out by her Stated Clerks, one in two volumes, and the other in six. But for these records thus preserved, a correct account of Hanover Presbytery and its ministers could never have been procured.

“A call from Cub Creek congregation addressed to Mr. John H. Rice for three-fourths of his time, was read and presented to him.” April 6th, 1804, at a meeting of the Presbytery, at the College—“But Mr. Rice informed the Presbytery that he did not wish to give a decisive answer to the call at present, but was willing to take it under consideration.” On the next day, he declared his acceptance; “and it appears proper that he should be ordained at our next meeting.” Gen. 3: 4, “And the serpent said unto the woman, ye shall not surely die,” was appointed him as the subject of a trial sermon. Mr. Alexander was appointed to preach an ordination sermon, and Mr. Lacy to preside and give the charge. Mr. Rice resigned his office as tutor, and removed to Charlotte, fixing his residence on a farm about six miles from the Court-House. The Presbytery met at Cub Creek on the 28th of September, and consisted of Messrs. Alexander, M’Robert, Lacy, and Lyle, with Elders Major Morton, from Cumberland congregation, Captain Mask Leak, from the Cove, and Colonel William Morton, from Cub Creek.

After approving the trial sermon of Mr. Rice, the Presbytery proceeded to his ordination on Saturday, the 29th. Mr. Alexander preached from Acts 20: 28, "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God which he has purchased with his own blood." Mr. Lacy delivered the charge; and Mr. Rice, who had held to the Presbytery the relation of Ruling Elder, candidate for the ministry and licentiate, now took his seat as an ordained minister.

Mr. James Tompkins, a Baptist minister, was present at the meeting in Bedford, to promote Christian Union, and after a time applied for admission to Hanover Presbytery. The committee that were charged with the examination of Mr. Rice, were directed to consider this application, which had been before a called meeting, in Bedford, in February, and the regular Spring meeting in Hanover. The committee met at Bannister Meeting-House in June, and considered the application, and inquired into some reports implicating the character of Mr. Tompkins, by impeaching his motives for desiring a change of denominations. At their meeting in July, at the college, the committee decided favorably in case of Mr. Rice and Mr. Tompkins, and so reported to the meeting of Presbytery in the fall. After Mr. Rice was licensed, Mr. Tompkins "was received under the care of this Presbytery as a preacher of the gospel—and exercises of trial were appointed unto him. And as this is a new and important case—resolved further, that the following question be brought before Synod at their next meeting, by way of overture. A regularly ordained minister of the Baptist Church applies to a Presbytery to be received as a minister of the gospel in connexion with them; is his ordination to be considered as valid?" On the third day of the sessions of Synod, Oct. 15th, at the college, the question was considered, and was unanimously decided in the affirmative. The day before Mr. Rice was ordained, Mr. Tompkins "delivered a discourse on 1st John 2d, 2d. The subject assigned him in Sept. 1803, which the Presbytery sustained as satisfactory. The Rev. James Mitchel came in—his reasons for not coming sooner, and also for non-attendance at our last meeting were sustained. Mr. Tompkins then read an essay on the following question—Wherein consisted the punishment of Adam's transgression, and in what manner was it inflicted. The Presbytery having received competent satisfaction with respect to Mr. James Tompkins, of his abilities to preach the gospel, and of his soundness in the faith, agreed to receive him as a member in full standing." Mr. Tompkins was an acceptable preacher, and an useful minister of Christ. His race was short. On the 20th of July, 1806, he entered on his everlasting rest.

*The Second Step by Hanover Presbytery for a Theological Seminary.*

An overture brought into the Assembly of the Church in 1805, by Dr. Green, was approved, and sent to the Presbyteries, enjoining them—"to look out among themselves, pious youth of promising

talents, and endeavor to educate them, and bring them forward into the ministry; that it be made a Presbyterian business, that the youth are to be conducted by the Presbyteries through the whole of their academical course, and theological studies, and at such schools, and under such teachers as each Presbytery may choose to employ or recommend." The Hanover Presbytery took up the overture, April 4th, 1806, at Briery. The Synod of Virginia, many years before, had proposed these schools in her bounds, to carry into effect a similar proposal, one in Redstone Presbytery, one in Transylvania, and one in Lexington. Hanover Presbytery had taken it up, and in the year 1797 had commenced her charitable fund, the first step towards a Seminary. Something more was wanted to make the project effective. Therefore—"Resolved, that the Rev. Messrs. Alexander, Lyle, Rice and Speece, together with Messrs. James Morton, Robert Quarles, and James Daniel be a committee, of whom any four shall be a quorum, to solicit donations, and do all other things which may to them appear expedient for obtaining and establishing a *Theological Library and School at Hampden Sidney College*; and for the support of such poor and pious youth as the Presbytery may undertake to educate and bring forward to the Holy Ministry." Mr. Rice, a member of the Assembly, was on the committee of bills and overtures, that reported the overture of Dr. Green; and was appointed by this committee of Hanover Presbytery an agent to gather funds for a library, and the school, and the education purposes. This was another step towards Union Theological Seminary. The address of the committee to the public is worthy of preservation, setting forth the fundamental principles of theological schools.

The person to whom the Presbytery turned their eyes as the man to direct the use of the intended library, and preside in the school when organized, appears not to have made any such calculation about himself. In a letter to Mr. Maxwell, Dr. Alexander says, speaking of Mr. Rice—"Our excellent friend was not a systematic student in his theological studies; and although you seem disposed to give me the credit of having been his preceptor in this sacred science, yet candor induces me to say, that I have a very slight claim to the honor. I never considered myself his teacher, in this or any other department of knowledge. I was rather his companion in study; but was ever ready to communicate to others the facts of my own reading. I was about a half a dozen years older than he, and had been about that time in the ministry, when I first knew him; but then the idea of teaching theology to any one was far from my thoughts. I do remember, however, that at his earnest request, I prescribed a course of reading in theology; and the impression of the fact was rendered indelible in my mind, by an incident of a somewhat remarkable kind, which I will relate. Among the books to be perused was Dr. Samuel Clarke's *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*. The effect which the reading of this able work had on his mind I can never forget. It plunged him into the abyss of scepticism. It drove him almost to distraction.

I never contemplated a powerful mind in such a state of desolation. For a day or two his perturbation was overwhelming and alarming. But in a few days, effectual relief was obtained; but in what particular way, I am, at this distance of time unable to state, except that the difficulties which he experienced were not overcome by reasoning, or any human means; but by the grace of God through prayer. I do not pretend to explain how the perusal of this work of profound argument should have produced such an effect. I merely note an interesting fact, from which every reader may draw his own conclusions. It is now my impression that this occurrence interrupted the theological studies of our deceased friend.

“His discourses when he first engaged in public preaching, were principally argumentative, and especially directed to the demonstration of the truths of the Christian religion, and its vindication from the objections of infidels. He was naturally led into this strain of preaching, by the prevalence of deistical opinions in that country for several years preceding. His sermons therefore were not at first suited to the taste, nor adapted to the edification of the common people; but they were calculated to raise his reputation as a man of learning and abilities, with men of information and discernment.” There was a change in his style of preaching; in a few years he became a favorite with the colored people.

The records of College give evidence of disturbances, and tendencies to disorder among the students, to a greater degree during the second presidency of Mr. Alexander than the first. Domestic discipline had relaxed, and many things were considered by parents, and guardians as admissible, that, in previous years, had been intolerable. The number of students from a distance increased; and they brought their insubordination along with them. College duties were severe, and Mr. Alexander longed for the ministry of the word. There were congregations that would sustain a preacher; for one of these Mr. Alexander began to have strong desires. His health was enfeebled by his great exertions as preacher and teacher; and his opportunities for study were lessening. In this condition of things, Pine street Church in Philadelphia sent him an invitation. He immediately made them a visit; and being pleased with the prospect, he accepted their proposition and prepared for a removal. A called meeting of Presbytery was held at the College, November 13th 1806, and the call for Mr. Alexander came under consideration. The churches with which he was connected yielded to his wish to remove, and made no objection to the call. He was therefore transferred to the Presbytery of Philadelphia. At least three ministers mourned his departure; and the hearts of many laymen were sad. But in the removal he was evidently blessed of God.

On receiving Mr. Alexander's resignation, the Trustees appointed Mr. Wm. S. Keid, then teaching in College, to take charge of the classes for a season; and gave him as tutors Mr. Andrew Shannon, Mr. Thomas Lumpkin and Mr. James C. Willson; all of whom afterwards became ministers of the gospel.



## CHAPTER XXII.

## GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.—THE AWAKENING AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the Synod of Virginia consisted of the Presbyterian ministers and churches in the States of Virginia and Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, and Pennsylvania west of the Allegheny Mountains; and was the theatre of one of those great religious movements which convulse society, and leave their impress for generations. It commenced in Kentucky, and spread northward, eastward, and southward, following the track of the pioneers of the forest first, and then seeking beyond the mountains the homes they had left. Its character, like the beautiful country in which it commenced, and the people that were the subjects, was unlike in many of its externals to any awakening, of which the church, in her numerous histories, has any record. In Kentucky the excitement was greatest; and the good and the evil interwoven, most prominent and enduring. It has formed the theme of history already, and will claim for ever a chapter in the history of that State. In North Carolina, the consequences, full of blessings to the Church and State, were abundant, and will form a part of her record for ever. West Pennsylvania has many monuments to tell of the excellencies of that great religious movement which made all things, like this beautiful country, new.

In 1802, the Synod of Virginia was divided, and from her bounds were constituted three Synods, that of Virginia confined to the State, Kentucky, and Pittsburg embracing West Pennsylvania. In each of these Synods the work of God had progressed, moulded in its externals by the varying condition of the population. Sin is the same in its nature and attributes everywhere, and in all time; the love of God is as pure and unchanging as its source; and the grace of Christ as purifying and transforming as at the day of Pentecost. But the manner the great truths of the gospel shall stir the passions, alike in all time in the great principle, will in circumstances show a striking variety, like the color and forms of the race.

The Synod of Virginia after this great curtailment of her boundaries and churches, numbered on her list of laborers twenty-seven ordained ministers and five licentiates. In the bounds of the two Hanovers, were James Waddell, William Irvin, and Archibald M'Roberts, without a pastoral charge; James Mitchel and James Turner, in Bedford; John D. Blair occupying Hanover and Henrico; Drury Lacy, Cumberland; Matthew Lyle, Buffalo and Briery; James Robinson, Rockfish and Cove; William Calhoun, Albemarle; and Archibald Alexander at the head of Hampden Sidney College. In the Presbytery of Lexington, then containing Montgomery and Greenbrier were, Benjamin Erwin, without charge; William Wilson,

Augusta church; John McCue, Tinkling Spring; Samuel Houston, Falling Spring and High Bridge; Benjamin Grigsby, Lewisburg and Concord; Samuel Brown, New Providence; Robert Wilson, Windy Cove, Little Spring, and Rocky Spring; Robert Logan, without charge; and George A. Baxter, New Monmouth and Lexington, and head of Liberty Hall, or Washington Academy, with John Glendy, a probationer from Ireland, supplying Staunton, Bethel, and Brown's meeting-house. In the Presbytery of Winchester, were Amos Thompson, without charge; Moses Hoge, Shepherdstown; Nash Legrand, Cedar Creek and Opeconon; William Hill, Winchester; William Williamson, South River and Flint Run; John Lyle, Romney, Springfield, and Frankfort; Joseph Glass, Gerardstown and Back Creek. The licentiates were, Daniel Blain, William McPheeters, John Todd, John Mines, and John Chavis, a colored man. These thirty-two Presbyterian ministers scattered over the large State of Virginia, felt their hearts moved at the reports brought in from Kentucky. Most of them had friends, and many of them relatives, in the midst of the excitement. Mr. Baxter made a tour through Kentucky in the year 1801, observing carefully the circumstances of the religious meetings, and, like a true philosopher, gathering facts for his future consideration, without any previously formed theory. On his return, he wrote to his friend Archibald Alexander, of Hampden Sidney College, the result of his observations.

To the Rev. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER.

WASHINGTON ACADEMY, Jan. 1st, 1802.

REV. AND DEAR SIR — I now sit down agreeably to promise, to give you some account of the revival of religion in the State of Kentucky; you have, no doubt, heard already of the Green River and Cumberland revivals. I will just observe, that last summer is the fourth since the revival commenced in those places; and that it has been more remarkable than any of the preceding, not only for lively and fervent devotion among Christians, but also for awakenings and conversions among the careless; and it is worthy of notice that very few instances of apostasy have hitherto appeared. As I was not myself in the Cumberland country, all I can say about it is from the testimony of others; but I was uniformly told by those who had been there, that their religious assemblies were more solemn, and the appearance of the work much greater than what had been in Kentucky; any enthusiastic symptoms which might at first have attended the revival, had greatly subsided, whilst the serious concern and engagedness of the people were visibly increased.

In the older settlements of Kentucky the revival made its first appearance among the Presbyterians last spring. The whole of that country about a year before was remarkable for vice and dissipation; and I have been credibly informed that a decided majority of the

people were professed infidels. During the last winter appearances were favorable among the Baptists, and great numbers were added to their churches. Early in the spring the ministrations of the Presbyterian clergy began to be better attended than they had been for many years before. Their worshipping assemblies became more solemn, and the people, after they were dismissed, showed a strange reluctance at leaving the place; they generally continued some time in the meeting-house, in singing or in religious conversation. Perhaps about the last of May or the first of June the awakenings became general in some congregations, and spread through the country in every direction with amazing rapidity. I left that country about the first of November, at which time this revival, in connexion with the one on Cumberland, had covered the whole State, excepting a small settlement which borders on the waters of Green river, in which no Presbyterian ministers are settled, and I believe very few of any denomination. The power with which this revival has spread, and its influence in moralizing the people, are difficult for you to conceive of, and more difficult for me to describe. I had heard many accounts and seen many letters respecting it before I went to that country; but my expectations, though greatly raised, were much below the reality of the work. The congregations, when engaged in worship, presented scenes of solemnity superior to what I had ever seen before; and in private houses it was no uncommon thing to hear parents relate to strangers the wonderful things which God had done in their neighborhoods, whilst a large circle of young people would be in tears.

On my way to Kentucky, I was told by settlers on the road, that the character of Kentucky travellers was entirely changed, and that they were now as distinguished for sobriety as they had formerly been for dissoluteness; and indeed, I found Kentucky the most moral place I had ever been in; a profane expression was hardly heard; a religious awe seemed to pervade the country; and some deistical characters had confessed that from whatever cause the revival might originate, it certainly made the people better. Its influence was not less visible in promoting a friendly temper; nothing could appear more amiable than that undissembled benevolence which governs the subjects of this work. I have often wished that the mere politician or deist could observe with impartiality their peaceful and amicable spirit. He would certainly see that nothing could equal the religion of Jesus for promoting even the temporal happiness of society. Some neighborhoods visited by the revival had been formerly notorious for private animosities, and many petty law-suits had commenced on that ground. When the parties in these quarrels were impressed with religion, the first thing was to send for their antagonists; and it was often very affecting to see their meeting. Both had seen their faults, and both contended that they ought to make concessions, till at last they were obliged to request each to forbear all mention of the past, and to act as friends and brothers for the future. Now, sir, let modern philoso-

phists talk of reforming the world by banishing Christianity and introducing their licentious systems. The blessed gospel of our God and Saviour is showing what it can do.

Some circumstances have concurred to distinguish the Kentucky revival from most others of which we have had any account. I mean the largeness of the assemblies on sacramental occasions, the length of time they continued on the ground in devotional exercises, and the great numbers who have fallen down under religious impressions. On each of these particulars I shall make some remarks. 1st. With respect to the largeness of the assemblies. It is generally supposed that at many places there were not fewer than eight, ten, or twelve thousand people. At a place called Cane Ridge Meeting-House, many are of opinion there were at least twenty thousand. There were 140 wagons which came loaded with people, besides other wheel carriages. Some persons had come 200 miles. The largeness of these assemblies was an inconvenience — they were too numerous to be addressed by one speaker; it therefore became necessary for several ministers to officiate at the same time at different stands. This afforded an opportunity to those who were but slightly impressed with religion to wander to and fro between the different places of worship, which created an appearance of confusion, and gave ground to such as were unfriendly to the work to charge it with disorder.

Another cause also concurred to the same effect; about this time, the people began to fall down in great numbers, under serious impressions. This was a new thing among Presbyterians; it excited universal astonishment, and created a curiosity which could not be restrained, when people fell even during the most solemn parts of divine service. Those who stood near, were so extremely anxious to see how they were affected, that they often crowded about them, so as to disturb the worship. But these causes of disorder were soon removed; different sacraments were appointed on the same Sabbath, which divided the people, and the falling down became so familiar as to excite no disturbance. In October, I attended three sacraments; at each, there were supposed to be four or five thousand people, and everything was conducted with strict propriety. When persons fell, those who were near took care of them, and everything continued quiet until the worship was concluded.

2d. The length of time that people continue at the places of worship, is another important circumstance of the Kentucky revival. At Cane Ridge they met on Friday, and continued till Wednesday evening, night and day, without intermission, either in public or private exercises of devotion, and with such earnestness, that heavy showers of rain were not sufficient to disperse them. On other sacramental occasions, they generally continued on the ground until Monday or Tuesday evening; and had not the preachers been exhausted and obliged to retire, or had they chosen to prolong the worship, they might have kept the people any length of time they pleased; and all this was or might have been done in a country where, less than twelve

months before, the clergy found it difficult to detain the people during the usual exercises of the Sabbath.

The practice of camping on the ground was introduced partly by necessity, and partly by inclination; the assemblies were generally too large to be received by any common neighborhood; everything indeed was done which hospitality and brotherly kindness could do, to accommodate the people; public and private houses were opened, and free invitations given to all persons who wished to retire. Farmers gave up their meadows, before they were mown, to supply the horses; yet, notwithstanding all this liberality, it would have been impossible, in many cases, to have accommodated the whole assemblies with private lodgings; but, besides, the people were unwilling to suffer any interruption in their devotions, and they formed an attachment to the place where they were continually seeing so many careless sinners receiving their first impressions, and so many deists constrained to call on the formerly despised name of Jesus; they conceived a sentiment like what Jacob felt in Bethel, "Surely the Lord is in this place." "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

3d. The number of persons who have fallen down under serious impressions in this revival, is another matter worthy of attention; and on this I shall be more particular, as it seems to be the principal cause why this work should be more suspected of enthusiasm than some other revivals. At Cane Ridge sacrament, it is generally supposed not less than one thousand persons fell prostrate to the ground, among whom were many infidels. At one sacrament which I attended, the number that fell was thought to be more than three hundred. Persons who fall, are generally such as had manifested symptoms of the deepest impressions for some time previous to that event. It is common to see them shed tears plentifully for about an hour. Immediately before they become totally powerless, they are seized with a tremor, and sometimes, though not often, they utter one or two piercing shrieks, in the moment of falling; persons in this situation are affected in different degrees; sometimes, when unable to stand or sit, they have the use of their hands, and can converse with perfect composure. In other cases they are unable to speak, the pulse becomes weak, and they draw a difficult breath, about once in a minute: in some instances, their extremities become cold, and pulsation, breathing, and all the signs of life forsake them for nearly an hour. Persons who have been in this situation have uniformly avowed that they felt no bodily pain, that they had the entire use of their reason and reflection, and when recovered, they could relate everything that had been said or done near them, or which could possibly fall within their observation.

From this it appears that their falling is neither common fainting, nor a nervous action. Indeed this strange phenomenon appears to have taken every possible turn to baffle the conjectures of those who are not willing to consider it a supernatural work. Persons have sometimes fallen on their way from public worship; and sometimes

after they had arrived at home; and in some cases when they were pursuing their common business on their farms, or when retired for secret devotion. It was above observed that persons generally are seriously affected for some time previous to their falling; in many cases, however, it is otherwise. Numbers of thoughtless sinners have fallen as suddenly as if struck with lightning. Many professed infidels, and other vicious characters have been arrested in this way, and sometimes at the very time they were uttering blasphemies against the work.

At the beginning of the revival in Shelby County, the appearances, as related to me by eye-witnesses, were very surprising indeed. The revival had before this spread with irresistible power through the adjacent counties; and many of the pious had attended distant sacraments with great benefit. These were much engaged, and felt unusual freedom in their addresses at the throne of grace, for the out-pouring of the divine Spirit at the approaching sacrament in Shelby. The sacrament came on in September. The people as usual met on Friday: but all were languid, and the exercises went on heavily. On Saturday and Sunday morning it was no better. At length the communion service commenced, everything was still lifeless: whilst the minister of the place was speaking at one of the tables, without any unusual animation, suddenly there were several shrieks from different parts of the assembly; instantly persons fell in every direction; the feelings of the pious were suddenly revived, and the work progressed with extraordinary power, till the conclusion of the solemnity. This phenomenon of falling is common to all ages, sexes, and characters; and when they fall they are differently exercised. Some pious people have fallen under a sense of ingratitude and hardness of heart, and others under affecting manifestations of the love and good of God. Many thoughtless persons under legal convictions, have obtained comfort before they arose.

But perhaps the most numerous class consists of those who fall under distressing views of their guilt, who arise with the same fearful apprehensions, and continue in that state for some days, perhaps weeks, before they receive comfort. I have conversed with many who fell under the influence of comfortable feelings, and the account they gave of their exercises while they lay entranced was very surprising. I know not how to give you a better idea of them than by saying, that in many cases they appeared to surpass the dying exercises of Dr. Finley; their minds appeared wholly swallowed up in contemplating the perfections of Deity, as illustrated in the plan of salvation, and whilst they lay apparently senseless, and almost lifeless, their minds were more vigorous, and their memories more retentive and accurate than they had ever been before.

I have heard men of respectability assert that their manifestations of gospel truth were so clear, as to require some caution when they began to speak, lest they should use language which might induce their hearers to suppose, that they had seen those things with

their bodily eyes; but at the same time they had seen no image, nor sensible representation, nor indeed any thing besides the old truths contained in the Bible. Among those whose minds were filled with the most delightful communications of divine love, I but seldom observed anything extatic. Their expressions were just and rational, they conversed with calmness and composure, and on their first recovering the use of speech, they appeared like persons recovering from a violent disease which had left them on the borders of the grave. I have sometimes been present when persons who fell under the influence of convictions, obtained relief before they arose; in these cases it was impossible not to observe how strongly the change in their minds was depicted in their countenances. Instead of a face of horror and despair, they assumed one open, luminous, serene and expressive of all the comfortable feelings of religion. As to those who fall down under legal convictions and continue in that state, they are not different from those who receive convictions in other revivals, excepting that their distress is more severe. Indeed extraordinary power is the leading characteristic of this revival; both saints and sinners have more striking discoveries of the realities of another world, than I have ever known on any other occasion.

I trust I have said enough on this subject to enable you to judge, how far the charge of enthusiasm is applicable to it. Lord Lyttleton in his letter on the conversion of St. Paul observes, (I think justly), that enthusiasm is a vain self-righteous spirit, swelled with self-sufficiency and disposed to glory in its religious attainments. If this be a good definition there has been perhaps as little enthusiasm in the Kentucky revival as in any other. Never have I seen more genuine marks of that humility which disclaims the merit of its own duties, and looks to the Lord Jesus Christ as the only way of acceptance with God. I was indeed highly pleased to find that Christ was all in all in their religion, as well as in the religion of the gospel. Christians in their highest attainments seemed most sensible of their entire dependence on divine grace, and it was truly affecting to hear with what agonizing anxiety awakened sinners enquired for Christ, as the only physician who could give them any help. Those who call these things enthusiasm ought to tell us what they understand by the spirit of Christianity. In fact, sir, this revival operates as our Saviour promised the Holy Spirit should when sent into the world: it convinces of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; a strong confirmation to my mind, both that the promise is divine, and that this is a remarkable fulfilment of it.

It would be of little avail to object to all this, that probably the professions of many were counterfeited. Such an objection would rather establish what it meant to destroy, for where there is no reality there can be no counterfeit, and besides when the general tenor of a work is such as to dispose the more insincere professors to counterfeit what is right, the work itself must be genuine. But as an eye-witness in the case, I may be permitted to declare that

the professions of those under religious convictions were generally marked with such a degree of engagedness and feeling, as wilful hypocrisy could hardly assume. The language of the heart when deeply impressed, is very distinguishable from the language of affectation. Upon the whole, sir, I think the revival in Kentucky among the most extraordinary that have ever visited the Church of Christ, and, all things considered, peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of that country. Infidelity was triumphant, and religion at the point of expiring. Something of an extraordinary nature seemed necessary to arrest the attention of a giddy people, who were ready to conclude that Christianity was a fable, and futurity a dream. This revival has done it, it has confounded infidelity, awed vice into silence, and brought numbers beyond calculation, under serious impressions. Whilst the blessed Saviour was calling home his people, and building up his Church in this remarkable way, opposition could not be silent. At this I hinted above; but it is proper to observe, that the clamorous opposition which assailed the work at its commencement has been in a great measure borne down before it.

A large proportion of those who have fallen, were at first opposers, and their example has taught others to be cautious, if it has not taught them to be wise. I have written on this subject, to a greater length than I first intended, but if this account should give you any satisfaction, and be of any benefit to the common cause, I shall be fully gratified.

Yours with the highest esteem,

G. A. BAXTER.

In this letter he displays one of his characteristics through life, an ability to gather facts with coolness and precision in preparation for illustration, demonstration, or experiment in the broad field of natural and moral philosophy, in the science of physics or of mind, religion natural or revealed. From these data he formed his opinion. Of the bodily exercises he wrote more favorably than he probably would have done some years later in life. He never thought them subversive of religion, in their early stages, and more moderate forms, or irreconcilable with its purity. They might be a weakness, but not a sin. In their later stages, when they became violent and varied, he carefully separated them from religion, both in its early and more matured exercises. The work, as he saw it, he believed to be of God, and rejoiced in it, and desired to behold its power in Virginia. The old men, leaders in the revival of '88, were gone or sinking in years. The young men, and converts, were the standard bearers now, and watched the approach of the pillar of cloud and of fire, that, hovering over Kentucky, moved slowly eastward. With an almost universal dread of the bodily exercises, they longed for the presence of the Almighty, with which these were mysteriously connected.

The excitement, with some of its peculiarities, was felt in Virginia, first, in the Presbyterian settlements along the head waters



of the Kenawha, in Greenbrier County. Here were no stated ministers. Missionaries occasionally visited them. The work began at a prayer-meeting of private Christians. Ministers from Kentucky recognized here the power of spiritual truths over the minds of men, as they had seen it in the West. Some of the Virginia preachers visited the settlements, and beheld, with astonishment, the influence of grace combined with an unknown power. Desires, hopes, and fears were high. Would the shower descend upon the Virginia church?

In the latter part of the year 1801, the churches under the care of Messrs. Mitchel and Turner, were greatly revived. A meeting held at the close of the year was noted for the number of people impressed with a deep sense of the value as well as truth of the gospel. Many made profession of their faith. The bodily agitations of numbers were uncontrolled; they fell upon the ground as smitten by a resistless power. In the succeeding spring the influence of divine truth was felt with increased force. The Presbytery of Hanover met at Bethel. Crowds attended upon the ministrations of the gospel. About one hundred had now professed conversion. There were some bodily exercises; but no noise or outburst of disorderly emotions. The congregations in Albemarle, in Prince Edward and Charlotte, were greatly awakened; and the happy influence was felt over a large region of country, east of the Blue Ridge.

Mr. Baxter visited Bedford, and some of his young people mingled with the congregation of Bethel in their religious services. The pastor and his young people returned like Graham from Prince Edward, imbued with the spirit of the revival. The congregations of Lexington and New Monmouth became deeply interested. There were many hopeful conversions. The work of grace spread through the congregations in the Valley. Bodily exercises accompanied, and, in some of the congregations, were violent. Mr. Baxter for a time hesitated. Were they a necessary connection? If so, let them be as violent as could be imagined, only let the work of grace go on. Were they an accidental thing, or the work of the enemy sowing tares? If so, they were to be opposed at all hazards lest they defile the work of God. Samuel Brown, of New Providence, said boldly they were a profane mixture, a device of Satan to mar the work of God. In a little time Mr. Baxter, and the ministers generally, came to the conclusion that they were not a necessary part of the work of grace, and were to be discountenanced. Only one minister felt unwilling to speak and act against them. By private conversation, and calmly pausing in public services whenever the exercises commenced, till quietness was restored, the minister in a little time entirely put down the unhappy "profane mixture," except in some peculiar cases and solitary instances.

The awakening continued in different parts of the Synod for some years. There were many hopeful converts where there was no stated ministry, or regular church organization. Many of these looking in vain to the Presbyterian Church for the living ministry,

turned their attention to other denominations prepared to supply their wants, and are now lost to the Presbyterian Church. The demand for educated ministers came pressing on the Synod. She looked to her Colleges, and to the sons of the Church, and to her God, for the supply.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D., RECTOR AND PRESIDENT.

LIKE William Graham, the first Rector, Mr. Baxter appropriated the income, from the tuition and the available funds principally, to the support of the professors and tutors associated with him, reserving for himself the remainder after their salaries were paid. The expenses of his own family were met by the salary of £100, Virginia currency, from the congregations of New Monmouth and Lexington, and the income of the property received with his wife from the estate of her father. It does not appear that any specific salary was ever offered him while connected with the institution.

To his duties as instructor in the Mathematical department, he added the recitations in Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Natural Law, and the Law of Nations. With the able assistance of Messrs. Joseph Graham and Daniel Blain, Mr. Baxter soon found himself at the head of an academy containing about seventy scholars. The prospects were encouraging for an increased number. The list of graduates had not hitherto been, and was not during the Rectorship and Presidency of Mr. Baxter, proportionably equal to the list of those receiving their education at the academy. A specified amount of acquirements in the Classics, Mathematics, Mental and Moral Philosophy was necessary to obtain the degree of Bachelor of Arts. But it had always been left optional to the students with their parents and guardians, whether they should pursue the whole College course, or confine themselves to some particular departments, as the exact sciences, or languages and philosophy, or the sciences with philosophy. A large number of the students left the academy without the degree of A. B. given as a certificate of their general progress, though they might have a certificate for their chosen study in which they excelled.

Virginia is now solving, on a large scale, the problem often discussed, how far the interests of literature and science, and of the body politic at large, require a prescribed course of study embracing the principles of all the departments in science and literature; and how far, and in what way, all these interests are affected by permitting students to pursue chosen branches, a degree being given for excellence, in any one branch, expressing the progress made, and

naming the branch of study; and a degree being also given for excellence in the whole circle of studies, that fact being particularly stated.

About the close of the 18th century, a taste for classical study was extensively discouraged in America, and the Mathematics with the Natural Sciences engrossed the public attention. The study of language began to be confined to candidates for the ministry, and lovers of literature for its own excellence. Public opinion has undergone a change; and the classics have regained their standing in our Colleges and Universities. And the enquiry now is, whether students shall be required to pursue a complete course of scientific and literary studies in our public institutions, or be permitted to select particular branches, or parts of a general course. Public experience will in due time decide the question.

Dr. Baxter held the offices of Rectorship and President about thirty years. Under his direction about four hundred and fifty youths completed their academic studies. In after life they were found in various positions in society—gentlemen of leisure, farmers of science and taste, ministers of the gospel, lawyers, governors, professors and Presidents of Colleges, and Judges of the different Courts, and members of the medical profession.

The endowment made by Washington, began, in a little time, to yield a fair per cent.; and is now by an arrangement made some years since by the State, the most productive of the College funds. The Virginia Society of the Cincinnati, in preparation for its own dissolution, followed the example of Washington, and gave their property, amounting to \$16,000, to the Washington Academy, to sustain a professor, part of whose duties should be the teaching of those branches of education particularly required for the profession of arms. The fund retains the name of the Society. Mr. John Robinson, a citizen of Rockbridge, made the institution his heir. An emigrant from Ireland, living on the waters of the James River, without descendants, he had amassed property in lands, slaves, and money; and was induced to give, by will, all his possessions, to be united with the donations of Washington and the Society of the Cincinnati, for the support of a Literary Institution.

In the year 1813, by Act of Legislature, the name of the institution was changed from Academy to College, and is now styled Washington College; the name of Liberty Hall having, in the year 1798, given place to that of Washington, in memory of his donation of one hundred shares of James River stock. The charter remained unchanged, its powers being considered sufficiently ample. The propriety of altering the appearance of College hill, and of enlarging the accommodations for students and professors, and of increasing the number of the faculty of instruction, was admitted by the trustees, and the accomplishment was resolved upon many years before the funds became sufficiently productive. They have, however, all been realized; and Washington College is, in all these respects, the fulfilment of Dr. Baxter's earnest desires.

By the successive classes of students Dr. Baxter was held in peculiar estimation as a kind, fatherly, resolute President, who might be deceived by a designing boy, the deception sure to be discovered, bringing at last more trouble in the heart than pleasure in the mischief. They gave him the significant title "old rex." The cry of "old rex is coming!"—and they could always know when he was coming, without much watching, for he always gave the alarm by his half suppressed cough—"old rex is coming!" the mischief was all done, the boys in their places, and at work. But somehow, "old rex," when stirred up to investigate some little offences, always seemed to get at the matter so easily, and to dispose of the peccadilloes so justly, and kindly, and according to law, that his authority never lost its power, and offenders could not long escape some discipline. His pupils never lost their admiration of "old rex." If he was indignant, he did not get angry; if he did punish he was not cruel; and if there seemed to be the beginning of wrath, all were sure there had been a great provocation. And then sometimes "old rex," when he had caught the offenders, and they knew that he had caught them, beyond the possibility of excuse, would seem not to believe them guilty; it was not possible they could be guilty; and he would take any explanation and let them all go, when all knew they ought to suffer, and would send them away with some kind words about "father," and "mother," and "sisters," and "home," that went to their hearts. Sometimes he would keep them in suspense, waiting day after day to know their doom, till the torture of suspense would well nigh break their spirits, and then dismiss them with a caution. The students loved him; they loved him through life; they loved to talk about him, and his absolute dominion and his inherent greatness, and the winding up of their various little pranks, always getting off easier than they deserved. When Dr. Baxter expressed entire confidence in his own authority, and his ability to preserve it, he mistook neither the hearts of the students or the people of Lexington. On a certain occasion, a scurrilous pamphlet was put in circulation, intended for his injury. For a time it produced great excitement. One of his elders invited him to his counting-room, and expostulated with him for not answering it, and exposing its utter falsity. "Capt. Leyburn," replied the Doctor, "I have lived in this community for thirty years to little purpose, if it is necessary for me to answer that pamphlet." In a little time the whole matter was forgotten. His great self-reliance was without haughtiness or pride, and he cherished in others this excellence in himself.

Dr. Baxter was struggling with difficulties throughout the whole time of his connexion with the Academy and College. The want of a sufficient income for the necessary professors and tutors, rendered it necessary for him to perform a great amount of labor that his pupils might have proper instruction. The system of permitting irregular students—those who pursued but part of the course of study—operated, for a time, very unfavorably, threatening to reduce

the college, in the public estimation, to a high school, to which those who desired to have a full course of instruction should not go; and from which students should repair to other more entirely systematic colleges, to complete their education. In combating this tendency in the public opinion, the Doctor put forth all his powers. The spirit of emigration also took possession of Virginia. The West opened its wide, beautiful, and fertile fields, and allured youth to seek for a home and wealth in her forests and prairies. The paths of science mourned, the halls of college languished, as the youth and the heads of young families turned their eyes to the inviting regions on the waters of the Mississippi, and the plains beyond. The college has surmounted all these combined difficulties. The contest consumed the strength of two Presidents, Baxter and Ruffner, aided by accomplished professors. The prize was worth the contest.

The ability of Dr. Baxter to preside over an institution of the highest grade with dignity and honor, was never doubted by his pupils, or brethren in the ministry. He was always equal to any emergency that came upon him. The University of North Carolina conferred the title of D. D., and invited him to the presidency. Similar invitations came from literary institutions in Kentucky and Tennessee. He chose to spend his strength in the State in which he was born.

In October, 1829, he resigned his office as President for two reasons. He thought, that at his time of life, the pastoral duties of his charge were sufficient to employ his strength; and, that the affairs of college were now in a position to permit the execution of those plans, long contemplated, and requiring the time and effort appropriate to younger men; and the division of councils among the trustees was passing away. His heart was with the college to the last. He rejoiced in its prosperity under his successors; and witnessed with paternal pride the improvements on the hill, and the increase of the students. There will ever be men of ability who will rejoice to conduct the affairs of Washington College; these will contemplate with admiration the mental power and disinterested labors of those that cherished its infancy.

Dr. Baxter loved books, and had a faithful memory. With a keen relish for knowledge, he gathered materials for reflection, comparison, and invention, still trusting his memory and recollection, to preserve, and bring out of her storehouse the gathered treasures on demand. They were ever ready, and ever true. The products of his pen bore no proportion, in number, to the varied riches of his intellect. He wrote when compelled by some imperious circumstance. He set no value upon the pen to preserve his thoughts, and acquisitions, or to prepare for discussion and public speaking, or any of the ministrations belonging to his office. The products of his richly furnished mind were committed lavishly to the memory of others, and with the exception of a few sermons, and parts of lectures, are sought for in vain in manuscript or in print. He delighted in the study of

mental and moral philosophy, and the laws of nature and of nations. In the latter he excelled. "The mind formed for accurate distinctions and logical discussions," he displayed to great advantage, as years passed over him, in his theological pursuits, and his lectures on natural and national law.

Like the Elder Edwards, he committed his household concerns to the management of his wife. To her prudence and discretion he trusted the expenditure of his salary, the moderate stipends from the academy and college, and the income of their private property, in the supervision and education of a numerous family of four sons and five daughters. In his entire seclusion from the management of worldly affairs, it is probable he never once thought his decreasing property might and ought to have been preserved. He knew it was getting less; and never expected it to increase; and had no uneasy moments of reflection, or anxious forebodings about the consequences to himself or family.

A member of his family makes the following interesting statements. "My mother inherited a large fortune from her father, much the greatest part of which consisted of valuable lands in Kentucky. Of these there were several thousand acres, and nearly all lying in the best parts of the State. This property, from the confusion then existing in Kentucky, in regard to land claims, required a great deal of attention, and sometimes litigation. One or two of these tracts were secured by my father; and there was no doubt entertained that his title to the rest was perfectly good. But he found that it would take much of his time to secure and manage them; and thus, though well assured of ultimate success, and of the value of the property, he, after mature thought, came to the conclusion, that he had no right to take from the work of the ministry, to which his time and talents were both consecrated, several of the best years of his life, for the purpose of securing a merely secular good. So he ceased to give any attention to the matter, and they have long since passed into other hands. I will only add, that since my father's death, an eminent lawyer in Frankfort, being employed to look into our claims, wrote to my mother, that much valuable property had passed from us, from want of attention."

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## CHAPTER XXIV

REV. DANIEL BLAIN.

FOR those fond only of the exciting, and the thrilling, and the imposing, Rev. Daniel Blain presented in his life and character little that is pleasing. To those who can delight in the calm sunshine of heaven, beaming with endless splendor, he has much to offer for meditation

and love. Like a spring day, with its clouds and light showers, and much sweet sunshine; beautiful in its rising, enlivening in its noon, and lovely in its early close; one of those days that make spring so dear, and is so necessary a preparation for seed time, and the after harvest; that medium between winter and summer, the want of which makes tropical climes wearisome and enervating; a day in which there is no thunder or lightning, or chilling frost, in which no blood freezing event takes place, no great and notable circumstance, but a succession of events, some pleasing, all necessary to make up the web of human life, he exhibited acts and graces breathing of heaven, and finally perfected in heaven. President Baxter loved him as his amiable professor and co-laborer; his brethren called him "the amiable Mr. Blain," and Mr. Blain, "that amiable man." He was born in South Carolina, Abbeville District, in 1773, of the Scotch Irish race. His father was among the pioneers upon the head waters of the Savannah, on the South Carolina side, and formed a part of that emigration, whose descendants have made Abbeville District famous in political history.

Of a mild and gentle disposition, equally removed from self-complacency or presumption, and from cowardice or fear, guileless, generous, unpretending and cheerful, young Blain passed his early life on the frontiers in the American Revolution. Like Andrew Jackson, and a multitude of Scotch-Irish boys in North and South Carolina, who in maturer years rose to eminence and worth, he was familiar with the privations and distresses and battles and massacres of the famous campaigns of the southern war. In the plunderings and excesses and wanton cruelties of the marauding parties, the Presbyterian settlements, from their known and stern adherence to the principles of American Independence, had the greatest share. The large Bible, with David's Psalms in metre, was sure evidence that rebels of the worst sort lived in that house. Singing old Rouse, rebellion and being plundered, were synonymous terms; and hardships and privations were familiar consequences.

What awakened in the heart of the youth desires for a literary and scientific education no one can now tell. It is probable they were in connection with the preaching of the gospel, of which he hoped some day to be a minister. And in the hearts of how many Scotch-Irish boys in Virginia and the Carolinas has that spirit been kindled by maternal love and paternal piety, under the exciting example of some kind and earnest preacher of the gospel! Those still Sabbaths of a frontier Presbyterian settlement; those solemn groves; those log meeting-houses and tents; those earnest men of God, whose voices echoed in the woods from Sabbath to Sabbath, or month to month, uttering the messages of mercy; the impressive services of the communion seasons; those days of catechising, that frequent conning over of questions and answers of the Assembly's Catechism — "What is repentance unto life? Who is the Redeemer of God's elect? and what is effectual calling?" — all these, connected with reading the Bible and the expostulations and exhorta-

tions to prepare for the eternal world, exerting an influence together, no wonder ingenuous little boys, thinking over the present and pondering the future, should heave the sigh, "would God I were a preacher of the gospel," connecting in their childish thoughts the sacredness of the preacher's office with the glories of heaven. Under the instruction of Rev. Francis Cummins, the minister of Rocky River congregation, Abbeville District, young Blain commenced his classical course. As the Presbyterian congregations in the Carolinas had been the strong-holds of American Independence, as will be shown whenever the history of South Carolina is fully written, or the portraiture of the Presbyterianism of the State is presented to the world, so the Presbyterian ministers were the able and successful preservers and cultivators of literature and science. In their log school-houses, the finest specimens of American citizens of the last generation received their early, and many of them their entire education. And these children of the Revolutionary times were taught to fear God more than man, and were accustomed to meditate on the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and to feel that under God, men's success in their various callings in life, depended on themselves.

When about twenty years of age, Mr. Blain, to complete his education, repaired to Liberty Hall, near Lexington, under the tuition of the Rev. William Graham, in the zenith of his glory. The institution at Charlotte, North Carolina, broken up soon after the massacre on the Waxhaw, had not been re-opened, and the college at Winnsborough, South Carolina, had for various reasons declined in its efficiency, and the college of Hampden Sidney was depressed with some difficulties at this time; the institution now known as Washington College, had most attractions for Southern youth, especially those seeking the ministry. Here he completed his academic and theological course of study in preparation for the ministry. In the log College of Tennant and its offspring — the New Londonderry of Blair — the Queen's Museum at Charlotte — Winnsborough, South Carolina — Hampden Sidney College, in Prince Edward — and Liberty Hall, near Lexington, Virginia — students in preparation for the ministry were expected to give particular attention to the college course on mental and moral philosophy, rhetoric and natural law, as part also of the theological training. The Greek Testament was a manual in acquiring the Greek language, and was read in a manner to cultivate the habit of critical investigation. The time not occupied in the usual studies of the regular classes was given to those historical works, and other volumes that could be obtained, illustrating the sacred Scriptures. In fact, the whole training of a student intended for the ministry in these institutions had a theological cast; and frequently in a comparatively short time after receiving their classical and scientific degree they were licensed to preach. Greater effort, and with greater success, had been made at Liberty Hall, under Mr. Graham, to form a regular class of students engaged, systematically, in theological studies after the college course was



completed than were attempted in any other of the southern colleges, or under any other president.

Mr. Blain was licensed by Lexington Presbytery. The second volume of the Presbytery's records having been lost, the circumstances and place of licensure cannot be told. Private memoranda say it was about the year 1796. He engaged with Mr. Baxter in teaching the New London Academy at Bedford, and, as a co-laborer, saw with delight the growing fame of the institution. He removed to Lexington with Dr. Baxter, being appointed professor in the academy. He taught the languages and some of the mathematics, and in conjunction with the rector, and Mr. Graham, sustained the honor of the academy.

Report says that he was not insensible of the many excellencies of the young lady of Indian captive-memory, Mary Moore, nor altogether unacceptable in her eyes. But there "came a change over the spirit of their dreams," and she became the wife of another preacher, and he the husband of Miss Mary Hanna, of Lexington. His domestic life was, like his own character, made up of a succession of quiet scenes and cheerful hours, and days in which contentment reigned. He bequeathed to his children a capacity and a love for domestic life and its retired enjoyments. He preached regularly to the congregations of Old Oxford and Timber Ridge, each in the vicinity of Lexington, on opposite sides. His sermons were characterized for plainness in the exhibition of truth, simplicity in style, and kindness in manner, and always pleasing in delivery. In prayer, he seemed to his people to lead them very near to God; and long after his death, they called to mind his "sweet prayers." He had tenderness of feeling, quickness of susceptibility, and liveliness of sympathy to make him modest, and natural powers of mind and acquired information, and strength of moral principle to make his modesty a crowning virtue.

When the Synod, at its session in 1803, at Hampden Sidney, considered the subject of a religious periodical, it was resolved, "that Messrs. Samuel Houston, Matthew Lyle, Archibald Alexander, George A. Baxter, Samuel Brown, Daniel Blain and Samuel L. Campbell, be a committee to make all necessary enquiries on the subject, and if they shall think the publication of such a work can be conducted with advantage, they are hereby authorized to take every measure necessary to carry the scheme into complete execution; and, in that event, they may rely upon the full support of Synod." Under the direction of this committee, the first number of *The Virginia Religious Magazine* was issued October, 1804. To this magazine, Mr. Blain contributed a number of articles; March, 1805, *Christian Zeal*; May, 1805, *Observations on the Sabbath*; September, 1805, *Necessity of Revelation*, and an *Account of the illness and death of Mrs. Ann Leech*, who died June 13th, 1805; November, 1805, *Death of Voltaire and Mrs. Leech contrasted*; also, on *Religious Curiosity*; January, 1806, *The Scriptures Profitable*; September, 1807, *Professor and Honestus*; November, 1807,

Lines on the dark day in Lexington. Some extracts from the first of these, Christian Zeal, will give a specimen of the style, and exhibit the mental and Christian character of the man, unconsciously drawn by himself.

“It is good to be zealously affected always in a good cause. Every laudable pursuit calls for zeal proportioned to its importance. But, whilst the Apostle approved of a passionate ardor and a warmth of holy affection in the service of God, he lamented that the zeal of some, with whom he was conversant, was not according to knowledge. The great Apostle of the Gentiles had obtained a happy deliverance from the party schemes and contracted selfish designs of zealous bigots. The glory of God, the spread and success of the gospel of Christ, and the consequent happiness of all the nations of the earth, were the grand objects that stimulated him to unexampled zeal in the discharge of his duties as an Apostle and as a Christian. His sufferings and self-denial testified that he had no interest to prosecute, distinct from the Redeemer's cause; that he only desired to live to bear testimony to the riches of his grace, and that he was willing to die for the name of the Lord Jesus. Though all Christians are not called to manifest their zeal in the same manner, or to move in the same sphere: though all are not apostles or preachers, the great object pursued by all is the same. They are the several members of that body of which Christ is the head; and though all the members have not the same office, yet one spirit pervades and influences all; and thus is every member stimulated to vigorous efforts for the formation of a common cause. The method whereby a sinner is brought to participate of the blessings of the gospel, and the nature which by the spirit of Christ he is led to contemplate, are such as cannot fail to excite an ardent Christian zeal in the mind, on which they have their full operation. Constrained by the love of Christ, delighted with the excellencies of the gospel, and penetrated by a view of the odious nature of sin, the Christian is led to proclaim, ‘What shall I render to the Lord for all his mercies? How shall I manifest to the world the love and gratitude I owe to a Saviour who died that I might live?’

“Instead of those carnal weapons, with which many under the name of zeal for God, have made havoc of his church, he is clothed with humility; he is meek and gentle, and easy to be entreated, disposed to do good to those that hate him, and to pray for those who despitefully use and persecute him. It is probable that a zeal thus tempered with benevolence, forbearance, and other mild Christian dispositions, has had a greater influence on sinners, and has operated more effectually in divesting them of their prejudices against the truth, than any other means which have ever been used. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that Christian zeal, though always mild, is likewise firm, when the cause of God is assailed. It differs widely from a cool indifference to truth, which, under the specious name of liberality, or extensive charity, rejects no doctrines as heterodox or dangerous, objects against no crimes as

inconsistent with the Christian character. There are too many, who, having witnessed perhaps some of the evils attendant on intemperate zeal, and feeling little concern themselves for the prosperity of Zion, are ready to reprobate every appearance of religious zeal; and especially if a Christian is seen contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, he is branded with the opprobrious name of partizan, or bigot, or enthusiast; and men who on no other occasions have discovered any symptoms of religious sensibility, clamorously require his excommunication. Such people seldom manifest the same degree of apathy on other subjects. How will men who are blind to the difference between truth and error, justify the anathemas pronounced by the Apostle Paul against perverters of the gospel: 'If any man preach any other gospel unto you, than that which you have received, let him be accursed?' The Christian who would be useful, must be zealous. Brethren, let us consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, and with renewed zeal press toward the mark for the prize of our high calling, until we arrive at that world where we shall no longer need to provoke each other to zeal or love, or good works."

Mr. Blain was called from earth in the meridian of life, from increasing usefulness and a young family, March 19th 1814. The faith he beautifully describes in the obituary of Mrs. Leech, sustained him in his last moments. He left a blessing for his family with the good hope that in due time all should ascend after him. His wife remembered whose servant she was, and at what price she had been bought; and cherishing the memory of the man, whose name as a widow she bore, she reared her little family in the fear and love of God. His son is a minister of the gospel, and though he may say, "It grieves me to think that I know so little of one in whose heart I had so warm a place—his person is very dimly shadowed on my memory—I doubt not my heart is sadder now at the thought of his early death, than it was when in the thoughtlessness of early childhood I looked on his dying struggles,—my heart goes out in warm affection to one who can only say, '*I knew him*'"—he and his sisters may add, "we know that the children of the righteous are not forsaken." Had the Church no such lovely characters as Daniel Blain, her beauty would be marred, and her bands loosed. He drew with his pen, a contrast between the death of Voltaire and Mrs. Leech, and gave it to the world in the Magazine. A more striking one might be drawn between himself and some of his generation that attracted public attention for a time, and have now passed away.

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Should the memory of Mary Hanna, the wife of Daniel Blain, pass like her person from among men, the knowledge of a bright gem, from the valley, in the Saviour's crown, would be lost to the world. She had for her father, the pious tanner at the foot of the hill, on which the village of Lexington was built. The spirit of

God dwelt with him as evidently as with Simon the tanner at Joppa. Fearing and loving God himself, he strove to bring up his children according to the direction of Paul, "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Day by day was the example before their eyes of a man, that loved them more than he could tell, and yet evidently loving God more than all his family; or rather of one in whose heart the love of his family was mingled indissolubly with the constraining love of his Saviour. He labored in his vocation cheerfully, and successfully, for the support of his family; but his children saw, that with all his gettings, he desired their spiritual renovation more than wealth. Mary, the eldest of five daughters, was endowed from her birth with tender feelings; as she grew in years she manifested great simplicity of purpose and sensitive conscience, resolution in what she thought right, sincerity in her disposition and actions and professions, firmness of purpose to pursue her object through difficulties, kindness in her temper, with a pleasing person, and over all an amiability of manner blended with modesty. She was one of the young company that met her pastor, Mr. Graham, in Bedford, on his return from Prince Edward; and was partaker of the blessings showered upon Mr. Mitchel's congregation, at that blessed meeting of the ministers of the gospel; and sang praises as the company passed the Ridge on their return home. Dr. Alexander says of her, "all believed that if any one had experienced divine renewal, it was Mary Hanna. One afternoon while reading a sermon of Tennant's, on the need of a legal work preparatory to conversion, she was seized with such apprehension of her danger, that she began to tremble, and in attempting to reach the house which was distant only a few steps, fell prostrate, and was taken up in a terrible convulsion. The news quickly spread, and in a short time most of the serious young people in the town were present." They were all alarmed — if she had no religion — who had? She manifested through life great tenderness of soul on the subject of salvation, by Christ; and often trembled for herself and wept for others. She became the wife of Mr. Blain. All, that knew them both, believed that they were mutually constituted by nature, and fitted by grace, to make each other happy as earth could permit. And for the few years they lived together they were so. When the mother of six children she became a widow. As she looked upon her five little daughters and one son, she claimed God as her father in the heavens and as their father; she claimed him as the widow's and the orphan's God; and he answered her. She left her own sweet impress on them all. Mother and religion, mother and Christ were, somehow, interwoven in their childish hearts, never to be severed in maturer years. And if she did leave them sooner, far sooner, than they wished, what a treasure she left with them, in the love of Christ! An amiable godly mother! — Who knows her value while she lives? and who can tell the blessings that follow the children for their glorified mother's sake? Extract from a letter from Rev. S. B. Wilson D. D., January 23d 1855. "In this con-

nexion allow me to say, that good man Matthew Hanna deserves to be held in lasting remembrance. His name may never shine on the page of human history. But it will shine bright in the records of heaven. In the erection of the first Presbyterian Church in Lexington, he was the prime mover, and the active and efficient agent. In it, he became an elder. In all his relations in life, as magistrate, sheriff, elder, parent and master, he was an example of rectitude. His five daughters were all pious. Two of them married ministers; two married elders; and one a pious physician. His grand-children are so far as known all members of the Church. 'I will be a God to thee and thy seed,' was a promise fulfilled to him as well as to Abraham. His life closed as peacefully and joyfully, as the journey of a wanderer in a foreign land, when the time arrives to return to his beloved home. My wife was the fourth daughter, Elizabeth." And now that she is dead, we may add, she was a faithful wife, and reared her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, according to her father's example.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### JOHN H. RICE, D. D. — RESIDENCE IN CHARLOTTE.

THE church of Cub Creek, when Mr. Rice became pastor, consisted of 113 members, of whom 55 were black slaves. These assembled at three places of worship in rotation, the second and fourth Sabbaths of the month at Cub Creek, the first at the Court-House, and the third at Bethesda. The largest assemblies were at Cub Creek; and of the four or five hundred people assembling, about one-fourth or fifth were blacks. At this place he commonly preached twice on the Sabbath; the afternoon sermon being to the colored people. At one place only, Bethesda, did the congregation assemble near their pastor's residence.

At this time Hanover Presbytery consisted of fourteen members — three of whom through infirmities were unable to preach, the other eleven were in their prime, and had for the theatre of their regular ministrations, the Presbyterian churches already gathered, and for their missionary operations, all the country east of the Blue Ridge, between the Rappahannock river, and the North Carolina line, unoccupied by other denominations. Not one of these eleven received from the congregations, to whom he ministered, salary sufficient to supply the necessary demands of a small family. And every minister of the Presbytery was compelled to engage in literary and scientific schools, or the cultivation of the earth. The salaries fixed for Davies and his coadjutors were barely sufficient for their support. Very few of the generation following received a salary

approaching any reasonable proportion to the support of the first ministers. Two reasons may be found; the liberal givers were scattered, and as new congregations were formed for regular services, their number of liberal supporters was not always increased; the congregations became careless, and the ministers were backward to complain, preferring to dig rather than to beg. This state of things led to embarrassments, and finally to the removal to the other sections of the church of some of the most beloved men in the Presbytery.

Mr. Rice received about four hundred dollars from his charge. He chose to add to his salary by teaching; at the same time cultivating the soil to an extent sufficient to employ the domestics and work-hands necessary for house-keeping in a country of tobacco planters. His reputation as a teacher was high; and his house was generally filled with the children of his friends. The confidence and judiciousness of his supporters may be estimated by an incident related by Mrs. Rice. A young lad by the name of Trent, from Cumberland, had by repeated transgressions of the laws of the school, brought on himself the displeasure of his teacher; and finally chastisement, to preserve the peace of the school. The boy secretly departed, and reached home late Saturday afternoon. No one saw him come in but his mother. She received him kindly, took him to her chamber, ascertained the cause of his unexpected return, required him to keep himself concealed that night and the succeeding Sabbath in his bed-chamber, and early Monday morning sent him on horseback under safe guidance to resume his studies. The mother, like Mrs. Morton, believed Mr. Rice to be the friend of boys, and appreciated his efforts to subdue the rugged will, and check the heedlessness of his little charge.

Three times in the month he was called to a distance from home for his Sabbath ministrations. Most commonly he went on Friday evening, or Saturday morning, visiting among the families of his scattered charge, catechising the children, and preaching in private houses. He commonly rested at home Sabbath night. Five days in school each week, and but one Saturday at home in a month, with the various calls for the attendance at the sick-bed, and at funerals, and at weddings, gave Mr. Rice ample employ for all his powers of body and mind, and stores of knowledge.

His attention was turned particularly to the slave population. A large number of African slaves upon the estate of Colonel Byrd, in Hanover, became pious under the ministry of Samuel Davies, and with the consent of their master, members of the Presbyterian church. Their black faces, Mr. Davies says, often cheered him in his Sabbath ministrations. Some of these were taught to read, and were presented with a copy of the Bible, Catechism, and Hymn book, and occasionally other religious books. Part of this Byrd estate was removed to Charlotte, by Colonel Coles, one of the heirs. Of those thus removed, a number were pious, and two could read. These two were very particular in teaching their descendants the

Catechism, and the principal truths of the gospel, had the privilege of attending preaching, and the liberty of teaching as many to learn to read as desired. These privileges they freely used, without abusing the confidence of their master, who was not a member of the Presbyterian church, to which they all belonged. Mr. Rice thought that a special appointment to preach to the colored people would be advantageous to the cause, among that race, in his own charge, and throughout the southern country. The Commission of the Virginia Synod, east of the Alleghenies, having been dissolved, he obtained a commission directly from the General Assembly in 1806 — “to spend two months in missionary labor among the blacks in Charlotte County, Virginia, and parts adjacent.” The next year his commission was for three months, and was renewed from year to year while he resided in Charlotte. The attachment of the colored people to Mr. Rice was great, and his success among them as a minister very encouraging. At the close of his ministry, about 100 were members of Cub Creek church; a large number of which were from the Cole’s estate, which had greatly multiplied on the waters of the Roanoke, the professors of religion bearing a good proportion to the general increase.

Rev. S. J. Price, who became well acquainted with the condition of these people, says:—“They were industrious and faithful to their owners; had regular religious worship, and maintained Christian discipline. Men of good character were appointed watchmen, to take the lead in their religious matters, and make their regular reports of the moral and religious conduct of those committed to their charge. The children were, as a general thing, able to repeat the Shorter Catechism, whether they could read or not. Very many were exemplary and happy in their religion; their prayers were fervent, and their singing melodious. An unfavorable report from a watchman was a heavy punishment, relieved only by restoration to favor. After the death of Col. Coles, they served their mistress for years without an overseer; and worked a large estate to advantage, dividing out among themselves the necessary plantation operations, and emulating each other in the performance of their work. These servants were finally divided among the heirs. And at this time (1850) some of the descendants of the two old men are owned by James C. Bruce, Esq., of Halifax county, and are connected with the Presbyterian church at Halifax Court-House; some by John R. Edmonds, of the same county, and are connected with the same church; some by Capt. Henry Edmonds, of Halifax, and are connected with Mercy Seat church; some by Mrs. Sarah E. Carrington, of Halifax; some by Messrs. Charles Bruce, Paul Carrington, and Joseph Edmonds, of Charlotte, connected with Roanoke church; some by William B. Green, of Charlotte, who are connected with Bethesda church; some by Capt. Walter Carrington, of Mecklenburg, and I suppose connected with Clarksville church; some by Mr. Morson, on James River, who are connected with Hebron church, Goochland County; some by Isaac Carrington, of Charlotte,

and connected with Bethesda church; and some by General Edward Carrington, of Botetourt, and I suppose connected with the church in Fincastle." This is from one estate. Many persons in Charlotte and counties adjacent paid great attention to the instruction of their servants, and were in a good degree successful. Those servants that heard Davies remembered him through life: some living to a great age, would repeat parts of his sermons with tears. Mr. Rice thought that the evidence of piety among his colored people was as decisive as among the most polished and intelligent members of the church.

The success of the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine induced the Synod of Virginia to take the necessary steps to establish a periodical. In October, 1804, the first number of the VIRGINIA RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE was published at the press of Samuel Walkup, Lexington, Virginia, "the first of the kind, we believe, that has ever been published in this State, or in any of the States south of the Potomac." The work was continued three years, in numbers of sixty-four pages, once in two months. Mr. Rice contributed to this work very regularly: in 1805 three numbers on Infidelity; in 1806 another number on Infidelity; Vivax and Paulinus, a dialogue on the Bible doctrines; Jack Vincent, or the misery of not training children in the fear of the Lord; Vivax and Contumax, a dialogue on experimental religion; in 1807 an abridgment of Lord Littleton's observations on the conversion of St. Paul, originally drawn up for the young members of Major Morton's family, at Willington; and an account of Mr. Jervis, his family, and conversations held there, in four numbers. In this fancy sketch, after the model of the English Essayists, the character and opinions of his friends Major Morton, Archibald Alexander, and Conrad Speece, are portrayed in an agreeable manner, with great truthfulness. These two gentlemen also contributed to that work—Mr. Alexander four pieces, and Mr. Speece more numerously than any other contributor.

Another step towards a Theological Seminary was the bequest made by Andrew Baker, an elder in Buffalo congregation. At the meeting of Presbytery, at the time Mr. Rice was ordained, it was announced that Mr. Baker had, by will, made a donation to the Presbytery of £400, in three equal notes of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, due in 1803, 1804 and 1805; the interest arising on the first note to go to the education of poor and pious youth for the ministry; the second to the support of missionaries; the third for the distribution of religious books. Mr. Baker named the person to enjoy the advantage first—his nephew, Andrew Davidson, pursuing his education in Washington College. The charitable fund commenced about the year 1797 amounted, at this time, to 241*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* Other members of the church expressing increasing interest in the education of young men for the ministry, the Presbytery was encouraged to make still greater efforts to prepare a well-educated gospel ministry.

In the month of May, 1806, Mr. Rice made his first trial as agent for a Theological School. The committee appointed to manage the



business of providing a Library and Theological School, appointed him to the work of collection. He preached the first Sabbath of May at College, the second in Richmond, the third in Norfolk, and then returned to his charge. Mr. Maxwell says — "He was kindly received in Norfolk by the Rev. Mr. Grigsby;" — who had not yet joined Hanover Presbytery — "preached from Romans 1st, 16 — 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ;' and it was on this occasion I had the pleasure of seeing and hearing him for the first time. There was nothing, however, as far as I can recollect, that was very striking or peculiar in his appearance, or style of preaching, at that period of his life, and certainly nothing fine or fascinating in his manner. He stood up, in the pulpit, at his full height, and, being rather thinner than he afterwards became, appeared to be very tall. His voice, too, was a little hard and dry, and his action (what there was of it) was by no means graceful. His sermon, however, I thought, was full of solid and valuable matter, and it was heard, I believe, with interest by all who could appreciate its merit. Among the rest, I was myself favored with a call from him on this occasion, and had some little conversation with him, when I found that, though he was not very chatty, he could yet talk well and agreeably on the subject of letters and religion. His good nature, too, as it struck me, and his affectionate disposition, were quite apparent, and very pleasing; and it was impossible, I thought, to see and hear him without being satisfied that he was a good man, and much engaged in his work. He succeeded in raising about \$200, mostly in small sums of five and ten dollars."

He made but one other excursion during the year, and that included his attendance on the Presbytery in the Byrd congregation, in October, and was extended into Amherst County. In April, 1807, the Committee reported subscriptions to the amount of \$2500, of which \$1000 were paid in, and \$324 had been expended in books, viz., Walton's Polyglott Bible, 6 vols. folio; Castell's Lexicon, 2 vols. folio; Rabbi Joseph's Paraphrase, 1 vol. quarto; an Introduction to the Study of Oriental Languages, 1 vol. quarto; Chrysostom's Works, 8 vols. folio; Tertullian's Works, 1 vol. folio; and Calmet's Dictionary, 3 vols. quarto. This beginning gave great satisfaction, and the Presbytery began to think a theological school was certain; the library was begun, no mean beginning at that time, the funds for carrying on the work, though small, were yet begun also, and the person to be the Professor, in the eye and heart of all.

But there came a chill on all these warm and kind feelings, and incipient anticipations. Mr. Alexander had been recommended by his beloved friend, J. B. Smith, D. D., to the church of his charge in Philadelphia, as worthy of any position to which he should be called, or could be persuaded to accept. He had been talked about as a proper person to fill various posts; in New England they asked for him as Professor in a College; in Baltimore they wanted him as pastor of their church, the mother of all the Presbyterian churches in the city. The people of Philadelphia had talked with him at

different times, when visiting that city as Commissioner to the Assembly. The confinement and labor of College, superadded to the ministerial life he was resolved to lead, oppressed him. Mr. Rice knew he was, sometimes, meditating a change of position, as a necessary consequence of his exceeding labors. The other brethren were unwilling to hear or think about it, and wove around him all the bonds they could invent. Under date of the 8th of March, 1806, a lady writes of Mr. Rice — “He is seriously alarmed lest Mr. Alexander should remove to Philadelphia next fall, and he staid to talk with him about it. Oh, that the Lord in mercy to us and Virginia would not suffer him to forsake us, but would bless and prosper his labors amongst us, and convince him that he is now in the most useful station in which he can be placed.” But such was not the mind of the Lord. Having declined, in the spring, to listen to any propositions, according to the desire of his friend Rice, he received another in September in the midst of a season of insubordination and vexatious inattention to study among the College boys. Without consulting with any of his brethren, he visited Philadelphia, and accepted an unanimous invitation to Pine Street church. He was absent at the regular meeting of the Presbytery at the Bird, in Goochland, Oct. 3d, and procured a called meeting at the College, Nov. 13th, to grant his dismissal. The brethren grieving at the decision he had made on the subject, yielded in silence, and dissolved his connection with the churches and the Presbytery, and transferred his relations to Philadelphia.

On the 9th of June, 1807, the Rev. Moses Hoge, of Shepherds-town, Virginia, was unanimously chosen to succeed Mr. Alexander in the Presidency in the College. The members of Hanover Presbytery, in urging him to accept the office, laid before him their desires and prospects for a Theological Seminary; and their expectations that he should unite that office with the Presidency of the College. And this last consideration weighed decisively with him in accepting the Presidency of the College. The collection of funds went on slowly. In February, 1808, Mr. Rice writes to Mr. Alexander — “The embargo has completely stopped all collections for the Theological school. The last year was a time of such scarcity that many of the most judicious friends of the institution advised us to wait until the present crop should be sold before we urged the payment of the money. And now we must wait till the embargo is taken off. The whole success of the scheme depends upon the activity of one or two individuals. The whole energy of the Presbytery, I fear, will never be exerted in its favor. The truth is, as a body, we are deplorably deficient in public spirit.”

In April, an agreement was made with the Trustees of the College, by which the funds and other property of the Theological school should be held by the Trustees of the College, on condition — that the books transferred, and those thereafter purchased, — be used according to the direction of Presbytery — the funds to be safely vested, and the interest only to be used in the purchase of

books, the education of poor and pious youths for the gospel ministry, and the support of a teacher of Theology; "and when the funds, given by said Presbytery, shall be sufficient to employ a teacher of Theology, for the instruction of such poor and pious youths, their teacher shall be such person as shall be recommended by the Presbytery, and approved by the Trustees of the College." And in October, the Committee on the Library and School, appointed in 1806, reported — "that on this recommendation the Rev. Moses Hoge had been elected by the Trustees of Hampden Sidney College, teacher of Theology in the Theological school."

In 1807, Mr. Alexander was Moderator of the Assembly. According to custom he opened the Assembly of 1808. From the text — "Seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church," he set forth the advantage of training young men, preparing for the gospel ministry, in a well arranged theological school. In 1809, an overture came up from the Presbytery of Philadelphia—"for the establishment of a theological school." The question sent down to the Presbyteries, was, Should there be one school for the whole church?—or should there be two in places to accommodate North and South?—or should there be a school in each Synod? In 1810, the votes were, 10 Presbyteries were for one school, 10 for Synodical schools, 6 for none at present, and some sent no report. The Assembly proceeded to establish *one*. This was located in Princeton, and in 1812, the prime mover in the matter, Mr. Alexander, was chosen Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology. All the advantages he had anticipated from a seminary, were, before his death, more than realized in this. He saw also, in Prince Edward, an institution rising, under his friends, Hoge and Rice, such as had never entered their imaginings, when the ministers of Hanover collected their few books, and planned their extensive course of study, and called the attention of the church.

The opening of the Assembly, of 1810, devolved upon Drury Lacy. Not finding it convenient to attend, he prevailed upon his neighbor, Mr. Rice, a delegate from Hanover Presbytery, to be his proxy. The sermon delivered on the occasion,—says Dr. Alexander to Mr. Maxwell,—“proved to be a most seasonable one, for the two parties in the Presbyterian Church, at that time, seemed ready to come to an open rupture. The discourse itself contained nothing very striking or remarkable; but it was delivered with so much of the spirit of meek benevolence, and breathed so entirely the love of peace, that it operated as oil upon the troubled waters. From this time Mr. Rice became a favorite with the public, and the reputation he now acquired was never forfeited, but continued to increase as long as he lived.” Soon after his return from that Assembly, he writes to his friend Alexander—“I feel myself, since my last journey, less tied to the spot on which I live, than I did before; or rather, I feel more ready to go wherever the providence of God may open a door for greater usefulness, in the church, than appears to be open before me here. I am now quite reconciled to your living in Philadelphia. I

am zealously engaged in the study of Hebrew this summer. I am determined to master it if possible. Would I could get a Syriac New Testament, such as yours." By means of his friend Alexander, he obtained Mill, Wetstein, Trommius, the Syriac New Testament, and other desired books. We are ready to wonder what hours he found for study, with his school, and his extensive charge. It would seem almost impossible that he should become intimate with books, were his library ever so large. His thirst for knowledge was excited by his visit to Philadelphia. And the rare opportunities for study, possessed by those brethren, whose congregations sustained them, by a competent salary, suggested the first thought that, *he could ever leave the place of his labor*. Clinging to his native State, he looked around to find a place in the "Ancient Dominion," where he might have full liberty to preach, and to study in preparation for it, as he thought became a minister. But he commenced a new, vigorous, and extensive study, in the place where he was, in the midst of labors most abundant.

An anecdote related by Dr. William Morton, illustrates the power of his example upon Drury Lacy. "Having been his pupil for several years, and well knowing his habits, (Mr. Lacy's,) I am prepared to understand why he sometimes so signally failed. When I was his pupil, I think he scarcely read fifty pages in a year, besides in his Bible and school books. As I was a small boy, and his wife's nephew, he concealed nothing from me, indeed he concealed from nobody. I knew his preparation for preaching. It consisted in choosing his text, and turning over the leaves of Brown's Concordance for a little while; he would then walk about his yard or house in profound, and sometimes apparently rapturous contemplation, and draw things, new and old, from his capacious and noble mind. He seemed to have no idea of the business of a literary man; but to have fallen into the error then, and now, too common, that a man is educated, upon getting through the college course. I do not believe he ever read the newspapers. With all his fine powers, he must have totally failed, but for his habit of deep meditation, and his glorious moral talents,—worth far more than all others,—which ranked him eminently among the children of nature and of God. Not many years before his death, which took place, Dec. 6th, 1815, in his frank, open manner, he asked me if I did not think he had improved in preaching within the last five years. I answered, I thought his recent sermons immeasurably surpassed his former ones. Well, says he, I will tell you how it has occurred. I owe it all to Jack Rice. Do you think when he first came before the world, as a preacher and writer, I was not mean enough to feel rivalry, and to envy him, on account of the interest which he excited. But I was deeply mortified when I caught myself at it, and concluded I had much better imitate his laborious efforts to do good, than envy his success. I went to work, and for five years have been at hard study,—for me;—think I am well rewarded; thank and love Jack Rice, and wonder how I could have spent my early life with so little study.

This venerable man was removed from earth, just when he began to develop uncommon powers, which had long lain dormant, and when he appeared to me to be more rapidly improving than any young man I ever knew. I think the grade of intellectual powers allotted to him has been placed too low."

Mr. Lacy made some short visits to the city of Richmond, and preached to those citizens, who felt in some degree, the importance of regular ministrations in the Presbyterian mode, in the business part of the city. His thrilling appeals vibrated the hearts of men religiously educated in another country, and touched the feelings of those who had, in this, grown up under pious instruction. Other preachers visited them, and encouraged the building of a house of worship near Rockett's. Mr. Rice, on a missionary excursion, visited the city. In 1810 they began to talk about him as a proper person to preach stately in Richmond. In 1811 propositions were made to him for his removal to the city. A classical school, and a subscription for ministerial services were proposed; from these conjoined, it was supposed he would receive an ample support for his family. Mr. Rice decided that the duties devolving upon a minister in Richmond, especially at that juncture, would require the time and talents of a well furnished man, wholly devoted to the work of preaching the gospel. If necessity were laid upon him to teach school in conjunction with his ministerial duties, he preferred the situation in Charlotte. The proposition for removal was renewed in terms he thought proper to accept; and he hastened to bring all his engagements to a close in readiness for his removal.

Making preparations to remove to Richmond, Mr. Rice looked around upon his Presbytery with love, encouragement and deep solemnity. Changing, passing away, renewing, were seen on every hand, and seemed to forbid the idea of having the semblance of rest here on earth. Since he had entered upon the ministry, death had done its work. Waddell, the eloquent, had fallen asleep, Sept. 7th, 1806; M'Robert, the ardent minister, Oct. 8th, 1807; Irwin, the polite and classic, April 7th, 1809; Tompkins, received from the Baptist Church, went down to the grave in the prime of life, July 20th, 1806; Lumpkin, a young man of great promise, licensed in 1808, suddenly terminated his course while preparations were making for his ordination at D. S., Albemarle; and Grigsby, the fellow-student and missionary with Alexander, ceased from his warnings and exhortations in Norfolk, Oct. 6th, 1810. Three old, and three young ministers had ended their labors. Some had left the bounds of the Presbytery, called to other positions in the church. Calhoon had gone to the valley, to be pastor of Staunton and Brown's Meeting-House, May, 1805; there he labored, and found his grave in advanced years; Alexander had left the college November, 1806, for Philadelphia; Todd had gone from the congregations of his father in Goochland and Louisa, to Kentucky. Nine had gone from the little band of laborers with whom he had associated.

There had also been additions. Speece had returned from Balti-

more Presbytery, Oct., 1805; Dr. Hoge had succeeded to the presidency of the college, Oct., 1807; Mr. Read had withdrawn from the Republican Methodists, and sought connexion with the friends of his youth, Sept., 1809; Legrand, the generous and kind, had removed from Cedar Creek and Opecquon, in Frederick, and was living in Charlotte; W. S. Reid, a candidate from Winchester Presbytery, had presided over the college, and was pastor of Concord, April, 1810; John Hendren, from Lexington Presbytery, was made pastor in Amherst, Oct., 1810; J. D. Logan over Providence and Bird, in 1811; and Kennon, an evangelist, for Brunswick, only too short-lived.

Of those that were members when he first was united to the Presbytery, there remained Mitchel, in Bedford, a county dear to Rice as his birth-place; Mitchel, hale, active and of a missionary spirit, in advancing years; Turner, the colleague of Mitchel, growing more charming in his resistless eloquence; Lacy, the noble, the simple-hearted, the trumpet-tongued; and Lyle, the staid, the classic, the wise counsellor; Robinson, the ardent, the impassioned, in Albemarle. These five, with himself and the seven that had come in, formed the Presbytery of thirteen. His removal of his pastoral connexions to Richmond did not affect his Presbyterial relations.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### WILLIAM HILL IN WINCHESTER, 1800-1818

WINCHESTER, from being a small village for the convenience of the frontier settlements, in the Valley of Virginia, soon arose to be a town of note by its relative position and inherent advantages. The Scotch-Irish and the German emigrants made up the population, and became the mechanics and merchants for a large and beautiful country. For a long time the German population predominated. The Irish Presbyterian families were connected with the Opecquon Church, situated about three miles south from the village. For their special advantage Mr. Legrand, soon after his removal to the valley, began to hold religious services in the village. As the congregation increased, and the number of families on the north and east of the village wishing to attend church there were multiplied, a stone meeting-house was built in the eastern part of the town, on the ridge, ornamented with two other church buildings, for the use of the German population.

The congregation required more service than could be given by the pastor of Cedar Creek and Opecquon, unless the congregations should be greatly curtailed in their privileges. The supply of Winchester became a fruitful source of difficulty. Should Mr. Legrand

appropriate every other Sabbath to the village, or should some other minister be sought for the congregation there in conjunction with some adjoining neighborhood on the north? The difficulties in the way of a harmonious arrangement seemed to increase by discussion. Differences in religious opinions were developed; some adhered to Mr. Legrand's sentiments on the subject of revival and experimental religion; and some thought he was approaching enthusiasm, if not actually a devotee. A man by the name of Caldwell visited Winchester. Orthodox in his creed, popular in his pulpit address, gentlemanly in his manners, and pleasant in his intercourse with his fellow-men, he soon had a strong party in his favor. His professed views of experimental religion differed somewhat from the standard raised by Legrand. The adherents of these two men suffered themselves to be hurried to extremes, and to manifest tempers not in accordance with their own professions.

In the midst of the commotions, and after unsuccessful efforts by the Presbytery to quiet the storm, a proposition was made, that both parties should drop their favorites, and all their disputes, and unite in a call to Mr. Hill. To the unexpected request from the congregation to make them a visit, with a view to settlement, Mr. Hill spent a few days in Winchester, and made a decision he supposed final, and against himself, that he would come on one condition, that of entire unanimity in the call. To his surprise, such an invitation was sent after him; and he felt himself under obligations to give a favorable answer. In a short time he removed his family, and in 1800 commenced his residence in Winchester. With some intervals, Winchester was his place of residence for more than half a century. In the passage of these years he experienced the full variety of ministerial life, its excitements, its reverses, its successes, its sorrows and its joys. In Winchester was a field, unchosen, selected for him, appropriate for his energy, enterprise and zeal and pulpit powers. He could not have desired a better. Here too was a crucible to refine the imperfections he so bitterly lamented; he must master his fiery spirit or be an unhappy man. He knew that he that ruleth himself is greater than he that taketh a city; and that he, that could govern a city, must first govern himself. There were families in his charge that would love him for his occasional propensity to merriment and social humor; and there were others that would delight in the extreme of his passionate excitements on religion, for they loved to revel on the confines of enthusiasm. There were some that admired his bold spirit, which, like Peter, would meet with the sword him that came with the sword; and others were charmed with the spirit with which he could bow to the humble and lowly, and the outcast in their distress. All appreciated his pulpit performances. His sermons came warm from his heart and warmed every one that heard. His congregation were all united in him, some admiring him for his real excellencies, and some for the very things over which he in private mourned.

This position had advantages and disadvantages. The congrega-

tion, finding their principal bond of union in their attachment to their pastor, undesignedly, and yet necessarily, devolved a great amount of labor upon Mr. Hill. No one else might take the lead; all others were too high, or too low, too hot, or too cold, too certainly wrong in something for the rest to follow. Wo to the unhappy wight that rose in rebellion; he was levelled with a blow, and all rejoiced in his fall. If there be enjoyment in power, in all-prevailing influence, Mr. Hill had it in Winchester, for many years, as he went out and came in before his people. He was the foremost man in religious actions, in the estimation of his charge, and stood second to no one among the other denominations. Like Baxter, he left no memoranda of his labors; and there are no journals, or diaries, or letters, that have come to light, from which might be gathered the delicate shadings of the picture of his public or domestic life for the first fifteen or sixteen years of his residence in Winchester. Till about the close of this period he did not give all his Sabbaths to the village. The increase of the congregation in town, and the settlement of other ministers that occupied his old places of preaching, as Mr. Kennon at Berryville, and Mr. Matthews in Jefferson County, induced Mr. Hill to listen to the wishes of the people and confine his labors on the Sabbath to Winchester.

He was much employed in classical and female schools. At first he was united with that much loved man, Christian Streit of the Lutheran Church, in a large classical school. Then for a time with Mrs. Nichols in a female school. And finally for a series of years in conducting a large female school on his single responsibility. His success in teaching was great. Incidents illustrating his skill in discipline, and his power to impress great truths upon the hearts and memories of his pupils, might be gathered to fill a volume. The majority of his pupils have passed away from this world of trial, and have met their teacher before the throne of Him, who judges righteously and measures the due reward. There was a time when Mr. Hill would meet a joyous welcome, in hundreds of families, in memory of school days, in which he acted the most conspicuous part, and played it too well ever to be forgotten.

The lovely things in Mr. Hill's character, his manly generosity, his sociability, his warmth of friendship, and his admiration of the great and the good, in the past and the present — were fully appreciated in Winchester, accompanied as they were with strict attention to his duties as a minister. He passed through that gloomy period in the history of the country, when infidelity claimed to be the guardian of Liberty. Youth were taught to vindicate their independence by declining the authority of the Bible, and their manliness by refusing to bow their conscience to the word of God. He saw the time, when he could look over Winchester, and not find one young man known to bow the knee in prayer to God. He saw the time, when among the professional and educated men, he knew of but one, who held to the faith of his pious ancestry. He saw the time when silence, on the subject of experimental religion according



to his own creed, reigned in the polished circles, or Unitarianism struggled for entrance. "Have you seen this," said a Judge who afterwards died firm in the faith — "have you seen this?" referring to a tract on Unitarianism — "it is very clever;" — "rather hard to beat." At this time of sadness, his pulpit was entered by some wild and foolish boys, on a wager laid to provoke each other's bravery, and the Bible sadly mutilated, — and Judge White, in warning his own young son, uttered the memorable words, "Those young men can never prosper — no man that openly insults the Bible in a Christian community will ever prosper;" one of the Judge's abiding decisions.

In this period, and amid those things, in a dispute on the subject whether the Presbyterian Church did not desire the aid of the law, for her advantage, in obtaining salaries for her ministers, the insinuation of his want of courage was made, in the assertion, — that Mr. Hill's coat protected him. "Gentlemen need not trouble themselves about my coat," was his quick reply; and that reply gained him the deference of a large circle in Frederick County. "The parson has pluck, — I wonder if he would fight?" — "If you wish to know what he will do, assault him." Undoubtedly in some cases he would have fought manfully if attacked; and in others he would have folded his arms upon his breast. His resistance depended on many circumstances, other than his bravery.

He believed in revivals. He came into the church in the midst of a memorable one. He desired revivals, as he believed the church would die without them. For a series of years he was not blessed with anything that might be called a revival in Winchester. The Rev. Daniel Baker, D. D., now so universally known in the church, while preparing for the ministry, assisted Mr. Hill in his school. His wonderful talent to interest people on the subject of religion, first showed itself in Winchester, when Mr. Hill was absent transacting some business east of the Ridge, and left Mr. Baker to conduct religious meetings in the evenings, with those who might choose to attend. On his return, Mr. Hill found a great many young people enquiring what they should do to be saved. And in due time a goodly number were gathered into the church of Christ. From this time onward, revivals of a greater or less extent were enjoyed by his congregation while he continued their pastor. His prudence, discretion, and firmness, were fully exercised in conducting these revivals. The tendency to enthusiasm on the one hand, and formality on the other, hedged him in to a very narrow path. If he should give himself up, as he desired, like Legrand, and as he had done in his youthful days, to the full influence of religious excitement, he might carry some too far, and might repel others; should he greatly restrain himself, he might dishearten the godly and quench the smoking flax, and give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. In all the awakenings or revivals with which his congregation was visited, Mr. Hill, according to the habit of his early life in Cumberland, Prince Edward, and Charlotte, cheerfully united with

preachers and people of other denominations in religious exercises, expressing an earnest desire that the blessing might spread.

Mr. Hill's co-presbyters at the time of his early residence in Winchester were, Nash Legrand, Moses Hoge, William Williamson, and John Lyle. These were all good men and true to their Lord. Mr. Legrand could not be passed by in the first series of Sketches of Virginia.

WILLIAM WILLIAMSON was a Scotchman, and obtained his literary education in his native land. Upon application of the gentlemen of Dr. Waddell's congregation, in Lancaster County, for a teacher, he came to America and taught in the families of the Gordons and others for a series of years. Becoming acquainted, on a visit to the Valley, with Mr. Hill and others, he was introduced to Presbytery, and passing his trials with honor, was licensed on the 12th of October, 1792, and to meet the demands of the churches he was ordained in 1793. He for a time resided near Gordonsville, in the neighborhood of Dr. Waddell in his blindness, and preached in the adjoining congregations. Domestic afflictions induced him to remove to the valley of the Shenandoah, that he might be near his child deprived of its young and beautiful mother, and under the care of its grandmother. He took his position in Warren County, near Front Royal, and his charge bordered to the south and west, on the congregations of Legrand. A man of great bodily activity, and greater endurance, of a warm heart and vigorous mind, he preached with fervor and hopeful success. He thought little of the labor "of riding forty miles a day and preaching once or twice." In a few years he was induced to remove to Loudon County, to set up a classical school near Middleburg, and to preach in the counties of Loudon and Fauquier, whenever he might find opportunity. Sustaining himself with a numerous family by the proceeds of his school, and the contributions of the congregations to which he preached, he gathered churches in those two counties, and continued active and laborious in the cause of the gospel till about his eightieth year. Infirmity compelled him to put off the harness.

With no great thrilling events in his life, beyond ordinary preachers, his course abounded with those interesting events and providences that diversify and cheer the minister's path, try his heart, and build him up in the faith. In his school he was very successful, training up some eminent men in political, civil, and military life. In his ministry God gave him success in many trying circumstances, and enabled him to cast the seeds of life widely over a country, where they took root and brought forth fruit to eternal life. From his residence near Middleburg, a radius of some forty miles, having the Blue Ridge for its base, sweeping round, would embrace the general field of his labor; and all around in this region were people to bless God for his ministry, though all that were benefited by his labors did not ultimately belong to his church.

He was always considered a strong man, either in the pulpit or

the church judicatories. He understood and believed, and defended the Presbyterian creed. He baptized the little infant of a mother that had died in the faith; and lived to see that baptized child the first to make a profession of faith, in a neighborhood where the means of grace were hardly known. He mingled argument and exhortation in his sermons with peculiar facility. His face naturally stern, became severe in his age, except when the excitement of some great truth, or some benevolent effort, lighted it up with vivacity and kindness. The thoughtless and gay called him—"old Sour;" and yet one of them, probably the very one that gave the name, often said—"I do believe if I could have old Sour to live near me, he would get me into heaven; he sets his face like a flint, and then if he don't give it to us; if I had him to live near me, I do believe he would get me into heaven." The ablest men in the community that listened to Mr. Williamson, and most of them did, felt that he, in point of intellect and information, was their peer.

He had not time to write his sermons. He could arrange and remember his arrangement. His mind acted both with readiness and vigor. His voice was strong, his enunciation bold, and under excitement his action was vehement. His sermons were never dull—often overpowering. On the text from Elijah's address, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve"—from which he often preached—he was overwhelming. A man might well have heard that sermon more than once, and not feel his interest abate. The charge, "Go not from this door till you have made your choice!" would thrill the stoutest heart. In argument, he excelled all men in his Presbytery; in strength of style and expression, he had no superior. After a life of great usefulness, he died calmly in his eighty-fourth year. He never sought prominence, and was peculiarly fond of domestic life. His greatest ambition appears to have been usefulness in the ministry.

MOSES HOGE, the nearest neighbor of Mr. Hill, while residing in Charlestown, held his position at the lower end of the valley, till about the year 1807, and has a full record in other pages of these series.

JOHN LYLE, that preached in Hampshire County, was born in Rockbridge County. He was a soldier in the expedition to Point Pleasant, and took part in the battle with the Shawanees. He commenced preparation for the ministry late in life, was taken under the care of Presbytery July 30th, 1791, and completed his studies at Liberty Hall, under Mr. Graham. He pursued his theological studies with Archibald Alexander, and for a time was his only companion; Grigsby and Matthew Lyle, and Poage and Campbell, were afterwards added. His trials were passed, part of them at the same time with Mr. Alexander and his fellow-students. He was licensed at New Monmouth April 29th, 1791. Under the direction of the commission of the Virginia Synod, to whose care he was recom-

mended by Presbytery, his appointment bearing date October 6th, 1791, at Winchester, he travelled "on the waters of the Potomac, Jackson's River, Green Brier and Roanoke, until our next meeting." Being pleased with the prospects in Hampshire County, he listened to the invitation from the residents on Patterson's Creek and the Potomac, and took his residence among them. On Saturday, the 30th of November, 1793, he was ordained in Springfield, one of his preaching places, and his permanent residence till his death. A Mr. Campbell, from Pennsylvania, preached the ordination sermon. Messrs. Hoge and Legrand were present, and took part in the communion and in the preaching, which was continued for some days with much interest.

Mr. Lyle had a wide range through the mountains of Hampshire, and along the water courses, and had seals of his ministry scattered throughout the county. For some years he taught a school, in Springfield, of great celebrity. He was married to a sister of Rev. Joseph Glass, and grand-daughter of the emigrant from Ireland, Samuel Glass, whose monument stands in Opecquon burying-ground, near Winchester, and whose descendants are numerous in Virginia, Kentucky and Indiana. Mr. Lyle was called from his labors in 1807, leaving a widow and a large family of young children, and lies buried in Springfield. The family, in a few years, were removed to Kentucky; and his sons have not been unknown in the church.

For a few years, these laborious men went on, each in his course, assisting each other, spending and being spent. First, the health of Mr. Legrand began to fail; his domestic afflictions, from sickness and death, and his great labors as a minister, were too much for his strength. He sought relief in vain, in various journeyings in Virginia, and in Kentucky, on a visit to that numerous company of emigrants from his charge, that was spreading out in that flourishing State, and finally resigned his charge, and removed to Hanover Presbytery. Moses Hoge listened to the invitation from Hampden Sidney College, and in the year 1807 removed from Shepherdstown. William Williamson, about this time, removed to Loudon County, but was still a member of Winchester Presbytery. Mr. Hill now stood first in the Presbytery as a popular preacher. Young men came in to occupy the churches. Joseph Glass settled at Gerardstown, Berkeley County; Mr. Samuel B. Wilson commenced his labors in Fredericksburg; Mr. Mines in Leesburg; John Matthews, afterwards Professor of Theology at New Albany, removed from North Carolina to Berkeley County; and Mr. James Black took the places in Hampshire vacated by the death of John Lyle, and John B. Hoge went to Martinsburg. These men worked in harmony for a series of years, and enjoyed a comforting success in their ministry.

In looking over the congregation in Winchester, in the year 1817, the prospects were more pleasing than at any previous period. Old and fierce prejudices had been, in part, buried in the grave, and in

part were weakening with age, and in part yielding to the genial influence of gospel benevolence. The late additions to the church were full of promise; the congregation had appropriated the entire services of their pastor. Winchester was a seat of the Chancery Court; and in and around her were gathered a constellation of legal abilities, not surpassed by the talents and acquirements of the capital of the State. Along the western hills that skirt the town, were seated Judges White, Holmes and Carr; and here were the two pre-eminent clerks, Lee and Tidball; and the members of the bar, the two brothers Magill, and Tucker and Powell, each eminent in their profession and their social relations; and then the two leading physicians, Baldwin and Conrad. The families of all these were occasional hearers, a part were connected with the congregation, and some of the members adorned the church with which they were connected.

Mr. Hill encouraged his congregation to take part in elevating his Alma Mater, under the auspices of Dr. Hoge, and to assist Dr. Rice in founding the Union Theological Seminary, whose interests, as director, he carefully watched over for years. In the American Bible Society and its auxiliary, or rather one of its forming bodies, the Frederick County Bible Society, the Colonization Society, the Tract Society, and the Foreign Missionary Society, he took an active part, being familiar with them from the beginning, and aiding in their formation. In the education of young men for the ministry, he was forward of most men of his day. The example of his early patroness, Mrs. Read, afterwards Legrand, the wife and widow of two of his early friends, was always before him; and the memory of the benevolent efforts of his beloved instructor, Smith, in leading young men into the ministry, was always exciting him; and the calls for ministerial services, that came upon him from every side, urged him on, and he sought out proper persons to be educated for the ministry: and if they were poor, he gathered funds for their support. Many are dead, and many are living, whose progress to the ministry was aided by his counsels and his purse.

Mr. Hill was never fond of close logical discussion of doctrines in the pulpit, unless it were in relation to the Divinity and advocacy of Christ. And, even about these, he thought the plain, full announcement, with illustrations, sufficient. He declined to press very far, or very frequently, the doctrines of election, and the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness. He thought that the subjects of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and repentance towards God, urged in gospel terms, and with illustrations, together with the promises and warnings to promote holy living, were better calculated to do good than the stronger and more abstruse doctrines of the Bible. He believed the sinner's call is from God--that God's spirit gives life to the sinner's soul in a way not explained in Scripture; but truly the spirit acts:--that God had multitudes of agents to influence men, but the giving spiritual life was his own work. He saw, he felt, he deplored, the deep depravity of the

human heart; and had no hope that it could be purified but by the spirit of God and the blood of Christ.

One intimate with his family in the summer of 1818, thus describes him when in the height of his influence and the full tide of domestic enjoyments. "Mr. Hill excited my admiration, and Mrs. Hill my love. He had the most fire and ardor by constitution, she the most perseverance. He possessed the keenest sagacity, she the most common sense; he the most discernment, she the most prudence; he had the best knowledge of human nature, she made the best use of what she had; his piety was most striking, hers the most constant; his zeal like a flame sometimes raging, sometimes dying away, hers like the steady flame on the altar of the tabernacle. In the family both were in their peculiar way charming; in conversation he was very spirited, often provoking a smile and laughter, quick in repartee and full of anecdote, she gentle, cheerful, sociable, and winning in her manners. It seemed impossible to live with them and not love them.

"Mr. Hill preached without notes. His words might be printed, but his tones could not. However good his sermon in the delivery, it would appear less impressive in print. He stormed the soul through the passions, and overawed the judgment by the force of his appeals. He never excelled in argument made up of a long train of consecutive particulars. His arguments were short and rapid. His views of things were vivid, though sometimes not distinct; his gush of feeling overwhelming, though not always entirely free from modifying circumstances. When awaked by some important subject, by some powerful impulsive circumstance, he was irresistible in his address; and however divided the audience might be at first, there was likely to be but one sentiment in the conclusion. In public bodies and in private circles, by his powerful appeals to the strong passions, by his wit and humor, by his confident and sometimes his persuasively yielding manner, Mr. Hill would make his hearers feel that what was uttered by him was the voice of their own heart and judgment, perhaps in sweeter terms than they had ever before heard. Sometimes he would bear down, with that unexpected force of manner, and voice, and sentiment, that would sweep away doubts and arguments; and confound and alarm by his impetuosity, and the vividness of his caricature. The hearer would seem to himself to have got new views of the subject, and be ashamed to express anything to the contrary."

"Mr. Hill's influence this summer was at its height; and its extent can hardly be measured. It reached every congregation in Presbytery, every minister, and multitudes of persons scattered over the State; and in Synod his influence was not small." At this time Mr. Hill enjoyed as much domestic happiness as falls to the lot of mortals. He had reared two daughters, a son and perhaps a daughter had passed away in infancy. The two daughters were reproductions of their parents, the one with the characteristics of the father, and the other of the mother. One was married and lived in Winchester;

the other remained at home. A large circle of acquaintances fully believed that the almost doting fondness of the parents for that daughter was not misplaced. In the bloom and beauty of maidenhood, her cheerful spirit was refined by the deep sense of religion she cherished, from the time of the revival, under the teaching of Mr. Baker. Her winning manners more surely captivating by the perceptible cast of sedateness her religion wrought into her bearing; and her cheerful simplicity found its way to the strong hold of the affections. The parents rejoiced in their child, their earthly treasure, the gift of God, the hopeful child of Christ."

"They all sang with spirit; Mr. Hill with the silver trumpet's voice, and Mrs. Hill and Elizabeth with sweetness and tenderness. Newton's Hymns were sometimes sung, in that domestic circle, in tones and manner to have delighted that old saint himself. The social worship of morning and evening was one of the exquisite charms of the family. The hymn — "Jesus, let thy pitying eye call back a wandering sheep," sung by the three, in the twilight of a summer's evening, opened the fountain of tears in the distressed heart of one that now lives and preaches the gospel of Christ."

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

JOHN H. RICE, D. D. — HIS RESIDENCE IN RICHMOND.

MR. RICE removed from Charlotte to the capital of the State in May, 1812. Richmond was then in the transition state, passing from the village-like separation of its parts to the compactness of a city. Shockoe hill was slowly descending, and Rockets coming up, to meet at the market. Main street was seeking the removal of the precipitous bank, that limited her extension beyond where the American House now stands. Council Chamber hill was condemned to be dissevered; and the ravines and small pines on Capitol hill, and the famous "frog pond" on Shockoe were seeing their last days. Trade and traffic were carried on at Rockets, around the market, and between the Dock and the Basin, then in a state of formation.

The merchants and shipmasters and mechanics lived in and around the places of business; and around them that mixed company that assembles at places of trade. The law, and politics, and fashion, and wealth, were seated on the eminences overlooking the river, circling round from Gamble's hill, along Shochoe, Council Chamber and Church, to Richmond hill, that once aspired to be the site of the city. Manchester, on the hills, on the southern side of the river, in trade, and wealth, and enterprise, rivalled the city on the northern banks, with expectation to form an essential part of the great emporium around the falls. Richmond had become the

capital of the State simply from the advantage of her position. At the time of the selection, many villages along the rivers, below the head of tide water, now in ruins, were her superior in traffic. Wealth and fashion followed politics, and clustered around the new capital, as they had done, from the infancy of the Ancient Dominion, at Williamsburg; and the trade of the country, following the current of feeling, forsook the ancient marts and seated itself at the falls of the James. The enterprise of the merchant, foremost in laying the foundation of cities, came here last, and dug away the hills, filled the ravines, paved the streets, bridged the waters; and finally, stretching out into the plains and building princely palaces beyond the hills, encircled the fashion and splendor of the Old Dominion, and made the city one in refinement and enterprise. The residences of merchants and shipmasters in 1812, became, in forty years, the warehouses of the increasing city.

Some of these enterprising men had been trained religiously in Ireland and Scotland, and some had grown up under the successors of Davies. In their early engagements in Richmond, in the strife for competence and for wealth, the obligations and blessings of the gospel were in a measure forgotten. With prosperity in business, however, the thoughts of other days and other things came up in sad remembrance. The claims of religion, never denied, were now acknowledged, and men began to think of preparation for a better world. The thoughts of many hearts slowly found expression; and men that could not frame their words to say to their neighbors—“Unless a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God,” could yet say, we ought to have a place of public worship, and a regular minister of the gospel near our families and in the midst of our business.

The Synod of Virginia, from time to time, sent missionaries to the scattered Presbyterian families in the counties near the city, and these sometimes visited the city and preached. The Rev. John D. Blair, nephew of the famous Samuel Blair, of Fogg's Manor, was pastor of the church in Hanover, and residing on Shockoe hill, preached once in two weeks in the capitol, and sustained himself by teaching a classical school. Mr. Buchannan, an Episcopal clergyman, occupied the capital the other Sabbaths in alternation. Those on the hills, inclined to Presbyterianism or Episcopacy, attended worship under the ministrations of these two gentlemen. There was no Presbyterian church building in the city, and the Episcopal church on Richmond hill was seldom occupied. The audiences at the capitol were not large; few came up from the business parts of the city; the fashion and the trade had not begun to go to the house of God together.

The Rev. Drury Lacy, on a visit to the city of a few days, made a deep impression by his powerful sermons. His heart was moved in him, like Paul's at Athens. The people asked for a minister, and Mr. Lacy directed their attention to Mr. Rice. In 1811, Jesse H. Turner, a missionary of Synod, son of James Turner, of Bedford,



preached in the city about three months, with great acceptance. The people in Petersburg, in a similar condition with those in the business part of Richmond, were greatly interested in a son of Mr. Graham, of Lexington, and mourned his early death. Clement Read and his son-in-law, Charles Kennon, had made circuits through the counties of Lunenburg, Amelia, Nottaway, Dinwiddie, and Brunswick, preaching the gospel with great effect. There was a call for Presbyterian ministers from Petersburg to the Roanoke, and from Richmond to the Blue Ridge.

While negotiations were in progress to procure the removal of Mr. Rice to Richmond, an event occurred, on the night of the 26th of December, 1811, that thrilled all hearts in the land with unutterable sympathy—the burning of the theatre in Richmond, with the sudden destruction of much of the loveliness and intelligence of the land. The families seated on the hills were a polished, refined, sociable, pleasure-loving community, gathered from the different counties, because, from time immemorial, the wealth, and fashion, and beauty of Virginia had assembled at the capital, particularly at the time of the sessions of the General Assembly. The theatre was one, and but one, of their occasional enjoyments, and not the one of the highest refinement. An old-fashioned Virginia dining party, select in its company, unlimited in its elegant preparations, was unbounded in its refined indulgence of the appetite, and the delicate attentions of social intercourse. Here was the display of taste in dress, elegance in manners, powers of conversation, and every accomplishment that adorns society. The theatre was a promiscuous gathering for a few hours, less attractive than the dining or dancing party, but one of the round of pleasures that occupied the time of the fashionable and the wealthy. It did not control society; it was one of the luxuries of the season, that gave variety to the succession of pleasures.

On that fatal night, the benefit of an admired actor enlisted the feelings of the community. Mr. Smith Governor of the State, Venable president of the Bank of Virginia, Botts an eminent lawyer, members of the Assembly, matronly ladies, fascinating belles, blooming girls, officers of the army and navy, men and youth from the city and the country, were collected in one splendid group, such as a theatre seldom sees. Alas, that such a gathering should be for death! a most terrible death! An order was given about the light. The boy that held the strings objected—"that it would set the scenery on fire." The order was repeated. The boy obeyed. And immediately the theatre was in flames. From that moment every occurrence that can be gathered from the recollection of the frantic beholders, and the bewildered memories of those rescued from the flames, forms a part of the great drama of one act, ending so speedily in the immolation of seventy-two individuals, the flower of Richmond and the State. What a morning dawned on the 27th of December! Families knew sadly their bereavement, but in the mass of human cinders could not distinguish their dead. Of necessity there was a

common burial. The mourning was universal. Fortuity was denied. God's providence was acknowledged in the concurrence of circumstances preceding the catastrophe.

The gallantry, and heroism, and blind fatality of that suffering night have never been surpassed. And never perhaps has the sudden destruction of men, women, and children, in one overwhelming ruin, produced a greater moral effect. All classes of community bowed down before the Lord. Christians were moved to efforts of kindness and love, that the gospel might be preached abundantly in Richmond. In the vigorous exertions made for the spiritual welfare of this busy, pleasure-loving, but now serious city, all Christian denominations took a part. The voice of God was sounding loud,—“Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, and call ye upon him while he is near,”—and the people were answering—“Thy face, Lord, will we seek.” The city had been thoughtless, and without God, but in her pleasure and her trade she had not become degraded.

Of this event, Mr. Rice writes to Mr. Judith Randolph, Jan. 1st, “I heard the melancholy event Sabbath, just as I was going into the Court-House to preach. It made such an impression on my mind that I could not resist the impulse to lay aside the text on which I intended to preach, and to deliver an extempore discourse, from Isaiah 40th, and 6th,—‘And the voice said, Cry. And he said, what shall I cry? All flesh is grass.’ Happy would it be for us could we constantly realize this, and live as if every year and every day were to be our last.”

Again, on the 17th, to the same—“You will be surprised to hear that Mr. Lyle and I expect to have the pleasure of taking breakfast with you next Tuesday morning, on our way to Richmond. Some of my friends there have so earnestly solicited me to go down since the late awful visitation of Providence on that place, that I had not the heart to refuse, I am most anxious that so much distress should not be suffered in vain. If my friends there think that my poor labors will probably be useful in this way, ought I not to go at their call, and depend on the promised aid of the Spirit? I will mention to you in confidence, that the people of Richmond, who had applied to me to remove to that place, persevere in their application, and are resolved to carry their request to Presbytery; and I have informed them that, if the Presbytery should advise my removal, that I will go.”

A call was handed in to Presbytery at Red Oak, Brunswick, March 13, 1812. Mr. Rice earnestly desired the opinion of the brethren on his removal. The Presbytery declined giving any advice, and left Mr. Rice to choose between his position in Charlotte and a residence in Richmond. On the next day he declared his acceptance; and the pastoral relation with the church of Cub Creek was dissolved. On the 4th Sabbath of April he preached his farewell sermon to his friends in Charlotte, from the words of Paul, Acts 20th, 23d—“And now, Brethren, I commend you to God, and the word of his grace.” As he left the pulpit, the congregation crowded

round him weeping. The colored people waited for him at the door, bathed his hands in tears, and with many exclamations of attachment and sorrow, bid him farewell. Some followed him along the road, unwilling to take their eyes from their preacher, though departing.

On Friday before the 2d Sabbath of May, he reached Richmond, and was entertained by Mr. Wm. S. Smith, at Olney. On Sabbath he preached in the Masons' Hall, from—"And I am sure that when I come unto you I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ." To his friend, Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, he writes, on the 14th of the month—"You will perceive, by the date of this letter, that I have changed my place of residence. We arrived here on Friday last, I mean to continue here till Providence directs our removal to some other place. The breaking up in Charlotte was a very severe trial, neither the people nor I knew, until parting time came, how much we loved one another. We parted in the warmest friendship; and I hope that the affection of my dear people, for so I must call them, for me will continue, as I am sure that mine will for them. I was received very cordially by the people, and preached twice last Sabbath to a very large audience. The people generally were very attentive, and not a few considerably affected. I was surprised to observe the very great numbers who attend church in this place. Every house of worship was crowded; and I was told that not less than five hundred went away from the Masons' Hall, where I preached, unable to find seats. I have proposed to several to establish a Christian library in the city. The proposition meets with much acceptance, and I hope to be able to tell you, in my next, how many subscribers we shall probably obtain. If this plan succeeds, my next effort will be to establish a Bible Society. Of the success of such an undertaking I am not able to form the least conjecture; but I am adopting some measures to ascertain the extent of the want of Bibles here, which I fear is exceedingly great, considering the population.

"The spirit of religious enquiry is, I am convinced, extending its influence considerably in several parts of old Virginia. Mr. Speece has been urging me vehemently to undertake the editorship of a periodical work having something of the form of a Magazine. His plan is to publish, once in two weeks, a sheet containing sixteen 8vo pages, to be devoted to the cause of truth and piety. I believe that such a thing, if well conducted, would meet with very considerable encouragement, and if I could engage the assistance of a few of my brethren, I would willingly make an experiment of the matter. I have been to see Mr. Blair since I came to town. He received me in a friendly way, and assured me of his disposition to cultivate a spirit of brotherly love. On my part I feel the same temper, and I hope that everything will go on very harmoniously.

"I am afraid the good people here will find it hard to pay for the completion of their church. It is now sheeted in. The shingles, flooring plank, and pews, are all in readiness; but their fund is exhausted, and they will be very much *pestered* to raise a sufficiency

for their purpose. Will not the brethren afford us aid? Will not the people to the north assist us? The Methodists have built a new church here, and expect to pay for it in part in that way. An agent went on very lately from this place to solicit aid, and two days ago he forwarded from Baltimore six hundred and forty dollars for the church." This building was the second church building erected by the Methodists in Richmond. The first was near the old market. This was on Shockoe Hill, near the new market, and has given place to the centenary church building.

All classes in Richmond received Mr. Rice kindly. The public mind was drawn to religion by strong sympathies. Its principles were discussed; its forms and practice were eagerly enquired after; and able ministers were listened to with attention. Mr. Rice was well suited to the wants of the people. Truthfulness and kindness beamed from his countenance, sparkled from his eye, and fell from his smiling lips. His arguments and illustrations from Scripture were with power equal to their simplicity. His very ungracefulness of gesture commended his sincerity. He uttered no reproaches on Richmond. The words of our Saviour were with him — "or those on whom the towers in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye they were sinners above all men that dwelt at Jerusalem? I tell you nay, but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." It was soon evident that no one room in the city would accommodate the congregations that would assemble. Of necessity a number of houses of worship were to be erected in the city. And very naturally the different denominations made exertions for their own accommodations.

Soon after reaching Richmond, Mr. and Mrs. Rice received a kind invitation to the dwelling of Mr. John Parkhill, a hardware merchant, at the sign of the Golden Key, on Main street, at the corner below the street leading to Mayo's bridge. It was customary then for the merchants to live in handsomely furnished rooms over the store. Mr. Parkhill was lonely in his dwelling, having lately been deprived of his young and lovely wife about a year after their marriage. Unwilling to alter his domestic arrangements, he cheerfully received the minister and his wife to his house, to make part of the family. In this house the people first called to see their minister. Mr. Parkhill was an active and judicious helper in the congregation from the first. A polished, well educated Irishman, he knew how to appreciate the family that lodged under his roof; and under the instructions of Mr. Rice became a devoted Christian. Among his countrymen to whom he introduced his pastor was Mr. Alexander Fulton, who became a fast friend. This gentleman was married to a daughter of William Mayo, of Powhatan, had his residence at Mount Erin, near his father-in-law and the city, and received Mr. Rice with generous hospitality as often as he could secure a visit.

After a summer most agreeably passed with Mr. Parkhill, Mr. Rice commenced housekeeping on Braddock's Hill, near to Rockets.

His intimacy with the excellent people there was greatly increased; and the Wednesday night meetings then commenced, usually held at the house of Mrs. Young, were continued during his residence in Richmond. He had for a neighbor Mr. David I. Burr, and greatly prized his friendship; and in after years set a high value on his services as an elder.

The Presbytery of Hanover convened in Richmond, Friday, Oct. 16th, 1812, Messrs. Moses Hoge, James Mitchel, Conrad Speece, John H. Rice, William S. Reid, and Joseph Logan; with the elders, Charles Allen, George Watt, and John Forbes. Dr. Hoge opened the services in the new meeting-house with a sermon from Genesis 28: 16, 17, "And Jacob awoke out of his sleep, and said, surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it. And he was afraid, and said, how dreadful is this place, it is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven;" and after sermon was chosen Moderator. "Presbytery was informed that a congregation had been organized in the city of Richmond, under the title of the Presbyterian church in the city of Richmond, that said congregation requested to be received under the care of Presbytery; and also requested that the Rev. John H. Rice, who had for some time supplied the congregation, might be installed their pastor." Benjamin H. Rice was received from Orange Presbytery, with a view to become pastor in Petersburg; Samuel D. Hoge, son of the Moderator, passed some of his trials as candidate; and Daniel Baker, the domestic missionary, received attention as alumnus.

On Monday, October 19th, the installation services were performed, Mr. Speece preached from the words—"So thou, son of man, I have set thee as a watchman." The feeling of the congregation was highly excited. Other installations have been witnessed in Richmond of great interest, but never such a day. The church, now united to a pastor, was organized June 12th, about a month after Mr. Rice went to Richmond. The elders, George Watt and Benjamin Moseby, were ordained on the 20th of the same month; Messrs. Robert Quarles, William S. Smith, John Seabrook, and David I. Burr, were soon added. The number of members reported to Presbytery in May, 1813, was sixty. In May, 1814, the number was seventy, as reported to Presbytery. At that time Benjamin H. Rice reported a church in Petersburg of twenty-seven members, with elders Messrs. Benjamin Harrison, John Gordon, and William Baird; Mr. Benjamin H. Rice was installed their pastor. Mr. Paxton was at the same time ordained evangelist at the request of the church of Norfolk.

Mr. Rice called the attention of the citizens of Richmond to the supply of the city with the Bible in obedience to a recommendation of the General Assembly on the church in May, 1813, the Virginia churches being represented by Messrs. J. B. Hoge, Shannon, Kenon, Calhoun and Bourne, with John Mark, elder. The citizens responded to the call, and a society was formed, that still exists, under the name of the *Virginia Bible Society*. This society, by its dele-

gates, assisted in forming the American Bible Society in the city of New York in 1816. The Presbytery, in the fall of '13, "enjoined on all the members of Presbytery to use their influence as far as may be in their power, to establish auxiliary societies in their respective bounds." The whole State was soon aroused to a general supply of families with the Bible.

Mr. Rice met his congregation in the Masons' Hall till the house for worship near Rockets was prepared for temporary occupation. It was never finished. The location proved unsatisfactory; and after much expense all hope of completing it was abandoned. Mr. Rice felt the force of the objections, and advocated the sale of the lot and unfinished building, and the erection of a house in a more convenient position. "All this time" — he says in a letter to Dr. Alexander — "my salary was very precarious, and not very seldom was I reduced to my last sixpence, and in fact had not money to go to market. Many times I thought very seriously of seeking another place of abode; but was put from these thoughts by some unexpected provision being made for me. Providence always provided for the supply of my immediate wants. Besides, I was convinced that, humanly speaking, the success of the Presbyterian cause depended on my staying here. Its main supporters were my warm personal friends, and they declared that if I should leave them they would give over. 'Don't give up the ship,' was my motto." A little incident, related years afterwards by Mrs. Rice, with great glee, illustrates the preceding statement. They had received from their friends in Prince Edward a present of some black-eyed peas, a great favorite with Virginia folks, especially south-siders. There was no bacon in the house to give them their proper flavor; and what was worse, Mr. Rice declared he had no money in his pocket — much of his salary, by unfortunate neglect, being in arrears. Mrs. Rice, with some reflections on the remissness of the people he was serving, proposed sending some of the furniture to auction; and looking around, fixed upon the mahogany tables, saying they should be sent; and that pine tables were good enough for them and the people that could withhold his support. Mr. Rice remarked pensively that the case was sad; he knew and felt it. Starting for his study, he turned at the door, and said smilingly, "I trust, my dear, the Lord will provide." As he was leaving the room a knock was heard at the door; as he passed on through the passage, he said, "perhaps relief has come now." Mrs. Rice went to the door; and there stood a servant with a message from a lady in the country, and a number of pieces of bacon. "I was vexed at myself," said she, "for what had just passed, — half vexed at the lady for granting Mr. Rice such a triumph, and ashamed to go and tell him of a present so opportunely made." At meal-time they rendered thanks. This dear lady, whose spirits were disturbed at the neglect of the congregation, when times of real necessity came, especially in building Union Theological Seminary, had a cheerful endurance that animated, and often amazed her husband. Many a heart in Richmond would have ached had

they supposed their beloved pastor was in such extremity. What was unknown to the kindest of men was well known to God, and he sent a supply from the stores of his children.

The residence of Mr. Rice, on Braddock hill, being exposed to high winds, and otherwise not comfortable, Mr. Parkhill procured for him a small, but very pleasant tenement at the foot of Richmond hill, on Franklin street, near Mr. George Watt's residence. To this he removed in 1813, and remained in it till the close of 1816, when the house was sold. He then removed to a small house opposite the dwelling of Benjamin Watkins Leigh, near Mrs. Gamble, Mr. West, and the Guathmey's; and by this removal increased his intimacy with that circle of acquaintances. Removing from this place, he resided near Masons' hall, till his own house on Innes hill, between Shockoe and Richmond hill, was completed in 1818. General Blackburn, calling to see him in his new residence, and hearing from Mr. Rice that the house had been built by the price of his farm in Charlotte, said laughingly — "You have given your horse for the saddle." He remained in this residence, till accepting the Professorship of Theology, he removed to Prince Edward. He ever considered that the damage and loss of frequent removals, were, in his case, amply compensated by his increased usefulness.

In the mourning and distress that followed the burning of the theatre, wounded affection sought relief in raising a monument to the memory of the dead. A church building, in whose structure some memorial of the fire and its victims should be enwrought, was chosen as the most becoming monument; and the site of the theatre the place of its erection. Various schemes for the proprietorship and occupancy were proposed. Should it be common to all denominations, or owned and occupied by two, or be the exclusive property of one? Mr. Blair held back, with his accustomed modesty, from exerting any influence, lest he should be charged with eagerly desiring what he could easily have obtained by proper exertions — the possession of the house. The subscribers were divided in their prepossessions between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians; but the majority might have been carried for Mr. Blair and the Presbyterians if he had pressed his claims with the diligence others pressed theirs. Influences out of Richmond were used till the subscribers were about equally divided. An Irish gentleman, from the generous impulses of his nature, and from the influence of some Episcopal connexions, finally gave his vote for Episcopal consecration rather than prolong a discussion that might end in bitterness. This example prevailed with others, and the matter was decided. Dr. Moore, of New York, was elected bishop of the diocese and rector of the church in February, 1814. Mr. Moore and Mr. Rice were not unknown to each other by reputation, and met with mutual high regard for past services. In the latter part of the year, Mr. Rice writes to Dr. Alexander — "Bishop Moore appears to be a zealous and pious man, and I hope will do much good among the

people. He is uncommonly friendly with me, and I am resolved that it shall not be my fault if he does not continue so."

When the Monumental Church was opened, some of the Scotch families, of Presbyterian origin and habits, discouraged by the obstacles thrown in the way of Mr. Rice and his congregation, particularly in obtaining a suitable place for worship convenient for their attendance, united with the Episcopal Church under Dr. Moore. This saddened the heart of Mr. Rice without breaking his spirits or embittering his soul. But some sentiments propagated with caution and yet sedulously, about an authorised ministry, and sacraments, and succession, and diocesan Bishops, and confirmation as a rite, disturbed his heart. Writing to Dr. Alexander he says — "The Episcopalians are making a mighty effort in this State to revive their Church. At first I thought they were setting out on true evangelical principles, and was heartily enough disposed to take them by the hand, and bid them God speed; but it now seems to me as if they intended to pull down the building of others, in order to erect their own. They aim especially at the Presbyterians. Their conduct is such as, I fear, will make it necessary for us to oppose them. In fact we shall certainly be plagued with a religious controversy. I have for my part resolved not to strike the first blow, but I wish to be ready to defend myself."

The Rev. Mr. Buchanan, the Episcopal minister, who alternated with Mr. Blair in conducting public worship in the capitol, gave Mr. Rice a hearty welcome to Richmond. Cheerful in disposition, and frank in manners, of a cultivated mind, fond of study, strongly attached to his own Church, yet understanding the rights of conscience, acquainted with Richmond, and no stranger to Scotch Presbyterianism either in his native land or in Virginia, he welcomed Mr. Rice as the man demanded by the dispositions and necessities of multitudes in the city, some of whom were from his own dear Scotland. His welcome soon became friendship, and this grew warmer and warmer till death. A man of property, and a bachelor, he continued to give Mr. and Mrs. Rice substantial proofs of his attachment, in a most gentlemanly and Christian manner. On one occasion seeing that Mrs. Rice was sinking under the effects of disease, and having discussed the propriety of a visit to the Springs, till he thought he discovered the cause of her being detained at home, he waived the matter for a time, and when again he renewed it, he made a cheerful attack upon Mr. Rice — that he was the favored one that had been fortunate enough to get a wife, — but that he himself, a bachelor brother, had some right in her, so far as to demand that her health should be cared for. Some time after a lady put into the hands of Mrs. Rice a roll of bank bills, advising her to go to the springs, and saying a friend who must be anonymous, had sent her that for her expenses. After her return, when the name of the kind friend was mentioned to her by the lady, Mrs. Rice sent Mr. Buchanan a complimentary note of thanks. On reading it, he said to their mutual friend Mrs. Moncure, very cheer-



fully — “why madam, this is worth a hundred dollars.” He was in the habit of sending to Mr. Blair, for his wife’s sake, his marriage fees. Mr. Blair showed a similar kind feeling to a Methodist minister, by admitting his son, free of charge, to the privileges of his classical school. The Methodist minister returned the compliment by sending his son, who was a good singer, to aid Mr. Blair, as a chorister, the days he preached in the capitol. These four ministers had each their sphere in Richmond.

Through the indefatigable labors of Mr. Parkhill and others, the Church lot and house near Rockets were sold in 1815, for nine thousand dollars, and a subscription raised to the amount of eight thousand more; and a lot in a more central position near the market-house was purchased. The business of the city reviving with returning peace, the building of the new Church was commenced without delay and prosecuted with vigor. In the succeeding year it was finished; and the congregation and their pastor joyfully entered their place of worship.

The Christian Monitor in pamphlet form, of eight octavo pages, made its appearance July 8th 1815, from the press of Arthur G. Booker & Co., four doors below the Bell tavern, to be continued weekly; Mr. Rice the sole editor and proprietor. “The fundamental principles are 1st. That man is a totally depraved and helpless creature; 2nd. That Jesus Christ is the only Saviour; 3d. That we are justified by faith alone, without the deeds of the law; 4th. That we are regenerated and sanctified by the Holy Spirit; 5th. That the only proper and satisfactory evidence of faith and conversion is a holy life. The principal purpose of the paper is to communicate *religious intelligence*.” The second year of its existence the periodical became more original and literary, and was issued once in two weeks, in numbers of 16 pages, from the press of John Warrock. The last number appeared Saturday, August 30th, 1817. As a register of facts occurring in Virginia, and as the repository of productions of great merit written by worthy ministers in the State, it is invaluable. At the conclusion of the 2d volume, the editor says, “a number of gentlemen have laid a plan for the publication of a Monthly Magazine, and have committed the editorship to the conductor of this paper, after having given him assurance of liberal support both as contributors to the work, and agents for its circulation.”

While Mr. Rice was busy in preparing the prospectus of the Christian Monitor, Mrs. Rice was summoned in haste to visit her sick mother. Leaving Richmond on Saturday, February 4th, she made all speed, but was not permitted to see her depart. Death had completed his work on the 2d, two days before the news of the sickness of the mother reached the daughter. From an interesting article prepared by Mr. Rice who esteemed Mrs. Morton — “the dearest and best friend that I ever had, one who in all respects supplied the place of a mother to me” — we learn that Mary Smith was born, in the year 1755, of parents who occasionally had the privilege

of hearing Samuel Davies; and brought up their children in the fear of God, supplying as far as practicable, to their family the want of gospel preaching, by their godly example and instruction. "Just after the close of the revolutionary war she was married to a young officer, who had served very much to his own credit during the whole of that arduous conflict. Having become a mother, a new field of duties was opened to her. And here she was distinguished beyond any other person with whom the writer has ever been acquainted. Few mothers were ever more active, industrious or economical, in making provision for the temporal support of their children; and yet this did not weigh a feather in the scale, when compared with the everlasting interests of those whom God had given her. The whole course of her conduct seemed to have reference to the eternal welfare of those who were committed to her care.

"When a daughter of hers had arrived at the age of about three years, she took her into her closet, and addressed her in language to this import:—'My child, when you were a little baby I devoted you to God in the ordinance of baptism. I then gave you up to him. I intend to give you to him again. You must be a child of God. He made you, and keeps you alive, and gives you every good thing to enjoy. When you lie down at night he preserves you, and when you rise up and go out, he preserves you from harm. He is always doing you good. You must learn to love and serve him, and he will take care of you while you live and make you happy when you die.' She then kneeled down, and with all the ardor of true piety, and all the fervor of a mother's love, commended the child to the divine protection, and implored on her behalf the blessing of heaven. The impression made at this time, as I have heard, was never erased; but is deeply felt even to this day, although the occurrence took place four and twenty years ago. She acquired, to a very uncommon extent, an ascendancy over the minds of both her sons and daughters. They had no secrets to keep from their mother. She was their counsellor, sympathised with them in all their little troubles and perplexities, and made herself necessary for their enjoyments. Although the economy of the family was conformed to the strictest notions of religion, there was in it nothing gloomy or austere. A more cheerful domestic circle was never known than that in which Mary Morton presided; and yet there were no parties of pleasure, there was no dancing, no card-playing. In fact, there was no need of amusements. They were never thought of. The parents and children were so happy in themselves and in the company of their select friends, that every day seemed too short for the enjoyment of the domestic happiness which flowed bounteously in upon them. In the family of Mary Morton, old age was always treated with most marked respect. An old man, who had lived to second childhood, had done something not a little ridiculous for a person of his age. 'William,' said an acquaintance to one of the little boys, about twelve years of age, 'did you not laugh when Uncle Tom behaved so foolishly to-day?' 'No,' replied William; 'and I

hope that I shall always know better than to laugh at an old man.' 'Right, my son,' exclaimed both the parents at once; 'and always remember to reverence the hoary head.'"

*The last days of Drury Lacy, by his two friends, Mr. Rice and Robert Ralston.*

Mr. Rice says, November 16th, 1815 — "Mr. Lacy came to my house on his way to Philadelphia. He is afflicted with the stone, and is gone with the view of having a surgical operation performed. This, at his time of life especially, is a serious matter. But an event, which has taken place since his departure from home, makes his situation as distressing as it well can be. About the first of the present month Mrs. Lacy was taken with the disease which proved so fatal last winter, and died on the eighth day. Of this melancholy change Mr. Lacy knows nothing; and it is my wish that he may not hear of it until some time after the operation on him shall have been performed." Mr. Robert Ralston, at whose house in Philadelphia he died, says — "Our dear friend was calm and composed under the prospect of the severe trial he was to undergo. The Saturday night previous to the operation (the 25th of November having written his last letter to his wife, whom he supposed still living) he changed his seat at the fire, where the family were sitting, and came alongside of my chair, observing that he wished to make a communication previous to his confinement up stairs, which he was looking to on the next Monday morning. He then handed a little parchment pocket-book, containing three hundred dollars, desiring that, after paying the expenses which might be incurred for him in case of his death, fixing a stone at the head of his grave, the residue, if any, should be given to his son. This was spoken loud enough for the family to hear; and many other things relative to his dissolution, if it should please God, in his wise providence, to call him into the eternal world. The family were impressed with the solemnity of the communication, and the perfect tranquillity which attended him during the time of making it. On Monday, December 4th, he told me, about daylight, that he had spent a more comfortable time than in many preceding nights. His great anxiety, he said, was that the noise he made would disturb us in the next room; observing, at the same time, he knew we thought nothing an inconvenience concerning him; that we were showing him kindness because he was a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Lord would not overlook it. On Tuesday, being very low, he said he had no ecstasy or raptures, but the Lord enabled him to trust in him to a degree that surpassed his former expectations. He requested me to write a letter to Mrs. Lacy, in case of his death, to comfort her dear mind; he knew it would be a great comfort to her. A strong prevailing hope appeared to be his happy portion. The hiccup prevailed all the morning, with some intervals; at 9 o'clock, P. M., a cold sweat, returns of the hiccup, and paroxysms of pain. I asked him if he knew me; he replied, it is Ralston. On Wednesday,

December 6th, he appeared very near his end. He said to me— 'Not my will, but the will of my heavenly father, be done.' Mr. Eastburn prayed with him, but he did not appear to be sensible throughout the exercise. Dr. Janeway prayed with him just before his departure, which was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. He went out of the world easy."

The Board of Directors of Union Theological Seminary, in compliance with a resolution of the Synod of Virginia, made in the fall of 1815, appointed Rev. Messrs. John H. Rice and William Hill, together with William Wirt, Esq., a committee, to obtain, if practicable, on reasonable terms, from the State Legislature, an Act vesting in the trustees of the seminary corporate powers. A petition was presented early in the succeeding sessions; the committee of propositions reported favorably. On Tuesday, the 2d of January, 1816, the bill was taken up in order, in committee of the whole house, and the gentlemen petitioners were admitted to the floor, to be heard in its favor. Mr. Baker, of Cumberland, moved to strike out the words, "*is reasonable*," and insert, "*be rejected*." The petition was novel, the objections talked over among members were numerous, and of various sorts; it was an innovation on Virginia political habits to have an incorporation of a religious bearing; it was not right to do any thing to give one denomination any advantage over the others, particularly after the movements made respecting the glebe lands: and it would be, in fact, a religious establishment. Mr. Rice entered into an argument of some length in favor of the petition, and endeavoring to remove objections. Mr. Wirt followed, with a speech of acknowledged ability, adding to his previously great reputation. These gentlemen urged that it was not a general law of incorporation for religious purposes, but a single act resting on the merits of the case; that the act was necessary to promote sound learning, good morals and true religion, by elevating the character and qualifications of the ministry; that the doors of the institution were open for all denominations; that other denominations might, if they desired, obtain the same privilege from the Assembly; that there was no relation between such an act and a religious establishment; that this act was asked for simply that sufficient funds might be legally held, to sustain an institution for the education of clergymen; and that religious liberty was best defended, by extending to all members of the community the privileges of education, and demanding a high degree of it in the ministers of the gospel; and that the privilege of vesting their own funds, under the protection of law, was a privilege that had been granted to associations of almost every imaginable kind, except those of a religious bearing; and that the petitioners only asked for the acknowledged rights and privileges of the feeblest citizens of the Commonwealth, for the right of citizens to give their property to a school, and to have that property legally protected. After Messrs. Rice and Wirt had spoken, Mr. Hill enquired if any objection remained on the mind of any member; that he would be gratified with the

opportunity of hearing it, with the privilege of replying. Mr. Mercer moved that the petition be laid on the table; carried without debate. The feeling of the house was averse to incorporations of a religious nature. While the matter was under consideration, Mr. Rice prepared for the press a pamphlet, containing a succinct statement of the course pursued by the Presbyterians, in the efforts for religious liberty, in the times preceding and during the Revolution. His documents were drawn from the records of the Virginia Legislature and of Hanover Presbytery, and formed a mass of testimony of unanswerable weight and authority. Unexpectedly, it was delayed in the press, until after the action of the Assembly. It was widely circulated, and read with deep interest. Whether the delay in the press had any influence on the determination of the vote in the committee, is a matter of speculation; the argument was unanswerable, but the decision was probably foregone, in the decided unwillingness of the Legislature to take any step on the subject of incorporations of a religious bearing. The public sentiment in Virginia has undergone a great change on that subject.

Mr. Rice had the pleasure of being the representative of the Bible Society of Virginia, and also of the auxiliaries in Petersburg, Norfolk and Frederick County, in that Convention in the City of New York, in 1816, that formed the American Bible Society, "for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment;" and greatly rejoiced in having his friend, William Wirt, Esq., appointed one of the Vice-Presidents.

A modest, devoted philanthropist, then unknown to fame, an efficient advocate of the African Colonization Society, visited Richmond in the summer of 1816. A lady residing at the time in the city, says, in a letter, "We had a visit from Mr. Samuel J. Mills, then unknown, and quite young. He had several schemes on hand, Colonization one of them. But I think he did most in private. Miss E. G. was staying with her cousin, Mrs. Wirt, and was very often with me. She has ever ascribed her conversion to Mr. Mills' conversation. She is now the wife of Governor G., of Georgia, and sometime since sent me word, she never passed a day without remembering me in prayer, since early in 1817. During this visit, Mr. Mills induced Misses H. M. and E. B. to commence a Sabbath-school. They went to a Methodist lady, Miss Polly Bowles, who taught a little day-school near Masons' Hall, and in her school-room commenced the school with prayer. Soon after, the school was removed to the Masons' Hall; and a better one I never knew." After the death of Mr. Mills — dying on the ocean, his body was cast into the great deep — his worth began to be estimated. He had walked with noiseless step, and his benevolence distilled as the dew; the recollection of him was precious, and men wondered they had not prized him more while living. Christians in Richmond may ask — have we ever made a special effort to do good, that a special blessing has not fallen upon us? A Colonization Society was not formed in Richmond till November 4th, 1823, when Rev. R. R. Gur-

ley visited the city, and addressed the citizens assembled for the purpose of forming a Society; Judge Marshall was the first President.

The first number of the *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine*, a monthly periodical, appeared in January, 1818, with Mr. Rice as editor. With the same general platform of belief as the *Christian Monitor*, it took a wider range in the literary and scientific departments. "‘*For God and our Country*,’ is the motto which would most adequately express our views and feelings. Acknowledging the United States as our country, we confess that we take a peculiarly lively interest in the prosperity and welfare of that section in which we were born and educated, and therefore we have prefixed the name ‘*Virginia*,’ to the general terms which characterize the nature of our work." Dr. Speece contributed largely to the pages of this periodical—more commonly over the signature of Melancthon; Dr. Matthews over N. S.; Messrs. Hoge and Lyle made frequent contributions; Messrs. Wirt and Maxwell, from the bar, lent their aid; and able pens, from different parts of the country, gave assistance. But the great labor was on Dr. Rice, whose powers were taxed, from month to month, through a series of years; and the work remains a monument of his industry, piety, judgment and learning. Its last number was issued December, 1828; some of the latter volumes not having much of his supervision. The work is a Thesaurus of reference on the religious history of Virginia, and for specimens of the theology and literature of the period of its production.

With the Magazine, Mr. Rice embarked in another enterprise, of which he writes to Mr. Maxwell, January 10th, 1819—“I want you here in Richmond most egregiously. I have purchased a printing press, and have formed a little company for carrying on the machine. The capital necessary to commence is divided into eighteen shares of one hundred dollars. The press with all its fixtures of type, cases, book press, &c., cost fifteen hundred dollars. I have gotten seventeen shares of the stock subscribed; I taking five. There is the best *job office* in Virginia attached to the Office; and it is calculated that this will yield a product of nearly thirty dollars per week. The magazine will pay sixty dollars per month. And these two items will pay expenses, supposing we employ four hands. But four hands will do just twice as much as the work stated. I shall employ them, then, in printing good things to be circulated through the country, and sold to the best advantage. The object is to promote learning and religion. What would you think of the republication of *Smith's History of Virginia*? But my favorite plan is to publish a Pamphleteer. I wish several numbers thrown into circulation, calculated to answer these three questions—Why are you a Christian? Why are you a Protestant? And, why are you a Presbyterian? The pieces should teach the Deistical, Catholic, Socinian, Baptist, Arminian, and Episcopal controversies; but all in the genteelest and most brotherly style.” It was the desire of Mr. Rice to avoid controversy on denominational subjects in the

Magazine, if possible. It was evident to him and others, that controversy on these subjects would come; it could not be avoided in a community aroused to the enquiry, What does the Bible teach? Mr. Rice preferred a pamphlet to a monthly periodical as the vehicle of address to the public on the agitated questions.

The first number of the Pamphleteer was on the *Subjects and Manner of Baptism*. On this theme Mr. Rice was familiar by his intercourse in College with Messrs. Alexander, Speece, and Lyle, while they were investigating the various departments of the great subject. He discusses the subject as a Biblical question for historical investigation. While the second number of the Pamphleteer, on the question — *Whether there be one order of ministers in Christ's Church, or more than one* — was in course of preparation, to use the words of Mr. Rice to Mr. Maxwell, Dec. 30th, 1819, "Some of the Transmontane people are so dissatisfied because I will not come out against the Episcopalians, that they are trying to set up another Magazine at Lexington. Proposals are issued, and they say that they will publish if they get four hundred subscribers. I am losing mine fast. But if I retain four hundred, I will publish. I have no doubt, however, that I shall have eight hundred to begin the year with." The complaint from the Valley was, that the periodical, that circulated in the Presbyterian church, did not defend the doctrines of that church when assailed, particularly that the claims lately set up for the divine authority of these orders of the clergy, and the supremacy of a Diocesan Bishop, had not been opposed and shown to be futile. Mr. Rice admitted the necessity of setting aside those claims appearing to the brethren so arrogant, but preferred a pamphlet devoted to the purpose as the medium of the controversy, to a periodical devoted to religion and literature. The appearance of the second number of the Pamphleteer, which was devoted to this particular subject of controversy, removed the cause of complaint. The ability and thoroughness of the discussion satisfied the projectors of the new periodical, and the design of a new paper was abandoned. The Magazine struggled hard for existence; but survived the pressure. The article *Something Curious* in the closing number of the second volume, December, 1819, produced a great sensation. The negotiations in progress with the noted infidel Dr. Cooper, to become the leading professor at the University, were arrested, and the Doctor removed further South. The juxtaposition of the events led to the conjecture that the observations made by a *Lunatic on the transactions of the people in the Moon*, were closely related in antecedence and consequence as cause and effect with the departure of Dr. Cooper from Virginia.

The Franklin press sent forth two pamphleteers; and two works in octavo volumes, Smith's History of Virginia, and Sermons selected from the manuscripts of the late Moses Hoge, D. D. The design of the association in purchasing the press was admirable, but the difficulties were insurmountable. The products of the Southern press could not then compete with the Northern productions in the

market in price, however they might in excellence. And the taste for religious reading had not been sufficiently cultivated in the South to awaken enthusiasm for the enterprise in Richmond. The American Tract Society, and the American Sunday School Union, and the Presbyterian Board of Publication, with more ample funds and wider range of circulation, after many discouragements, and many efforts, have accomplished what Mr. Rice designed, beyond his utmost expectations. And though the enterprise in Richmond was in part a failure, it nevertheless was well that it was in the heart of Mr. Rice to plan and attempt the accomplishment of the grand design; too great for his means, but not too large for his heart.

Having referred to the University of Virginia, it is proper to remark that Mr. Rice was in favor of a State University before any endowment was made; and desired it might be Christian, but not sectarian. In the January number, 1819, he says, "A bill has lately passed both houses establishing an University. Our next most earnest wish, nay, our fervent prayer is, that it may be an honor and a blessing to Virginia; and that it may be a nursery of true science and genuine virtue. May it please God to smile on the University and crown it with his favor! There is one thing which we hope will never be forgotten, namely, that it is the *University of Virginia*. It is no local or private establishment, no institution to subserve the purposes of a party, it is the property of the people, and every citizen in the State has a right and a property in it. We hope that all will recognise this truth, and assert their right, and let their opinion be felt. On the one hand they will see to it that it shall not be partial to any society of Christians, and on the other, that infidelity, whether open or disguised under a Christian name, shall not taint its reputation or poison its influence."

Josiah Smith of Montrose, Powhatan, was held in peculiar estimation by Mr. Rice. The brother of Mrs. Mary Morton, reared with the same pious care, he was of like precious faith. • Montrose early took the place next to Willington, and Mr. and Mrs. Smith next to Major and Mrs. Morton in the heart of Mr. Rice. On the occasion of his death Mr. Rice writes — "We speak what we do know, when we say that, what many are in obituary notices, Josiah Smith was in his manner of living. The virtues which others talk of he practised. He was not a man of words, but of deeds; not of promises, but of performance. That man does not, and never did live, who was his enemy. All who knew him were his friends. His gentleness and kindness insured universal good will; his integrity commanded universal confidence. His removal has diminished the moral worth of his county, and left a chasm in its society, which it will not be easy to fill. Old and young, far and near, regarded his death as a bereavement. But chiefly does his amiable family bow down under this bereavement. It was in the domestic circle that the most admirable traits in his character were exhibited. There the devotion of the husband, the affection of the father, the kindness of the master, the ardor of the friend, and the open-hearted



hospitality of the Virginian, were mingled with the meekness, and faith, and charity of the Christian: for Josiah Smith was a Christian. Without making a parade of profession, he carried the principles of his religion into all the relations and the whole business of life." He managed his affairs, and made his bargains, and laid all his schemes as a Christian. "The close corresponded with the tenor of his life; he died full of peace," on 4th of January, 1819, aged 55 years. His amiable wife survived him many years an exemplary Christian, and departed at last in the hope of a joyful resurrection. In meekness and piety Mr. Smith resembled Dr. Hoge; and "his worth was equalled only by his modesty." His parents were the people that often rode fifty miles to hear Davies, going on horseback, fording James river, and often carrying each a child too small to be left at home, or to ride alone; and he probably went that way more than once when a child. Had Mr. Rice said less of him, he had not been true to himself or his friend.

A visit of the Rev. William Chester to Richmond in January, 1819, cheered the spirits of Mr. Rice, saddened by the loss of his friend, Josiah Smith. "He gave me"—says Mr. Rice to Dr. Alexander—"the 3d Annual Report of the Young Men's Missionary Society, of New York. I read it with much interest. Chester preached at an evening-meeting, for us, and a number of young men were present. While he was preaching, I felt in my pocket for my handkerchief, and took hold of this report. At once the thought rushed into my mind—I will try when Chester is done, if the young men here can be roused to any feeling on the subject of establishing a Missionary Society. As soon as the preacher closed. I rose and delivered an address. It set Chester in a flame. Several young men were kindled by it. The result was that a society has been organized, denominated the *Young Men's Missionary Society of Richmond*. It consists now of forty members. The officers are all such young men as I approved. We regard it as an event of some consequence, inasmuch as we hope the example will be followed in Norfolk, Petersburg, and Fredericksburg." This Society flourished beyond the fondest anticipations of the pastor. The first annual meeting was held in the following May; at which time it had upwards of one hundred members enrolled. Societies were formed in other places. Those in Richmond and Petersburg were particularly active, and successful in supplying large districts of West Hanover Presbytery with efficient missionaries. It has been a subject of reflection and enquiry whether such organizations might not be desirable as permanent means of supplying a great number of neighborhoods.

Mr. Rice attended the General Assembly in Philadelphia, May 1819, and was chosen Moderator; and in performing the duties won the esteem and respect of the Assembly. On the 24th of the month, he delivered a sermon before the Board of Missions. This sermon was preached again in Richmond at the request of the young men; and published for their advantage. It is of permanent value.

Of the compliment of D. D., from the College of New Jersey in the following summer, he writes — "I have never valued, and of course never coveted, academical honors. But anything, that betokens the esteem and friendship of good men, is grateful to my heart. So far as a degree betokens this, I prize it, and no further." The next year a similar compliment was paid Mr. Speece, of which Mr. Rice says to Mr. Maxwell: "The Princeton folks have *doctored* brother Speece. He is now D. D. I am glad of it. I did not like to wear this thing tacked to my name, like two packs on the back of a strolling pedlar, until Speece was acoutred in the same way. With him to accompany me I shall do tolerably well." Mr. Rice while Moderator, was made Director of the Seminary at Princeton; and served till 1824, when his duties in the Seminary in Prince Edward rendered it proper to resign.

Dr. Rice having attended the meeting of the Bible Society in New York, and the examination of "above seventy students in divinity" at Princeton, proceeded to Philadelphia, May, 1820, to open the Assembly, according to custom, having been Moderator the preceding year. He preached from the words—"Let us therefore follow after the things that make for peace, and things whereby one may edify another," Rom. 14, 19. In perusing the sermon one knows not which to admire most, the good sense and piety embodied in the discourse, or the independence of the man in preparing and delivering it. Its appropriateness was felt at the time. The greater part of it might be read with great propriety at the opening of every General Assembly, particularly what is said—on official pretensions—on the love of distinction—and influence—on parties in the church—discoveries in religion—uniformity of opinions—and on the spirit and forms of doing business in the Assembly. Two sentences may commend the rest. "If I might be permitted to recommend such a thing to my fathers and brethren, I would most earnestly and solemnly recommend to all not to propose a single measure, or rise to make a speech during the session of Assembly, without first attempting to realize that God takes cognizance of our thoughts and motives, and without ejaculating a prayer to the hearer of prayer for direction and assistance." The second is—"A congress of plenipotentiaries from all the states in Christendom, held to deliberate on the political interests in the world, would attract universal attention, and create universal expectation. But all that their deliberations would or could involve, whether of war or peace, of liberty or slavery, in comparison with the mighty, the incomprehensible interests, which here claim our attention, is no more than the dust on the balance, the atom on the sunbeam, compared with the solid dimensions of the material universe. Why, brethren, it is not the temporary interests of worms of the dust, it is not the concerns of a perishing world that claim our attention; it is the concerns of many, very many immortal souls; it is the interests of the kingdom of our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; it is the honor of our God, that engage our deliberations and demand our very best affections."

The truly benevolent spirit of the speaker won the hearts of the Assembly; all parties, for there were parties there ready to engage in combat, revered the man, and desired his friendship. If the greatness of a sermon is to be measured by its permanent efforts, this was one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of Dr. Rice's public efforts. His own deportment in the Assembly was in accordance with his sermon. When, in succeeding years, he visited the churches to obtain their assistance for building the Union Theological Seminary, he was received as a man of a peaceable and lovely spirit.

As a delegate, he attended the Assembly again, in 1822, and was deeply engaged in the business of the sessions, as—"nearly three-fourths were young members, and of the rest, a considerable number were unacquainted with the routine of business." In a letter to Mr. Maxwell, the preceding April, he expressed his wish—"I am going to the North to endeavor to make arrangements for a better and more regular supply of missionaries. I shall of course be at Princeton. From the General Assembly I intend to get a commission to go to the associations of Connecticut and Massachusetts—and as far as Andover. My object in all is to promote religion in Virginia." He was chosen delegate according to his wish. Remaining in Princeton long enough to arrange the materials for the June number of his Magazine, he entered New England with a mind awake to observation. It was at the meeting of the association of Massachusetts, in Springfield, he delivered the sermon, the recollection of which is thus penned by Dr. Sprague, after an interval of about thirty years.

"He came to the North as a delegate from the General Assembly to the General Associations of Connecticut and Massachusetts. I was present at both meetings, and saw and heard him both in private and in public. The General Association of Connecticut met at Tolland. Dr. Rice's high character was well known to most of the ministers assembled there, and everything he said and did abundantly sustained it. His preaching was deeply serious and impressive, and was received with great favor. His address, tendering to the Association the assurance of the sympathy and kind feeling of the General Assembly, was in his usual and felicitous style, and was responded to with great apparent cordiality. The next week I saw him in Springfield, at the meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts, where he appeared to still more advantage. On that occasion he preached a sermon in connexion with the administration of the communion, on the text—'The love of Christ constraineth us.' He began by asking each person in the house who had an interest at the throne of grace to lift up his heart at that moment, and silently implore a blessing upon the preacher and the message he was about to deliver; and though the request seemed to be heard with great attention and solemnity, it was so great a departure from what is commonly heard in a New England pulpit, where everything is staid and according to rule, that I was not without some apprehension, at the moment, that the desired effect would not be realized.

I perceived, however, almost immediately, that the Doctor was in such a frame for preaching as I had not seen him in before, and he continued constantly to rise from the beginning to the end of the sermon. Besides being exceedingly rich in the most precious truths of the gospel, it was an admirable specimen of lucid reasoning, and every sentence of it was spoken from a heart which was actually glowing and heaving with a sense of the love of Christ. Notwithstanding it was a kind of eloquence to which my New England friends were not used, they were still free to acknowledge its remarkable power, and I have rarely seen an audience more entirely melted and subdued than on that occasion. The impression which Dr. Rice made at that meeting was exceedingly favorable, and I doubt not had much to do with the rather uncommon success which subsequently attended his application in that region for aid for establishing the Union Theological Seminary in Virginia." From Dr. Sprague's sketch, and Dr. Rice's notes, published in the Magazine, it is evident that the estimation of the Southern Doctor and the New England theologians and congregations was mutually favorable. They met prepared to be pleased; they parted friends in the service of their common Lord.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### THE MESSRS. RANDOLPH.

THEODORE TUDOR RANDOLPH became a pupil in the school of Mr. Rice, in Charlotte, some time in the year 1809, and a member of his family. His mother, Mrs. Judith Randolph, widow of Richard Randolph, lived at Bizarre, near Farmville. With her, John Randolph, "of Roanoke," the brother of her husband, had his residence. Her husband, the only brother of the Matoax branch of the family that married, had died in 1796, when twenty-six years old, leaving her a young widow with two sons. The elder son, afflicted from his birth, deaf and mute, gave no promise of usefulness in manhood, shut out from instruction with other children, and depending on maternal fondness and care; the other endowed with faculties and dispositions fitting the station and responsibilities of one, the hope of his mother, the pride of his uncle, and the last stay of his branch of the family, and the heir apparent of his father and uncle.

This youth, Theodore, was taken with a fever. His mother visited him. Anxiously waiting on him, watching the slow progress of the fever from day to day, she became particularly acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Rice, having long known, by reputation, him as a classical and religious teacher of merit, and her as a member of a family of unspotted integrity. She herself had seen affliction by

the rod of God's hand; and was then, and had been, in trouble about the present and future condition of her soul in relation to her God. While watching with her son in this family, she found peace in believing in Jesus. Writing to a friend in Richmond, she says — "I wish very much that you could both hear and see my excellent friend, Mr. Rice; for I can with truth date the perfect recovery of my long lost peace of mind to the period when my child's illness called me to the abode of rational piety and real happiness." A mutual friendship was formed that lasted through life. Mr. Rice says, in a letter to her in 1811 — "I have considered you as one who, having been tried in the school of adversity, knew the value of real unpretended friendship; and who, of course, would not, like some whom I have known, veer about in affliction as suddenly and as capriciously as the winds in our climate. I have considered you as a person, too, convinced of the insufficiency of all that we call good on earth, to satisfy the human heart, and amidst many difficulties and embarrassments, earnestly desiring and sincerely endeavoring to obtain a portion in that inheritance which is incorruptible, undefiled, and which shall never fade away, reserved in heaven for all who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation. I could not become acquainted with you without at once feeling for you that affectionate regard which is ordinarily the result of long habits of intimacy."

John Randolph, "of Roanoke," held his oldest brother's widow in the highest estimation. The daughter of Thomas Mann Randolph, she was a blood relation; the mother of that nephew on whom his heart doated, she was richly endowed in mind and person. "My brother's widow," he says in a letter, "was beyond all comparison, the nicest and best housewife that I ever saw. The house, from cellar to garret, and in every part, as clean as hands could make it; and every thing as it should be to suit even my fastidious taste." Again he says about her — "an amiable woman, who unites to talents of the first order, a degree of cultivation uncommon in any country, but especially in ours. Cultivate a familiarity with her; each day will give you new and unexpected proof of the strength of her mind and the extent of her information." Of the piety of this sister Mr. Randolph never doubted. Her profession of faith in Christ, and of peace following that faith, had an influence upon him. His griefs had much likeness to hers. The same fountain might heal him. In May, 1815, he says — "For a long time the thoughts that now occupy me, came and went out of my mind. Sometimes they were banished by business; at others by pleasure. But heavy afflictions fell upon me. They came more frequently and staid longer, pressing me, until at last I never went asleep, nor awoke, but they were last and first in my recollection. Oftentimes have they awakened me, until at length I cannot detach myself from them if I would. If I could have my way, I would retire to some retreat, far from the strife of the world, and pass the remnant of my days in meditation and prayer; and yet this would be a life of ignoble security. There

are two ways only, in which I am of opinion that I may be of service to mankind. One of these is teaching children; and I have some thoughts of establishing a school."

About the time Mr. Rice removed to Richmond, Tudor became a student of Harvard University, Massachusetts. The mutual attachment of teacher and pupil led to a correspondence honorable to both. The letters of Mr. Rice become the head and heart of a teacher, minister of the gospel, and friend. Some sentences are even now literary curiosities — "I will thank you to let me know at what prices the following Greek books can be procured, Polybius, Xenophon's works, Pausanias, Herodotus and Thucydides, *if perchance the two last can be procured*. But above everything I wish you to get for me a copy of Schleusner's Lexicon of the Greek Testament. This is the book which of all others I most wish at present to procure. I highly approve of your plan of study as far as you have communicated it to me. Do they enter more fully into the structure of the Greek language, and direct your attention to more particulars than your former teacher? are they very attentive to pronunciation and prosody? and finally, if it will not be 'telling tales out of school,' do you see many evidences of profound literature about college?" In about two years this young man was compelled to leave college on account of the rapid progress of a disease resembling the dreaded consumption; and while residing with his aunt at Morrisania, New York, he received a letter from Mr. Rice, presented to the public by Mr. Maxwell in his memoir, exhibiting in a masterly manner, to the attention of his young friend, the plan of salvation. In the summer of 1815 he visited England, in hopes of advantage from the sea-voyage, the climate, the physicians, and the waters. While these things were taking place, Bizarre, the residence of Mrs. Randolph, was consumed by fire, with the greater part of the furniture. Mrs. Randolph did not again resume house-keeping; making some visits to Richmond and other places, and struggling herself with disease, under which her strength was wasting away, she exhibited a composure becoming a Christian woman, and a meekness and submission that endeared her more than ever to her friends.

The intimacy in the family permitted Mr. Rice, who, with the people of Charlotte and Prince Edward, entertained the highest opinion of John Randolph's abilities, to send to that gentleman packages, written and printed, on the great subject of salvation. To one of these Mr. Randolph sent a reply, dated Roanoke, Sept. 8th, 1815, in which he says — "Mr. Dudley brought me your letter of the 10th of July, from last Charlotte court. I fear lest you may think me unmindful, if not ungrateful of the kind interest which you have been pleased to take in my welfare. You have a better reward than my poor thanks, and yet I am not satisfied that you should not receive even them. I read Foster's Essays with great attention, and, notwithstanding the very revolting dress in which he has presented himself to his readers, I was highly gratified. I never saw a work of which it might be less truly said *materiem superabat opus*. I

shall read your other little present with the attention which I doubt not it deserves, but which the design of the donor eminently merits. My good sir, I fear that you have bestowed your culture upon a most thankless soil. I am led to this apprehension from the consciousness that this world, and all that it inherits have no longer value in my eyes. Am I not then more than usually culpable if I set not my heart upon another and better world? And yet with a firm conviction of the necessity of pardon and of reconciliation with a justly offended God, I am almost insensible to the motives that ought to actuate one in my condition. Occasionally, indeed, I am penetrated as I ought to be with the sense of the mercy of my creator, but the weight of my unworthiness bows me down, and seems to render impossible the idea that such as I am should be accepted by him. My dear sir, it is your partial friendship that shadows out in me an American Wilberforce. What have I done, what can I do, to merit so flattering an eulogium? I am even now in a state of warfare, while that great and good man appears to have attained that peace which passeth all understanding. I wished to thank you for your kind attention to me, and therefore this letter has been written; how inadequate to the expression of my feelings no one but myself can tell. The want of some friend to whom I can pour out my thoughts as they arise, is not the least of the privations under which I labor.

"September 29th 1815.

"Last Sunday I had the pleasure to hear your brother and Mr. Hoge preach at Bethesda. The day before Mr. Lyle gave us an excellent discourse. To-morrow I hope to hear Mr. Hoge again at College. I have been much disturbed during the last week, particularly at night, when my mind exerts an activity that is painful and exhausting."

At this time Mr. Randolph avowed, with his characteristic boldness and reserve, his convictions of the truth and importance of the Christian religion. His letters, on this subject, partake of the simplicity and force of his best speeches. They are the expression of intense feeling and vivid conception and clear convictions. Among other things he proclaims some truths that should encourage mothers; for he tells us that when the writings of the French Philosophers were carrying him, as they did multitudes of others in Virginia, to the gulph of Atheism, the barrier which saved him, was the vivid recollection of his own action under his mother's teaching when a child. Every night he kneeled by her side, and with folded hands repeated after her, "Our Father which art in heaven; hallowed be thy name," to the end of that prayer. Whenever he was inclined to be giving way to the tide of false philosophy — he would seem to hear his mother's voice, and his own, saying — "Our Father which art in heaven," and he could go no farther. The impression on the child saved the man.

The young man Tudor was not improved by the voyage; and

rapidly declined under all efforts for his relief. In the latter part of October news arrived of his death, on the 18th of August. His last words were, "don't grieve for me, for I die happy." His mother bowed in submission to this bitterest of all God's dispensations to her, and sought refuge, in the mercy of God, and in the house of her friends Mr. and Mrs. Rice. With them she remained till her death. On the 10th of March 1816, she departed after a painful illness; her last words were, "Christ is my only hope." She was buried at Tuckahoe the seat of her ancestors, a few miles above Richmond, and reposes amidst the scenes of her childhood till Christ shall call her from the tomb.

John Randolph "of Roanoke" groaned in agony, at the death of Tudor, as the severest trial of his life. God measures to men trials fitted to their dispositions and relations in life, their physical and mental organization, and those unnumbered circumstances that make men what they are, and reveal the necessity of a purification for a better life, and often indicate the very process by which "all things work together for good to them that love God." To a delicate frame, passionate heart with tenderness intermingled, vehement attachments, and an unsubdued will, the death of an idolized and idolizing mother was *the first furnace* through which he was called to pass. Sympathy is moved for him, as he complains of the dealings of God and wonders "the sun does not cease to shine." "She only knew me," says he mournfully, "after half a century had passed. Ah who like a mother knows the boy! Punctilious on points of honor and etiquette, strong in self-respect, and proud of his family and name, abundant in means of wealth, and flattered by the political public, sensitive of impropriety in himself, keen-sighted of it in others, irascible at neglect and furious at contempt, tenacious of a prejudice, and abiding in friendship, a failure in finding ardent love the return for ardent love was to him the *second furnace* that tried him in its fire. How should he divest himself of his first love! how should he love again! In his age, it was a bitterness to him, that he had no wife of youth, or children to love. Those affections that should have revelled in connubial and paternal love preyed upon his heart; "I too am miserable."

His brother Richard he esteemed more richly endowed physically and mentally than himself, he was married to a lady equally endowed; he had children; and was all, in himself and family, that he desired in a brother. The Randolph name and honor would be perpetuated and enlarged in him. Next to his mother, Richard best knew his brother John; and next to him his amiable wife comprehended him; and he, in return, loved them with unbounded affection. The death of this eldest and only remaining brother in his twenty-sixth year, was the *third heated furnace* to try his soul.

He loved politics as a youthful patriot panting for excellence. Clear and firm in his political principles, decided in his opinions, unyielding in his course, unawed by danger in any of the forms he met in public life, he fondly hoped these qualifications displayed



in important acts, set forth by that unrivalled eloquence with which he knew himself endowed, would gain the approbation of the good and the admiration of the world, and accomplish for his country, and particularly his native State the highest civil enjoyment and political honor. He won the admiration of the world for a time, and the approbation of his constituents for ever. A change in the political aspect of things, the formation of new parties on issues he could not approve, isolated him in Congress, as completely as his habits and manners and feelings and tastes had done in private life. He saw what he believed to be the wrong prevail in the councils of the nation. He found himself a reviled misrepresented man in a hopeless minority. Men, that could neither answer nor comprehend him, could reproach, and mis-state him, and be applauded. This was *the fourth fiery furnace* to try a soul brave enough to meet the world in arms, sensitive enough to be annoyed by the stinging of a gnat, firm enough to bear it all on the arena of public combat, tender enough to wail in private life where no wife met him with a kiss or children with their fond embrace.

His brother Richard left two sons. The elder afflicted from his very birth, in proper time of manhood became a maniac. On the second son rested the uncle for the recovery of the diminished family. On him he lavished his love. And Theodoric Tudor was worthy of the hopes of the mother and the expectations of the uncle. His fine powers of mind were united to tenderness of heart, and correctness of moral principle. John H. Rice had been his instructor; the University of Harvard his place of study. But—in a letter dated Roanoke, July 31st, 1814, the uncle says—“Affliction has assailed me in a new shape. My younger nephew has fallen, I fear, into a confirmed pulmonary consumption. He was the pride, the sole hope of our family. How shall I announce to his wretched mother, that the last hope of her widowed life is falling! Give me some comfort, my good friend, I beseech you. He is now travelling by slow journeys home. What a scene awaits him there! His birth-place in ashes, his mother worn to a skeleton with disease and grief, his brother cut off from all that distinguishes man to his advantage from the brute beast. I do assure you that my own reason has staggered under this blow. My faculties are benumbed; I feel suffocated.” When from Dr. Brockenbrough he received the news of Tudor’s death, Mr. Randolph said in reply—“I can make no comment upon it. To attempt to describe the situation of my mind would be vain, even if it were practicable. May God bless you; to him alone I look for comfort on this side the grave; there alone if at all I shall find it. *This was the fifth furnace.* Its heat dried up his moisture. He that thought—“this world of ours a vast mad house”—“that madness is an epidemic among us”—seemed to others, after this event, to have become mad himself. In the midst of it, he says to Mr. Key—“I adore the goodness and the wisdom of God, and submit myself to his mercy most implicitly.”

Many thought him insane. He might have been so at times. But it is certain, with his principles in politics, his refined sensibilities, his crushed heart, his admiration of Virginia as it was, his sense of honor, and his disordered nerves, he could not act at all on anything, without appearing to some part of the community as mad. He loved his kindred. Who can read his farewell to Dudley with dry eyes? He educated the children of Bryan. He loved his half-brothers and their families. But they were not Randolphs; the family ended with him. When he sat down in his solitary home, these thoughts would rush upon him — his family run out with him — nobody to know and appreciate him at his house that would perpetuate the name. What wonder if “he often sat upon his horse at the door ten minutes pondering,” where he would ride to divert himself of these cares; or if he did “have his horse saddled in the dead of night, and ride over the plantation with loaded pistols.” What wonder if he were sometimes mad. But in his madness one thing is clear, the splendor of his intellect and the strong feelings of his heart never abated. They triumphed in his last hours. The letters he wrote from the year 1814, and onwards, would afford a volume of intense interest on morality and religion, as well as politics. He was for a long time in possession of papers and correspondence illustrative of the political actions and actors of his day. These he deliberately destroyed some years before his death, giving as his reason, that he did it for the honor of human nature, and of his generation, that these papers exposed the fickleness and weakness of political men, in such manner and degree, he was not willing to be implicated in the publication even after his death. He had fought his fight while he lived; he had delivered his principles to his countrymen. He could not revenge upon his enemies and fickle associates by posthumous revelations, involving dishonor. What he would not speak he would not print. Table conversations and private letters he would not expose, to the detriment of a hated adversary. Honored be his name for it. The mandate of his idolised mother could not have made a Horace Walpole of him, without first driving him perfectly mad.

He chose peculiar characters, living characters, as the exemplars of his beau ideal of Christians and gentlemen. Writing to Mr. F. Key, of Washington, in 1814, he says, “It ought never to be forgotten that real converts to Christianity, on opposite sides of the globe, agree at the same moment to the same facts. Thus Dr. Hoge and Mr. Key, although strangers, understand perfectly what each other feels and believes.” And again, he says, “I consider Dr. Hoge as the ablest and most interesting speaker that I ever heard in the pulpit, or out of it; and the most perfect pattern of a Christian teacher I ever saw. His life affords an example of the great truths of the doctrine that he dispenses to his flock; and if he has a fault (which being mortal, I suppose he cannot be free from), I have never heard it pointed out.”

The following letter to his half-brother, Henry St. George Tucker;

on the death of his son, Henry St. George, in the bloom of his youth, reveals some of the mental exercises of John Randolph of Roanoke.

"May he who has the power, and always the will, when earnestly, humbly, and devoutly entreated, support and comfort you, my brother. I shall not point to the treasures that remain to you in your surviving children and their mother, dearer than all these put together. No, I have felt too deeply how little power have words which play round the head to reach the heart when it is sorely wounded. The common-places of consolation are at the tongue's end of all the self-complacent and satisfied, from the pedant priest to the washerwoman. (They who don't feel can talk), I abjure them all. But the father of Lord Russell, when consoled with according to form, by the book, replied, 'I would not give my dead son for any other man's living.' May this thought come home to your bosom too, but not on the same occasion.

"May the Spirit of God, which is not a chimera of heated brains nor a device of artful men to frighten and cajole the credulous, but it is as much an existence that can be felt and understood as the whisperings of your heart or the love you bore to him that you have lost; may that spirit, which is the Comforter, shed his influence upon your soul, and incline your heart and understanding to the only right way, which is that of life eternal.

"Did you ever read Bishop Butler's 'Analogy?' If not, I will send it to you. Have you read THE BOOK? What I say upon this subject, I not only believe, but know to be true; that the Bible studied with an humble and contrite heart, never yet failed to do its work, even with them that from idiosyncrasy or disordered minds have conceived that they were cut off from its promises of life to come.

"'Ask and ye shall have; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you.' This was my only support and stay during years of misery and darkness, and just as I had begun almost to despair, after more than ten years of penitence and prayer, it pleased God to enable me to see the truth, to which until then my eyes had been sealed. To this vouchsafement I have made the most ungrateful return. Yet I would not give up my slender portion of the price paid for our redemption, yea, my brother, *our* redemption, the ransom of sinners, of all who do not hug their chains and refuse to come out from the house of bondage, I say I would not exchange my little portion in the Son of David, for the power and glory of the Parthian or Roman Empires, as described by Milton in the temptation of our Lord and Saviour, not for all with which the enemy tempted the Saviour of man.

"This is the secret of the change of my spirits, which all who know me must have observed, within a few years past. After years spent in humble and contrite entreaty, that the tremendous sacrifice on Mount Calvary might not have been made in vain for me, the

chiefest of sinners, it pleased God to speak his peace into my heart — that peace of God which passeth all understanding to them that know it not, and even to them that do, and although I have now as then to reproach myself with time mis-spent, and faculties mis-employed, although my condition has on more than one occasion resembled that of him, who having an evil spirit cast out, was taken possession of by seven other spirits more wicked than the first, and the first also, yet I trust that they too by the power and mercy of God may be, if they are not, vanquished.

“But where am I running to? on this subject more hereafter. Meanwhile assure yourself, of what is of small value compared with that of them who are a part of yourself, of the unchanged regard and sympathy of your mother's son. Ah! my God, I remember to have seen her die, to have followed her to the grave, to have wondered that the sun continued to rise and to set, and the order of nature to go on. Ignorant of true religion, yet not an atheist, I remember with horror my impious expostulations with God upon this bereavement. ‘But not yet an atheist!’ The existence of atheism has been denied. But I was an honest one. \* \* \* \* Hume began, and Hobbes finished me, (I read Spinoza and all the tribe.) Surely I fell by no ignoble hand. And the very man who gave me ‘Hume's Essay upon Human Nature’ to read, administered ‘Beattie upon Truth,’ as the antidote. Venice treacle against arsenic, and the essential oil of bitter almonds, a bread and milk poultice for the bite of the *cobra capello*.

“Had I have remained a successful political leader I might never have been a Christian. But it pleased God that my pride should be mortified: that by death and desertion I should lose my friends; that, except in the veins of one, and he too possessed ‘of a child’ by a deaf and dumb spirit, there should not run one drop of my father's blood in any living creature besides myself. The death of Tudor finished my humiliation. I had tried all things, but the refuge of Christ, and to that with parental stripes was I driven; often did I cry out, with the father of that wretched boy, ‘Lord I believe, help thou mine unbelief!’ and the gracious mercy of our Lord to this wavering faith, staggering under the force of the hard heart of unbelief, I humbly hoped would in his good time be extended to me also.

“Throw revelation aside, and I can drive any man by irresistible induction to atheism. John Marshall could not resist me. When I say any man, I mean a man capable of logical and consequential reasoning. Deism is the refuge of them that startle at atheism, and can't believe revelation. \* \* \* \* Myself, (may God forgive us both,) used, with Diderot and Co., to laugh at the deistical bigots, who must have milk, not being able to digest meat.

“All theism is derived from revelation,—that of the Jews confessedly; our own is from the same source; so is the false revelation of Mahomet, and I can't much blame the Turks for thinking the Franks and Greeks to be idolaters. Every other idea of one God

that floats in the world is derived from the traditions of the sons of Noah, handed down to their posterity.

“But enough, and more than enough. I can hardly guide my pen. I will, however, add that no lukewarm secker ever became a real Christian, for ‘from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force;’ a text which I read 500 times before I had the slightest conception of its true application.

“Your Brother,  
 “To Henry St. Tucker, Esq.” “J. R., of Roanoke.”

The last days of Mrs. Judith Randolph were, by her special and earnest request, passed under the roof, and in the family of Dr. Rice, in Richmond. As she approached her end, she proposed to Dr. Rice a bequest of some of her property, as a memento of her kind feelings to him, and as some return for his multiplied attentions to her, for a series of years, and particularly in that present sickness she was convinced would be her last, and also to add something to his regular support, which she saw was not so abundant as she could wish. Dr. Rice firmly, yet in the most gentle manner, declined the proposition, and convinced her, as he supposed, that, in the circumstances, it might have an ill impression. Some time after, her friend, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, was called upon by her to draw her will. After her death, Dr. Rice was surprised, that, notwithstanding his objections, she had made him a legatee. Being engaged in some benevolent operations that required pecuniary help, he took the legacy, and scrupulously divided it all among those in measure, as near as he could conjecture, according to her estimation of the objects while she was living.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

### ○ REV. CONRAD SPEECE, D. D.—HIS YOUTH AND MINISTRY TO 1820.

THE author of the beautiful hymn—“Blest Jesus, when thy cross I view—that mystery to the angelic host”—Conrad Speece, was for many years pastor of the Stone Church, Augusta County, the third in succession. Of German origin, though entirely English in his education, he often playfully, in his later years, called himself “the old Dutchman.” In some manuscript notes, he says: “My father’s name was Conrad Speece, the son of Conrad Speece, who emigrated to this country from Germany. My mother’s maiden name was Ann Catherine Turney. I was born in New London, Virginia, November 7th, 1776. My parents were poor, but honest and industrious people.” His birth occurred about a year previous

to that of John H. Rice, D. D., and in the same county, Bedford. Both were blessed with pious mothers; both struggled hard with poverty for an education. They were associated as tutors in college, and maintained for each other a warm friendship through life.

"My parents," he says, "sent me several years, in my childhood, to a common school, where I learned reading, writing and arithmetic. They also instructed me early in religion. In 1787, we removed to a farm five miles from New London, where I was employed, several years, in the labors of agriculture. As I delighted much in reading, I gradually acquired some knowledge of the historical parts of the Bible, and some ideas on the leading doctrines of religion."

Samuel Brown, afterwards pastor of New Providence, was one of his early teachers. Having formed a high estimate of the boy's capacity, he wrote to his father, urging him to send his son Conrad to the grammar school, near New London. This request, declined by the father, on account of his narrow circumstances, made an impression of lasting influence on the boy. Some months afterwards, Mr. Edward Graham, the teacher of the grammar school, moved probably by the representations of Mr. Brown, "offered to give me tuition for four years, on condition of my assisting him in teaching, as soon as I should become capable, and until the end of that period. My grandmother Speece, in New London, offered to furnish my boarding on moderate terms. On this plan, I entered the school in November, 1792.

"At first, the Latin language was very irksome to me, but soon became easy." He committed the grammar with great readiness, but as a matter of memory. There was no pleasure in the effort to apply the forms and rules to the examples in the first Latin book. Mr. Graham encouraged him, and complimented the progress he was making. One day, while looking over the forms in the grammar, and getting almost weary of his occupation, the whole matter seemed to open to him in a twinkling, like the drawing of a curtain, or awaking from sleep; and he saw at once the meaning of the forms, and the design of the rules he had been storing in his retentive memory. He proceeded to gather word after word, in rapid succession, reduce it to its root, find its place in the form, subject it to the rules, ascertain its meaning, and commit all to his faithful memory. After that day, the acquisition of Latin was a delightful exercise. For a time, his teachers knew not what to think of young Speece. On went his recitations, rapid, without pausing, sentence after sentence, with the same cheerfulness and ease he had followed the plough unwearied, from rising to setting sun. At the close of the year, Mr. Graham removed to Liberty Hall, and was succeeded by Mr. George A. Baxter. This gentleman, while presiding over this Academy, had two pupils, John H. Rice and Conrad Speece, who honored him in after-life. Mr. Speece remained under the instruction of Mr. Baxter a year and a-half, applying himself with great devotion to his studies. "I had now gone" — that is, in two

years and a-half—"through the usual course of languages and sciences" taught in the Academy. Of his habits with the pen we know nothing more, than that he sometimes wrote poetry, which was thought extraordinary for a youth.

"In February, 1795, my excellent mother died. This led me to resolve that I would seek religion. I tried to pray, and find the way of salvation. Being about to quit school, my father told me I must provide for myself. I had formed the idea of becoming a lawyer, but rather dreaded it in a religious point of view, and was not in circumstances suitable for studying law. I wrote to my friend, Mr. Edward Graham, of Liberty Hall Academy, asking his advice on my future conduct. He invited me to go to Liberty Hall, offering my boarding, and what instructions I could gain, for a little assistance to him in teaching. Perpetual thanks to God, and thanks to my friend Graham also, for this invitation—I went to Liberty Hall, in May, 1795. New studies, in which I engaged eagerly, together with light, ungodly company, soon banished serious impressions from my mind. I heard the preaching of William Graham, our rector, with intellectual pleasure, but with a hard heart. I became fond of the profession of the law, and spent my leisure hours in legal studies. Towards the end of this summer, I gradually became again anxious about my eternal interests; I felt myself a sinner, and set out more earnestly than ever to seek salvation. I was soon driven to the brink of infidelity, by some of the more mysterious doctrines of Scripture. Jenyn's Internal Evidences and Beattie's Evidences, providentially put into my hands by our rector, fully convinced me of the truth of Christianity. I resolved now to turn my whole attention to the obtaining of acceptance with God, through the Lord Jesus Christ. But how should I come to the Father by him? I set out ignorantly to gain, by my own strength, what I called the wedding garment, an humble, holy disposition of heart, as a preparation to my being accepted in Christ. Here I discovered, much more than before, the dreadful depravity of my nature, felt the evil of sin, and acknowledged myself most justly condemned. In the midst of many desponding fears, I cried to God, in the name of Christ, for sanctification as well as justification. At length, in the course of the autumn, I was enabled to cast myself, with mingled joy and trembling, by faith, on the rich mercy of God, in Christ, for salvation, and to devote myself to his service. Blessed day, ever to be remembered with gratitude and wonder! In the ensuing winter, I resolved to engage, God willing, in the ministry of the gospel. In April, 1796, I was received to communion in the Presbyterian Church of New Monmouth."

In September of this year, Mr. Speece was chosen tutor at Liberty Hall on a salary of sixty-five pounds and his board; October 20th, together with George Baxter, he received the degree of A. B. at the Hall; on the same day the Rector, William Graham's resignation was received by the Trustees. "In the same month

(September) I was received by the Lexington Presbytery as a candidate for the ministry. They appointed me, as trials, a homily on original sin, and a Latin exegesis on the question, in quo consistat coeli felicitas. The ensuing winter I studied Theology under the instruction of our Rector. In April, 1797, our Presbytery accepted my first trials, and further appointed me a lecture on Isaiah 11th : 1-9 ; and a popular discourse on John 3 : 7. Reluctant to engage too early in preaching, I obtained leave of the Presbytery in September to defer delivering these exercises until the ensuing spring. On carefully examining the Confession of Faith, I found no subject of scruple, except the doctrine of infant baptism. It was necessary to obtain, if possible, full satisfaction on it before the next meeting of Presbytery. I entered on the study of the subject by the Scriptures, with the aid of Booth's Pedobaptism Examined, and William's Antipedobaptism Examined. In the result the preponderance of evidence seemed to me to be against infant baptism. In April, 1798, the Presbytery, after accepting my pieces of trial, desired of me an account of my difficulties on baptism. They treated me in a friendly manner, and desired me to attend their next meeting. In the meantime my licensure was necessarily suspended."

The succeeding year he made his home mostly at his father's, having left Liberty Hall on account of his health, in the month of June. In the month of October the Presbytery held a conference with him on the subject of baptism, in a kind and friendly way, without removing his difficulties. He continued with his father, and was engaged laboriously on the farm during the winter, and regained his bodily vigor by the continued toil. In the spring of the year 1799, Rev. Archibald Alexander, President of Hampden Sidney College, on a visit to Rockbridge, called to see him for the purpose of engaging him as a tutor in College; and found him engaged in the hardest of farming work, running a ditch to drain a portion of the farm. The interview was agreeable and characteristic, and ended in an engagement of Mr. Speece as tutor. "In May, 1799, I settled as tutor at Hampden Sidney College. Made little progress this summer in the study of baptism. About the end of the year, however, I considered it my duty to be baptized by immersion on a profession of my faith. This was done in April, 1800, by the Rev. James Saunders, pastor of Appomatox church. Without any preliminary formality I immediately began to preach the gospel. An awful, yet delightful task! Preached almost every Sabbath, at various places around and often at college."

"My friend, the Rev. Archibald Alexander, having obtained, in the autumn of this year, the removal of his objections against infant baptism, soon convinced me of the necessity of reconsidering the subject for myself. I now read Richard Baxter's Plain Scripture Proof of Infants' Church Membership and Baptism, and received much light from it, as also from Mr. Alexander's consideration. In the course of the winter I became thoroughly a convert to the Pedobaptist doctrine; and informed our pastor by letter of my in-



tion to return to the Presbyterian church. April 9th, 1801, having read before the Presbytery of Hanover a discourse on baptism by way of trial, they licensed me to preach the gospel. Went on preaching as before." This is his brief narrative of his life at Hampden Sidney for a little more than two years. He received for the service rendered the first year as tutor, by agreement with the President, and by order of the Board, March 28th, 1800, one hundred pounds — "which," say the records, "is twenty pounds per annum more than was formerly directed to be paid him." He was associated with John H. Rice, under President Alexander, and proved himself to be, what he said of Mr. Rice — "an able teacher." Fresh from the labor of the farm he delighted to retain the simple habits of his father's house, dear to his recollections of childhood, and blessed to the restoration of his health; frequently found it difficult to conform, to his position as instructor of youth. Often, in his room, he might have been seen without coat, vest, shoes, or stockings, engaged at his books, attired as for haymaking; and sometimes when summoned by the bell to recitation, he has rushed out of his room unconscious of his appearance, till some friend remonstrated with him for his carelessness in exposing himself to the ridicule of the boys. A severe reproof from the President, Mr. Alexander, was the effectual cure.

"Weary of a college life, and desirous to devote myself more entirely to preaching, I left Hampden Sidney in September this year (1801), and set out as a travelling preacher. About the beginning of October the Synod of Virginia appointed me a missionary to any of their vacancies below the Allegheny mountains." While connected with college, Mr. Speece exercised his poetic powers to some extent. His productions were of a devotional kind, expressing the spiritual exercises of a Christian man. "I prescribed to myself a rule, never to write a line for which I should, as a Christian, blush in a dying hour." The hymn in use, the 372d of the Presbyterian collection, bears date October 6th, 1800, and first made its appearance in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine. His contributions to that periodical in the poetic line were numerous, until the appearance of the *Virginia Religious Magazine*, which became the vehicle of his thoughts for the public eye.

Spending a year among the vacancies in Virginia and Maryland, he visited his native county in 1802. "There being a revival in Bedford, I spent a few weeks in April there, and found the preaching of the gospel in such circumstances peculiarly delightful." In February of the next year he accepted an invitation from Montgomery County, Maryland, and divided his labors between the congregation of Captain John and the Falls church, and Union in Fairfax, Virginia. On the 7th of December, the Presbytery of Baltimore received him as candidate, and put in his hands a call. He delivered before the Presbytery a sermon on 1st Cor. 10th: 20 and 21, and a lecture on Romans, 9th chapter. They "put me through the usual examinations. On Sabbath, April 22d, 1804, the

Presbytery at Captain John ordained me to the work of the ministry and installed me as pastor of that church. The Rev. Dr. James Muir presided and preached on Heb. 2d: 8d, first clause. The Rev. Stephen B. Balch delivered the charge." On account of repeated attacks of bilious fever he concluded that the climate did not agree with his constitution, and the congregation finding some difficulty in sustaining him, he asked a dissolution of the pastoral relation, and preached his farewell sermon, April 21st, 1805. For a series of years, in his early ministry, he was greatly afflicted with sickness; attacks of bilious fever were severe and protracted. From his poetical effusions the affliction appears to have been blessed to his spiritual welfare.

Mr. Speece laid before Synod regular journals of his journeyings and preaching for the time he acted as missionary, before and after his settlement in Maryland. These are lost. Only one extract is extant, in the Virginia Religious Magazine, vol. 1st, pp. 378, 379: "Passing lately through a neighborhood where I had preached several years ago, I called on an old acquaintance and relative, who has for some time past professed religion. Of his first awakening he gave me the following account. 'You may remember the time when you preached at ——. I was one of your hearers. Until that time I had been quite careless about the salvation of my soul, and for some years a profane swearer, and otherwise grossly wicked. My heart was not affected by any of the solemn truths which you delivered on that occasion — yet from that day I felt very awful and abiding religious impressions. When I saw and heard you, I was led to reflect that a few years ago we were children and playmates together; that now you were become a Christian, and a minister of the gospel, while I remained a miserably impenitent sinner, under the wrath of God, and in danger every moment of dropping into hell. These reflections produced in my mind the most alarming convictions of sin, and so fastened them upon me that they were not to be shaken off. I was constrained to betake myself to prayer for divine mercy; and so continued until, as I trust, I obtained the pardon of my sins by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.' How various are the methods of the Holy Spirit in bringing sinners unto God! and how strangely does he bless the labors of his ministers often, while they seem to themselves to be spending their strength in vain! I remember well that on the day referred to I concluded with sorrow of heart, that I had preached the gospel without the least success. Yet God was pleased to make me instrumental in awakening this person; and that not by my preaching, strictly speaking, but merely by my presence. Let not the preacher of the gospel despond because he sees no immediate and striking effects of his ministrations. In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand, for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, this or that."

In the beginning of the year 1806—"I entered on the discharge of my duties in Fluvanna and Goochland,—a half of my time to be

employed at Columbia, in Fluvanna, and the other half at Lickinghole, in Goochland. Took my abode at Major Robert Quarles, in Fluvanna. At the close of the year circumstances did not favor a renewal of my expiring engagements. At the beginning of Feb., (1807,) I entered on a new scene of action; having acceded to a proposal for my preaching during five years, one half of my time at Peterville Church, in Powhatan, the other half equally divided at Turkey Cock, and Tearwallet Churches, in Cumberland, with a reserve of the fifth Sabbath to myself, whenever one should occur in any month. In these regions there are a few pious Presbyterians thinly scattered, but no organized societies. Took my abode at Josiah Smith's, Esquire, in Powhatan." While residing in this family, which was his home during the whole time of his engagement, he attended the General Assembly in Philadelphia, 1807, received the degree of A. M. from Hampden Sidney, 1808; second time a delegate to Assembly, and preached the Missionary Sermon, 1810; made observations on the annular eclipse, 1811, and Dec. 26th—"witnessed this night the latter part of that most tremendous scene, the burning of the Richmond Theatre." At the close of his engagement he says—"I enjoyed the pleasures of friendship in no ordinary degree. But the success of my preaching, especially in Powhatan, appeared to be small. I fear indeed my own spirit too often slumbered over my sacred work. Upon the whole I felt a wish to retire:—accordingly, about the middle of November, (1812), I went to my father's in Campbell, and spent a few months of the winter in preaching around."

Dr. Speece wrote a short sketch of the events and circumstances he thought worthy of remembrance, up to this period. It bears date Augusta County, Virginia, Jan. 28th, 1828. It is contained on three and a quarter sheets foolscap paper, written in a round, plain hand. It is to be regretted that he did not give a fuller account of his life, connected as he was with some eminent men: and that he did not continue it to the close of his days. From this time to the end of his life his memoranda of ministerial services is complete, with the exception of baptism, of which there is not a single entry. The memorandum books contain only occasional statements of facts.

"March 5th, 1813. Having received an invitation, I set out from my father's to visit Augusta Church, which afterwards became, and still continues to be my pastoral charge, and which has been the scene of my greatest usefulness in the ministry. From the point of time last mentioned, I preserve my journal entire." The dates and facts chronicled were helps to his memory, and to himself were suggestive of events innumerable, and circumstances of deepest interest—but to others little else than the chronology of a preacher's labors. As a specimen we give a page or two:—

*"Journal.*

"*March 5th, 1813. Set out for Augusta.—Sabb., 7th. P<sup>d</sup> at Lexington, Ps. 46, 1, 2, 3.—Sabb., 14th. P<sup>d</sup> at New Providence M. H.,*

James 1, 9, 10.—Sabb., 21st. P<sup>d</sup> at Augusta Church, Luke 8, 18.—Same Ev'g. P<sup>d</sup> at Staunton, John 12, 32.—23d. P<sup>d</sup> at Aug'a, Ps. 117, 1.—24th. P<sup>d</sup> at Wm. Craig's, Heb. 4, 13.—Sabb., 28th. P<sup>d</sup> at Aug'a, 2 Sermons on 1 Cor. 3, 11.—31st. P<sup>d</sup> at Salem M. H., Gal. 2, 19.

"April 1st. P<sup>d</sup> at Capt. Jno. Campbell's, 3 John 2.—Sabb., 4. P<sup>d</sup> at Bethel M. M., 2 Sermons on 2 Cor. 6, 17, 18.—5th. P<sup>d</sup> at Mr. Wm. Gilkeson's, Acts 21, 13.—Sabb., 11th. P<sup>d</sup> at Aug'a, Luke 18, 13.—16th. P<sup>d</sup> at Mr. James Hooke's, Luke 8, 14.—17. P<sup>d</sup> at Flo-gel's M. H., Ps. 119, 124.—Sab., 18. P<sup>d</sup> at Aug'a, 2 Sermons, the 1st on Luke 10, 42, first clause; the 2d on Isa. 44, 5.—19th. P<sup>d</sup> at Sa-lem, P. 119, 133.—22, Ev'g. P<sup>d</sup> at Staunton, Rev. 22, 34.—Sab., 25. P<sup>d</sup> at Aug'a, 2 Sermons, the 1st on 1 Cor. 4, 2; the 2d on Ps. 37, 4.—Same Ev'g. P<sup>d</sup> at Staunton, Prov. 28, 13.—27. The people of Augusta Church invited me, by their Elders, to settle permanently among them as their pastor. They appeared unanimous and earnest in their invitation. I promised to decide on their proposal within the next month.—Same day. P<sup>d</sup> at Aug'a, Matt. 7, 21.—29, Ev'g. P<sup>d</sup> at Staunton, 1 Cor. 13, 5.—30. P<sup>d</sup> at Bethel, Isa. 45, 22.—Same Ev'g. P<sup>d</sup> at Mr. John Logan's, 1 John 3, 1, first clause.

"May, Sab. 2d. P<sup>d</sup> at Bethel before the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. 11, 24.—4th. Arrived at my father's in Campbell.—6th. Attended the meeting of Hanover Presbytery, at Lynchburg.—8th. Obtained my dismissal from this Presb'y to join the Presb'y of Lexington.—Same Ev'g. P<sup>d</sup> at Lynchburg, P. 119, 133.—Sab'th, 9. P<sup>d</sup> at do., before the Lord's Supper, Phil. 3, 7.—11th. Left my father's.—Sab. 16. P<sup>d</sup> at the Masons' Hall, Richmond, Matt. 5, 6.—Same day. P<sup>d</sup> at the Capitol, do., Ps. 119, 124.—17th. Wrote to inform the people of Augusta Church of my acceptance of their proposal. They are to have my undivided labors, and to give me, for my support, 500 dollars per annum, and as much more as proper exertions can from time to time obtain. Appointed to begin my labors there on the first Sabbath of next month.—Same day. P<sup>d</sup> at the Masons' Hall, Richmond, Rom. 8, 37.—18th. P<sup>d</sup> at Mrs. Catherine Strothers, do., Matt. 16, 24.—21st. P<sup>d</sup> at Josiah Smith's, Esq'r, 1 John, 3, 5.—22d. P<sup>d</sup> at Peterville, Matt. 22, 4, 5.—Sab., 23d. P<sup>d</sup> at Turkey Cock, Eph. 6, 15.—Same day. P<sup>d</sup> at Capt. Joseph McLaurine's, Ps. 119, 140.—25. P<sup>d</sup> at Tearwallet, 1 Thess. 1, 3.—Same day. P<sup>d</sup> at Mr. Geo. Anderson's, Matt. 16, 24.—26. P<sup>d</sup> at Mr. Stephen Trent's, Ruth 1, 16.—29. P<sup>d</sup> at Turkey Creek, 2 Cor. 13, 11, first part.—Sab. 30. P<sup>d</sup> at Columbia, 1 Thess. 3, 8.

"June 1. P<sup>d</sup> at Lickinghole, Zach. 9, 9.—4th. Arrived at Alexander Nelson's, Esq'r, where I take my abode."

In this manner he journalizes till the day of his death. The situation of the congregation, the circumstances of the invitation, the retired pastor, his reason for acceptance, were all trusted to his memory with these simple dates. His visit to his much esteemed brother in the ministry, and companion at the College, John H. Rice, who had but lately removed to Richmond, in interesting circum-

stances, is so recorded that a stranger would not know how much he valued that brother and friend. His interview with the brethren of Hanover Presbytery is summed up in the notice of meeting them, and getting a dismission, and the text on which he discoursed to their great gratification. All his public services are recorded in chronological order, his attendance on Synod and Presbytery, his visits of every kind that led him out of the bounds of his congregation, short notices of events of particular importance, all are put down in chronological order. While he is particular in mentioning his attendance on the Lord's Supper, and performance of the marriage ceremony, he does not in the journal make record of baptisms. The reason is not anywhere given.

On the 1st of October, 1813, at Windy Cove, he became a regular member of Lexington Presbytery; and received and accepted a call from Augusta church. Saturday, the 16th of the month, was the day designated for his installation. The appointment was made for a communion season, on the succeeding Sabbath, embracing the two previous and succeeding days. His record of *the last great gathering of the old congregation of "The Triple Forks of Shenandoah,"* is as brief as an ordinary notice could be; "was installed as pastor at the church, by a Committee of Lexington Presbytery. The Rev. George Bourne preached on John 5: 35; the Rev. Wm. Calhoon presided, and gave the charge. God grant that the people and myself may never forget the solemn transaction. May he bless our covenant abundantly."

The public services began as usual, on Friday, at the old grove embowered church-fort. The pastor elect preached from Heb. 12: 15, "Looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace of God; lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be deceived." On Saturday came on the installation services. The pastor of Tinkling Spring, John M'Cue, whose charge many of them were accustomed to worship here in former days, came along to preach on the Sabbath; also William Calhoon, the minister of Staunton and Brown's meeting-house, whose charge embraced a portion of those on Lewis's Creek, and those in Staunton, that once made part of the "Triple Forks," and still in affection clung to the Stone church. From Mossy Creek and Jennings' Gap, the scene in succeeding years of the labors of Hendren, and from the South River down towards Port Republic, with their minister, George Bourne, the talented and the erring, the people came as in the times when their fathers and themselves, when children, fled to the fort for safety, and came on Sabbath to worship. The hill was full of horses and people; not a carriage there. Horses, caparisoned with saddles for men and women, and pillions, and blankets, were to be seen standing all around, tied to the limbs of trees, from an early hour on Saturday. You could see the people coming from every direction, as the highways were not so fenced in as at this day, in groups of smaller or larger companies; here a family all on horse-back, the father with a child behind him, and one in his arms, and the mother equally balanced, moving slowly along; another with his

wife upon a pillion and a child on the pommel of his saddle; and then some young people that had met accidentally on the road, or had, perhaps, gone a little out of their way on some pretence, came riding up in the unpretending gallantry of independent mountaineers.

The second pastor, William Wilson, under the pressure of infirmity, had retired from the office of pastor; you might see his residence on the rising ground, a little to the south of the church; and the third pastor, of whom high expectations had been formed, was about to be installed. Installation services in those days of health and longevity were rare. Few people had witnessed two on that hill, many had never witnessed one. Though men had human passions then, and felt all the frailties of our nature, and ministers and their people were not exempt from causes of uneasiness, yet the changes in the pastoral relation were not so frequent then as they are now. Pastors lived, and labored, and died among their people. This third pastor of Augusta lived to fill up with his predecessors the ministerial labors of about a century of years; and all three at last were buried by the people they had served, and will come forth with them, and with each other, at the resurrection.

The old Presbyterian settlers of the Valley were very particular about their personal appearance when they met on the Sabbath for the worship of God. Before the Revolution, their "Sunday clothes," brought from the mother country, were costly, according to their ability to indulge in this almost single approach to extravagance, and were preserved with a care becoming the economy of their situation. During the struggle for independence, the wives and daughters plied the wheel and loom more dextrously, and brought out, as the product of their skilful fingers, the apparel of their husbands, and brothers, and themselves, for their Sabbath meetings, as well as for their domestic pursuits; and since the war of independence the great increase of wealth had not yet enabled the foreign texture to supplant the domestic fabric. And on this occasion men and women, boys and girls, youth and maidens, came in fabrics of all kinds and colors, more domestic than foreign, just as suited the taste and opportunities of independent men and women, dressed all in "their best."

On Saturday, instead of the usual preaching, suited to a communion season, and a short recess, and then another sermon, the services suited to the installation of the new pastor, were performed. The Rev. George Bourne, but lately ordained, preached from John 5: 35, "He was a burning and shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in that light;" and gave a sketch of what a pastor should be, shining as the light, burning like the fire that warms and does not destroy. The Rev. William Calhoon presided, and after the proper questions had been asked and answered by the pastor and the people, gave the charge to each to walk worthy of their vocation. The congregation retired, some to their homes, and visitors with their friends to pass the night. On communion seasons, and particularly on this, all houses were open for friends, all com-

tion business suspended, and all families gave themselves up to hospitality and devotion. People felt free to talk on religious subjects, and review the dealings of the Lord with them, and enquire for the right way. Often, on such occasions, the anxious soul, for the first time, spoke of its fears and its desires after salvation.

On Sabbath morning, at an earlier hour, the families assembled. What a sight of beauty and solemnity all around!—the mountains and hills, and forest-covered plains, all in the gorgeous dress of frosty yet mild October; and the old fort hill thickening with men and women coming to worship God. The voice of singing and of prayer is heard from the old church echoing among the trees. Had a warm-hearted inhabitant of the North of Ireland been brought, like Ezekiel in vision, to stand upon the hill, he would have recognised the cadence and melody of his ancestors, and joined in the sacred old tune he had so often sung; he would never have asked if this were a sacrament, but have looked around for the ministers, and for the tables, whether they were in the church or at the tent in the church-yard. And there, in the capacious seats around the pulpit, and the reading desk, were the ministers for the occasion, and the elders of the church; Wilson the retired pastor, tall, spare, erect, warm in feeling, earnest in delivery, lifting up his voice like a trumpet, in his excitement; M'Cue, short, full set, of a ruddy countenance, pleasant, and earnest in his services; and Calhoun, of middle-size, spare, with high cheek bones, in appearance and manner, and delivery of his message, much resembling John B. Smith, of Hampden Sidney, under whose ministry he came into the church; and the newly installed pastor, tall, square shouldered, athletic, as mild in his demeanor as strong in his manhood. First, the sermon on the death of Christ, and its blessed fruits in the salvation of sinners through faith. Then the fencing the tables, warning the unprepared, the impenitent and faithless to keep back from the table of the Lord, and not to touch the holy emblems. Then the consecrating prayer, and the hymn, and the serving of the first table with the bread and wine, and an address on some exciting subject of gospel hope or faith. And after the elements have been passed down the long tables, extending to the right and left of the pulpit, the length of the house, covered with white linen, and seated on either side with communicants, and the guests have been indulged in meditation and devotion, another hymn; and then another company of guests come out of the crowd to take the place of those retiring from the tables, served by the new pastor. Another minister waits on these with the elements and an address; and with singing, these retire for others; and thus table after table is served, till all in the large assembly who have on Saturday or Sabbath morning, or some previous time received from the officers of the church a token of admission, have received the communion. The passing hours are not carefully noted; the solemn devotions of God's people must not be disturbed or hurried, or the decencies of religious habits and belief shocked by the rushing to the communion from

sudden impulse, or coming burdened with unworthiness, that could not meet the eye of the elder and minister. Then came the closing hymn, and the prayer and giving thanks, and the solemn address to those who had not approached the Lord in penitence and faith. The crowd slowly disperses. The hill is silent, and the tread of horses echoes in the forests as the little groups seek their homes; some bearing in their hearts the good seed, and some shaking off the solemn impressions made at the supper of the Lord. Larger assemblies may be gathered at old Augusta Church, but such a meeting of the Triple Forks will never be again. On Monday the pastor preached, as usual on such occasions, a sermon calculated to cherish the impressions made on the minds of the people by the services of the preceding days. His text, Acts 3:26, Unto you first God, having raised up his son Jesus, sent him to bless you in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.

Such, with the exception of the installation services, were the communion seasons in the valley of Virginia. These meetings were often attended with great excitements; and the services were prolonged through successive days. Deep convictions were not unfrequently the consequences — and many hopeful conversions. People flocked to these meetings with an interest they could not describe, and carried away impressions they could not forget. Congregations have multiplied in numbers, and grown smaller in their circumference and number of members; ministers have smaller fields of labor, and live nearer to each other. Communion seasons in frequent succession may be attended by riding a few miles, and the novelty is gone; and the interest from visitors at a great distance is gone; and the laborers gathered at a meeting are fewer in number; and the taste of people is greatly changed with their changed circumstances. Notwithstanding a communion in the summer or early fall in one of the old valley congregations, is invested with circumstances that touch the heart.

From the records of Lexington Presbytery we learn that Mr. George Bourne, calling himself a preacher of the Independent Church of England, made request "to be taken into union with this Presbytery," at its meeting in Staunton, Oct. 18th, 1811. Some reports unfavorable to Mr. Bourne having come to the knowledge of Presbytery, action in his case was deferred. He renewed his request the next spring, at a meeting in New Providence, in April. The Presbytery hearing statements favorable to Mr. Bourne, and in consideration of his having labored about eighteen months in the Presbytery, and a congregation at Port Republic having been formed under his ministrations and zealous labors, resolved to receive him as a candidate. Being introduced to Presbytery, he was examined on his experimental acquaintance with religion, his views of the doctrines and form of government of the Presbyterian Church, and giving satisfaction to the members, he was licensed "to preach the gospel of Christ as a probationer for the gospel ministry." At a meeting of Presbytery on the 29th of the next October, at Tink-



ling Spring, a call was presented from the congregation of South River for Mr. Bourne's services, and being by him accepted, preparations were made for his ordination, which took place at the house of Mr. Joseph Barger, Port Republic, Dec. 26th, 1812; Mr. Wm. Wilson presiding, and Mr. John McCue delivering the ordination sermon. In the succeeding May he attended the General Assembly of the Church as delegate from Lexington Presbytery. He was again a delegate in 1815; and in consequence of his action as their representative, he was arraigned and tried by his Presbytery on two charges by common fame. 1st. With having brought very heavy charges in the Assembly against some ministers of the gospel in Virginia, whom he refused to name, respecting their treatment of slaves, the tendency of which was to bring reproach upon the character of the Virginia clergy in general. 2d. And also, since his return, with having made several unwarrantable and unchristian charges against many of the members of the Presbyterian Church in relation to slavery. The trial took place at Bethel, Dec. 27th, 1815. The excitement in the country was great; at the fall meeting the congregation of South River applied for dissolution of the pastoral connexion, alleging inability to meet their obligations, and "other causes;" and Mr. Bourne threw the gauntlet boldly against the Presbytery and the community in which he had cast his lot, maintaining from the press which he set up in Harrisonburg, and by addresses where people would listen, and in conversation, that slavery as known in Virginia, was incompatible with the gospel; that slaveholding and church membership were a contradiction, and that slaveholding and the ministry was worse than absurd — were no common sin. Had he maintained these sentiments in a manner becoming the decencies of life, the public mind, not then feverish on the subject of slavery, but actually inclining to emancipation, might have borne it in silence as the extreme of a well-meaning man, and been, perhaps, carried on in its course.

Four ministers and four elders were present at the adjourned meeting for the trial — Rev. Messrs. Baxter, M'Cue, Speece, and Anderson received from Hanover Presbytery at that meeting; with Elders Messrs. John Babb, Samuel Linn, William Bell, and John Weir. Mr. Bourne, to prevent a trial, had cited all the members as witnesses; the Presbytery, as a preliminary step, decided that such citation did not bar the right of members to sit in Presbytery. Mr. Bourne then offered an appeal to the Assembly on the whole case; this the Presbytery refused in this stage of the business. The first charge was taken up, and assertions made by Mr. Bourne on the floor of the Assembly were reported by a delegate from Hanover Presbytery, Rev. J. D. Paxton, who was present as a member of Assembly, very concisely; the principal part of his testimony being, that Mr. Bourne "said he had seen a professor of religion, perhaps he said a preacher, driving slaves; thinks he added chained or tied together, through a certain town in Virginia. In answer to some observations by the Rev. William Hill, Mr. Bourne said it was im-

possible to conceive or describe the state of slavery as practised in Virginia, or in the Southern States, and even by professors of religion; and, Mr. Bourne being called upon to name the party driving the slaves, refused to comply with the call." Mr. Robert Herron testified that Mr. Bourne told him that he had laid before the last General Assembly an overture enquiring what was to be done with a minister of the gospel who tied up his slave, whipped her, left her tied, went to church and preached, then came back and whipped her again, and called on a bystander to kill the husband of the woman whipped, for his interference, and that he, the minister, would see him harmless. Mr. Herron also testified that Mr. Bourne repeated to him the substance of Mr. Paxton's testimony, and said that on his refusal to name the man there was "a great bustle in the house."

On the second charge, Mr. Herron testified that "he has heard Mr. Bourne say he believed it to be impossible that any man could be a Christian and a slaveholder — that slaveholders were all a set of negro thieves;" and that Mr. Bourne, on being reminded that the Presbytery would call him to account, "answered, let them quit stealing." Three letters from Mr. Bourne to Rev. A. B. Davidson were read, in which he gives account of the doings in Assembly, and says — "Not a man even attempted to defend man-stealing boldly, but Mr. Hill, of Winchester;" — "that the Devil can make better pretensions to be a Christian than a slaveholder — the one is the father of all evil, but he is no hypocrite; but a Christian slaveholder is an everlasting liar, and thief, and deceiver;" — "that the idea that a man could be a Christian or a democrat and a slaveholder, was quite a jest among northern and eastern and western brethren in the Assembly — it is absolutely impossible;" — "a man who says that he is a Christian and a republican, and has any connexion with slavery, only exposes himself to ridicule, for he is so simple that he cannot discern right from wrong, or so deceitful that he professes honesty while he is a thief; — no slaveholder is or can consistently profess himself to be a Presbyterian, if the Confession of Faith is the standard of the Church." A printed paper was read, and another letter from Mr. Bourne to the stated clerk. After hearing these testimonies and papers, Presbytery decided that the two charges were supported. "The question was then proposed — Can Mr. Bourne, consistently with the conduct exhibited by the evidence, be any longer retained as a member of this Presbytery? — which question was decided in the negative. Wherefore resolved, that Mr. George Bourne be and he hereby is deposed from the office of the gospel ministry." From this decision Mr. Bourne appealed to the next General Assembly.

On the 21st of May, 1816, "an overture containing an appeal made by Mr. George Bourne from a decision of the Presbytery of Lexington, was brought into the Assembly, and being read, was committed to Drs. Nott, Blatchford, and Mr. B. H. Rice, who were instructed to report to the Assembly on the subject as soon as convenient." This committee was afterwards enlarged by the addition

of Drs. Green, Wilson and Neill. This committee reported that as the proper documents were not before the Assembly, there could be no hearing of the appeal. The Assembly ordered — “That a certified copy of the records of the Lexington Presbytery, in this case, be duly made and transmitted to the next Assembly, unless the Synod of Virginia, to which the Assembly can have no objection, shall have previously received the appeal.” The Synod of Virginia, at its meeting in October, in Fredericksburg, made exceptions to the records of Lexington Presbytery, “of an appeal to the General Assembly, over the head of Synod, without expressing a disapprobation,” but proceeded no further. The necessary papers and documents being laid before the Assembly of 1817, on the second day of its sessions, Mr. Bourne’s appeal was made the order of the day for the afternoon of the fifth day, but was not taken up till the forenoon of the sixth day, Wednesday, May 21st. On that and the succeeding day, the parties were fully heard. A motion was made to affirm the decision of Presbytery; this, after discussion, was postponed, for — “While the Assembly do not mean to express an opinion on the conduct of Mr. Bourne, yet they judge that the charges were not fully substantiated, and if they had been, the sentence was too severe; therefore resolved, that the sentence be reversed.” The discussion on this whole subject was brought to a conclusion on the forenoon of May 23d, by the adoption of the following resolution: — “That the sentence of the Presbytery of Lexington, deposing Mr. Bourne, be reversed, and it hereby is reversed, and that the Presbytery commence the trial anew.”

The Presbytery, during its sessions at Bethel, reinstated the two charges made against Mr. Bourne in preparation for a new trial. A letter from the accused to the moderator says — “The Presbytery will accept of my apology for every thing which they construe to be justly offensive to them. An irritable temper, however palliated, is wrong; indecorous expressions, especially when liable to misconstruction, cannot be vindicated; and actions incompatible with the charitable sensibilities which the gospel enjoins are unjustifiable. For every thing therefore of this nature, I hope the Presbytery will receive this acknowledgment, both as the proof of my regret and as ample reparation, that the whole subject may for ever be obliterated.” Germantown, May 28th 1817. This letter was not considered such an expression of repentance as would justify the dismissal of the case. A 3d charge was instituted, “that he (Mr. Bourne) did soon after his trial and deposition, print and publish or cause to be printed and published, a sheet signed with his name containing various and gross slanders against the Presbytery.” Also a 4th charge, “that he did in contempt of the authority of Presbytery, and of the sentence by which he was deposed, continue to preach before the sentence from which he appealed was reversed.” On the ground of common fame a 5th charge, “that he did about June 1815, on his return from the General Assembly without any valid plea of necessity, authorize the purchase of a horse for him on the Sabbath day;

and afterwards that he acted a grossly dishonest part in refusing to pay for said horse," and also a 6th charge, "that he had frequently been guilty of the crime of wilful departure from the truth." The trial took place in Staunton, in November 1817. Extracts from the records of Winchester Presbytery were read, containing the evidence taken by the Presbytery on the subject of the 5th charge, the circumstances having occurred in the bounds of that Presbytery. The evidence was full and convincing.

Rev. William Hill of Winchester Presbytery attended on citation — and gave testimony on the first charge, having been a member of the Assembly of 1815. He repeated what was already before Presbytery with aggravations, and additions, and was confident a deep impression was made by Mr. Bourne injurious to the Virginia clergy and altogether unfounded. Mr. Bourne not attending this meeting of Presbytery, farther action was suspended and new citations issued for the next meeting, which took place in March, 1818, in Harrisonburg. After having ordained Mr. Daniel Baker, now so well known in the Church, Presbytery proceeded to take some evidence in the case of Mr. Bourne. But on account of his absence, though regularly cited, Presbytery directing new citations, adjourned to meet in Staunton, on the fourth Wednesday of April. At the time appointed ten ministers and four elders assembled. Mr. Bourne by letter protested against all the proceedings of Presbytery in his case, and all the proceedings of Winchester Presbytery, denying all the criminality expressed in all the charges, and concluded by, "and hereby appeal from all, and every minute, act, resolution, decision and sentence, which have been or may be adopted ab initio ad finem to the next General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church." Mr. Bourne having impeached Mr. Hill's veracity, the Presbytery first decided that Mr. Bourne's statements accompanying that impeachment were most grossly contrary to truth," and that his attack, "is a most atrocious slander." Presbytery proceeded to prepare their proof on the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th charges; and after deliberation pronounced that the charges were all, except the fourth, supported by evidence;— and that, "Mr. George Bourne be and hereby is deposed from the office of the gospel ministry." The Presbytery, declaring that Mr. Bourne's letter was not properly an appeal, and the carrying a case from the Presbytery to the Assembly, passing by the Synod was irregular, resolved that in the present case they would "overlook the inaccuracies of the case, and allow Mr. B.'s letter to have the effect of an appeal in conformity with his wishes."

On the third day of the sessions of the Assembly, May 1818; the papers in Mr. Bourne's case were read, and the hearing of the parties was made the order of the day for the fifth day of the sessions. Tuesday, May 26th 1818, the trial of Mr. Bourne's appeal came on in course, and Mr. Bourne was heard at length. The delegates from Lexington Presbytery, Rev. Messrs. George A. Baxter and Conrad Speece, commenced the defence of the Presbytery— which was completed the next forenoon. On the afternoon of that

day and the forenoon of the 28th, the whole subject was discussed in the Assembly, and "the decision of the Presbytery of Lexington, declaring him deposed from the gospel ministry, be and it is hereby confirmed, on the first, second, third, fifth and sixth charges." The vote was taken separately on each of these charges. In this case protracted through nearly three years, and brought before *three Assemblies*, the whole subject of slavery in its connection with the Church of Christ was fully discussed. The Presbytery of Lexington in exercising upon Mr. Bourne in 1815, the discipline of the Church, assumed the position and asserted the principles maintained ever since by the Church in the Southern States, and consented to, and acted upon, by a large number of those whose lot is cast where slavery does not exist in the civil state. Messrs. Baxter and Speece took the lead in the first trial, and successfully defended their Presbytery before the Assembly on the final appeal. Mr. Bourne cited those texts of Scripture and made the references to the laws of nature and of nations, that have been used ever since to enlist the prejudices and passions of men. Messrs. Baxter and Speece gave those interpretations of Scripture and the laws of nations which are to this day, considered as the abiding truths on which all action in relation to slavery is based.

They maintained that slavery had been a political institution or arrangement from time immemorial; that its existence was recognized in the Old and New Testaments, and the duties of masters and servants as Christians, were distinctly marked out; that the religion of the Bible wherever it prevailed meliorated slavery, and if anything ever brought the bondage of man to his fellow-man to an end, it would be the gospel operating mutually upon the master and the slave. But whether such a state of things as is styled universal freedom will ever be realized on earth, the history of the past, and the prospects of the present give no decided proof. Unfulfilled prophecy, in its true yet dim foreshadowings, admit of a construction favorable to such anticipations. Mr. Speece believed that the gospel would be the great persuasive means to accomplish an end he devoutly desired, universal emancipation; he deprecated all force, believing that violent measures for the eradication of slavery would cause its perpetuity. The progression in which he believed was — the diffusion of the gospel — peace in man's heart and with his fellow-man — and universal freedom. As a friend and supporter of the Colonization Society, the reports he prepared for the Auxiliary Society in Augusta, breathe the most liberal sentiments, and express the highest hopes and most enlarged desires for his native land and for Africa. He lamented the foreign interference, that, under the plea of hastening an event he desired, threw obstacles insurmountable in the path already filled with perplexing difficulties.

The College of New Jersey in September, 1820, conferred on Mr. Speece the degree of D. D. The compliment was received in the proper spirit.

## CHAPTER XXX.

## JOHN H. RICE, D. D. — HIS REMOVAL TO PRINCE EDWARD.

THE death of Moses Hoge, President of Hampden Sidney College, and Professor of Theology of Synod of Virginia, opened the way for the removal of Dr. Rice from his most interesting sphere of labor in Richmond. Dr. Hoge was present at the Assembly of 1820, in which Dr. Rice won golden opinions; and writing from this Assembly, Dr. Rice says with pardonable partiality for his Virginia friends: "But there are many men of powerful talents in the church now. And I think we are growing in intellectual strength. Drs. Hoge and Alexander are beyond all doubt the two foremost amongst us." The sickness that confined Dr. Hoge in Philadelphia after the sessions of the Assembly, ended in his death July 5th. A successor was desirable immediately in both offices thus made vacant. The College had no difficulty in finding a President. To understand the position of the Synod, and the question of removal presented to Dr. Rice, some of the acts of Dr. Hoge must be taken into consideration; and also the doings of Dr. Alexander in Philadelphia and Princeton.

Dr. Hoge succeeded Dr. Alexander in the Presidency of Hampden Sidney College. Dr. Alexander removed in Nov. 1806, and Dr. Hoge entered on his office Oct. 1807. The principal inducement influencing Dr. Hoge to accept the presidency was the prospect held out to him, by the brethren in the vicinity of the college, of a theological school in connexion with the college. In April, 1808, the Presbytery of Hanover by their committee, Rev. Messrs. J. H. Rice, C. Speece, and James Daniel, elder, entered into an agreement with the Trustees of Hampden Sidney College, by which said Trustees hold the funds and library belonging to the Presbytery, and apply them on certain given conditions. The 3d article was — "When the funds given by the said Presbytery shall be sufficient to employ a teacher of theology for the instruction of such poor and pious youth, then such teacher shall be such person as shall be recommended by the Presbytery, and approved of by the Trustees of College." The Trustees construed the office of their President as embracing the work of teacher of theology, according to the examples of their former Presidents; and of course they considered Mr. Hoge a proper person to receive any proceeds of the funds and be employed by Presbytery in directing the studies of candidates for the ministry. The Presbytery at its meeting in October recognized this arrangement of the Trustees, and Mr. Hoge became the acknowledged teacher of theology. Hampden Sidney became more closely associated than ever in the minds and hearts of the church with the preparation of young men for the gospel ministry. Mr. Hoge was a tower of strength to the College and Theological school,

in his meekness, and purity, and benevolence, and ability, and devotion to the work of the gospel. He had been engaged in the Valley in bringing forward young men to the ministry. Mr. John Boggs of Berkeley, was instructed by him, and passed a long life in the ministry: Wm. S. Reid that filled so important a post in the College, commenced his preparations for the ministry with Mr. Hoge in the Valley; and a number of others received more or less of their preparatory instruction under his care before his removal to the College. Dr. Alexander bore decisive testimony to Mr. Hoge's powers of discrimination, and his clear views of theological truth, by deciding in his favor, against his beloved teacher on a controverted subject of theology—that in conversion there is a direct agency of the Holy Spirit; Graham stood lofty in his mental independence, Hoge meek in his wisdom; Alexander, beloved by both, loved them for their excellencies, and rejoiced that Mr. Hoge was his successor in the College.

Mr. Rice was chosen Trustee of the College, 1807, at the meeting, June 6th, in which Mr. Hoge was chosen President. The Trustees at that meeting were, Samuel W. Venable, Paul Carrington, Clement Carrington, Francis Watkins, Goodridge Wilson, Joseph Venable, James Morton, (Major,) Isaac Read, Matthew Lyle, (Rev.,) Jacob Morton, Richard N. Venable, and Drury Lacy, (Rev.) Mr. Rice, experienced in the affairs of the College, gave his hearty assistance to Mr. Hoge, who was putting forth all his energies to make the College, according to the beautiful ideal he had formed, in and for his native Valley of the Shenandoah. Messrs. Lyle, Lacy, Rice, and J. Venable, were a committee, in 1808, to arrange the college classes, studies, after the most approved plan. They entered upon the business with the President, and in 1812, reported the whole plan, as arranged, and introduced, embracing a very liberal course of studies in comparison with any American college in operation. Before he was chosen professor by the Synod, and while the College was rising in excellence and usefulness, Dr. Hoge was exerting himself to aid in their preparation for the ministry, such men as John B. Hoge, Andrew Shannon, James C. Willson, John D. Ewing, Jesse H. Turner, and Charles H. Kennon, Samuel D. Hoge, Wm. S. Lacy, and Samuel McNutt, John Kirkpatrick, and Walter S. Pharr, all men favorably known in the churches in Virginia for a series of years; all but one of whom, Mr. Lacy, have gone to meet their Lord.

Mr. Alexander was Moderator of the General Assembly, in 1807, the Spring succeeding his removal to Philadelphia. He opened the Assembly of 1808, with a sermon from 1 Cor. 14th, 12, last clause—"Seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church." In the sermon was this sentence—"In my opinion, we shall not have a regular and sufficient supply of well qualified ministers of the gospel, until every Presbytery, or at least every Synod, shall have under its direction a seminary established for the single purpose of educating youth for the ministry, in which the course of education from its commencement shall be directed to this object; for it is much to be

doubted whether the system of education pursued in our colleges and universities is the best adapted to prepare a young man for the work of the ministry." The sermon brought the subject of Mr. Alexander's thoughts and labors directly before the church at large. And while the Presbytery of Hanover were making arrangements with the Trustees of Hampden Sidney College, to advance their enterprise of a theological school, already in operation under Mr. Hoge, the Presbytery of Philadelphia were preparing a memorial to the Assembly. In the Spring of 1809, the memorial was presented, and committed to Dr. Dwight of Connecticut, and the Rev. Messrs. Irvin, Hosack, Romeyn, Anderson, Lyle, Burch, Lacy, and Elders Bayard, Slaymaker, and Harrison. Their report commended the general subject of theological seminaries, and proposed three plans to the Assembly, 1st. One great central seminary; 2d, Two, to accommodate North and South; 3d, Seminaries by Synods. The whole subject was sent down to the Presbytery for their consideration and answer.

In 1810, by the answers sent up, it was seen that the majority of the Presbyteries were in favor of education in seminaries or theological schools; but that an equal number of Presbyteries were for the first and third plan. The Assembly determined, that, as some of the Presbyteries had acted in a misconception, in voting for the third plan in preference to the first, it was proper to consider the advocates of the first plan to be most numerous; accordingly that plan was adopted, and a Theological Seminary was established under the care and management of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. On Tuesday, June 2d, 1812, Mr. A. Alexander was unanimously chosen Professor of Theology in the Seminary lately established and located in Princeton. He removed to that place in July, and was inaugurated on the 12th of August. He commenced his instructions with three students. And in less than six years from the time he left Virginia, was under the patronage of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, giving form and activity to the plans and purposes, he had talked over with his brethren at Hampden Sidney College, when they resolved to have a theological school and a library. After the election of Mr. Alexander, Rev. Samuel Miller, of New York, said in the Assembly—"I hope the brother will not decline, though he may be reluctant to accept. Had I been selected by the voice of the church, however great the sacrifice, I should not dare decline." The next year he was unexpectedly called to leave his pleasant situation in New York, and become associated with Mr. Alexander, the Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government. Students came from every quarter of the church.

The establishing the Seminary was a popular event. In an incredibly short period private teaching in theology yielded to public instruction, without discontent, or envy, or fear of obscurity. The choice of Mr. Alexander for the Professor was peculiarly happy. Probably no man could have been found, in middle age, whose acquaintance was so general in the Presbyterian Church, particularly



in the Southern and Western States. Very many of the converts of the revival of 1788 and onwards, and of the revivals which followed in Virginia, had joined the emigrating companies that sought for new homes beyond the Alleghanies. These all knew him; and very many loved him. The anticipations indulged in by Graham and Smith of his future usefulness, were well known, and participated in by multitudes in the sections of the church, from which students were expected and desired. His training had been such as to qualify him in an eminent degree to prepare young men for the active life of a minister in the new settlements. Mr. Miller was better known in New York, and throughout New Jersey, Delaware, and Philadelphia, and part of Pennsylvania, and was admirably fitted for a co-laborer in the seminary. The two carried an acquaintance, and an attachment over the whole church, which were perpetually increasing with each successive class of students. Very often might the young men, coming to Princeton, be heard to say to Mr. Alexander and Mr. Miller, "Your old friend ..... sends kind remembrance; he advised me to come here." "I have been reading with ....., and he said I would do better here for a time."

The Presbyteries of the Virginia Synod declared for Synodical Schools. The Synod, as a body, without designing in any way to impede the progress of the school founded by the Assembly, acted upon the determination of the Presbyteries, and after the delay of two years, at the meeting in Goochland, in October, 1812, resolved that Lexington, the place designated in 1791, "should be the permanent seat, and Hampden Sidney the temporary seat of the institution; and that a professor or professors pro tem. be appointed during the continuance at Hampden Sidney." The Synod then, about two months after the inauguration of Mr. Alexander at Princeton, proceeded to choose a Professor of Theology, and unanimously elected Moses Hoge, the President of Hampden Sidney, and acting teacher of theology for the College and Hanover Presbytery. The slowness with which funds were raised was attributed in part to the uncertainty of the location; and in 1813, at Lexington, it was resolved that the Seminary remain at Hampden Sidney until Synod shall determine its best interests require a removal; and that the funds shall not be so vested as to render a removal inconvenient. The subject came up again in 1815, and the greatest interest in raising funds being expressed by those in favor of the location in Prince Edward, it was resolved—"That Hampden Sidney College be the site of the Theological Seminary; but the Synod reserve to themselves the power of removing the institution, should such removal become necessary."

Mr. Rice removed to Richmond in May, and Mr. Alexander to Princeton in July, and Mr. Hoge was chosen the Synod's Professor of Theology in October of the same year, 1812. The position of each was highly responsible, the labors of all arduous, but the situation of Mr. Hoge the most perplexing. The three men held each

other in the highest respect and love, and never for a moment indulged thoughts of rivalry, while each aspired at the highest excellence of which he was capable. Looking over their finished life, it is not easy to determine which had the fullest measure of the grace of self-denial; while in particular eras or seasons of their life we see prominent examples, first in one and then in another. But Hoge, in his meek, wise, unconquerable perseverance, Rice in his vast constructive benevolence, and Alexander in gaining and preserving unbounded attachment for combined excellence, were characterized as completely as in their shape and features, when under excitement they stood before you, each in person the exemplar of his mind. Mr. Hoge knew well the difficulties and peculiar perplexities of his situation, and while he estimated, did not undervalue or give them undue preponderance. He appreciated the powers of Alexander, and the advantages of his situation in being called to the performance of the duties of but one office, with an ample support, to be regularly paid at moderate intervals, and many pastors and churches throughout this land, some of them wealthy, pressing on earnestly to the completion of the enterprise; and being in the very prime and vigor of his manhood. He considered himself, now sixty years of age, called to the performance of the duties of two offices, one the Presidency of a college, with the duty of a professor added, and the other an office similar to that of Alexander in Princeton, in 1812, and to divide the duties and responsibilities of which the Assembly called Mr. Miller from New York, a man in the very prime of his life. And as the emoluments of both his offices were not sufficient to meet the necessary expenses of his family and his position, the resources of his wife and the small salary from the congregation he served, were supplying the deficiency. He knew he was beloved by his brethren in the ministry, and the churches generally, and he loved them in return. His difficulties arose from his position; and so heavily did they press upon his mind, that in March, 1813, he signified to the trustees his intention to resign the Presidency. This was made matter of record. But his intended course, whether to continue in the professorship, or to resign that also, and being invited by the church in Bethel, Augusta, return to the pastoral office, must remain unknown.

Mr. Rice deeply sympathized with him, though himself burdened with difficulties, that rendered his remaining in Richmond doubtful; and convinced that his leaving college at this juncture would be unpropitious, encouraged him to remain. Loving Alexander as a man, and wishing him success in his professorship, for his own sake and for the church at large, Mr. Rice could not admit the thought of abandoning the school in Virginia — the only school in the Southern country. There were some students that must be taught here in the truth, or taught at no school. The Virginia brethren were careful not to take any position of even apparent hostility to Princeton, while they felt the great necessity of a Southern school for Southern churches. Mr. Hoge did not carry his intention to resign into

effect, but labored at his post with redoubled diligence, and prematurely wasted the resources of a strong constitution. The trustees of college were active in procuring able teachers for the classes. There was one difficulty. Having been educated at the college when it had few instructors, they could not readily admit there was any necessity for a greater number of teachers, under any name, whether of professors or tutors. To doubt the completeness and efficiency of the instruction of this college, was a heresy of which they could not be guilty. Hoge must first convince them of the necessity of a greater number of efficient teachers, and then the ways and means of sustaining these laborers must be provided; and the Synod itself was weakened by a not dissimilar difficulty. Their best preachers had been trained under Smith and Graham, and Alexander—all situated like Hoge. The movement at Princeton, in having two professors, was an innovation, the propriety of which few saw clearly, except Hoge and Rice, and their intimate friends; and a less number felt the necessity or propriety, as applied to their own case. A school they would have, and a good one, but were not prepared at once to encounter responsibilities like those assumed by the active friends of Princeton. Burr and Blair, and Tennent and Dwight, and Livingston and Witherspoon had been successful, and their difficulties were similar to those encountered by Hoge; and Hoge himself had introduced some excellent men into the ministry, and was now every year sending forth some laborer into the harvest. He was beloved and useful, and doing well, and what more could he want? He did want a great deal, and his friend Rice and some others felt kindly for him; but how to make the church at large appreciate these wants and afford the supply, was a great question, that, in answering, exhausted the lives of two men, jewels of worth, Hoge and Rice.

The Synod was slowly awaking to her duty and real interest. The salary of the Professor of Theology, from the permanent and contingent funds of the church, was six hundred dollars, in the year 1815; the next year it was eight hundred dollars. In 1817, the Synod resolved, that, "in order to promote the best and dearest interests of our church and country, it is expedient and desirable to establish a new professorship in our Theological Seminary, to be denominated the Professorship of Biblical Criticism and Ecclesiastical Polity, as soon as adequate funds can be raised for the purpose." Seven students of theology were this year in attendance upon the instruction of Dr. Hoge. The application to the Legislature for an act of incorporation for the theological school having been rejected, in 1816, and there being no prospect of a change in the sentiments of the Legislature, an arrangement was made with the trustees of college, by which the funds of Synod were held by them in trust, for the use of the Theological Seminary, as the funds of Hanover Presbytery were and had been. These funds of Synod, in 1818, amounted to four thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine dollars and sixteen cents, with subscriptions for upwards of four

thousand dollars more. Mr. Ebenezer Stott, a Scotch gentleman of Petersburg, made a donation of one thousand dollars. Twelve students were this year in attendance on the theological instructions of Dr. Hoge.

The trustees of the college over which Dr. Hoge was presiding, became at last convinced of their error. Mr. Rice took an active part in the exertions to increase the funds of college, enlarge the corps of teachers, and raise the standard of scholarship. Petitions were sent to the Legislature for aid; but aiding colleges was not then a popular movement with political men. The trustees enlarged the course of study, and to keep pace with other colleges better endowed, made the best arrangements for their professors, with tutors, and were asking the friends of education for endowments to sustain their efforts. Mr. Hoge was remarkably happy in his assistant instructors throughout his whole presidency. He asked them at the throne of grace, and God sent him more and better ones than the trustees were able to sustain. Charles H. Kennon was for a time vice-president, a man of great ability, whose early death the church lamented; John B. Hoge, the splendid orator, taught in the college for a length of time; S. D. Hoge, a superior teacher, was for a time vice-president; James C. Willson assisted for a time, afterwards chosen to be Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological School; Gilbert Morgan was employed for a time, his life has been spent in advancing the cause of education on liberal principles; Jonathan P. Cushing, the successor in the presidency, was for some years a co-laborer with Dr. Hoge in the college. Mr. Cushing was from New Hampshire. His state of health induced him to go southward. Stopping in Richmond, he became acquainted with Mr. Rice, who, prepossessed in his favor, endeavored to detain him in Virginia, and introduced him to his friends in Prince Edward. Dr. Hoge was greatly pleased, and endeavored to detain him in connexion with the college. For a time he declined any formal or responsible connexion with the college, on account of his health, and his conscientious views of a teacher's duties; yet, being at once delighted with Dr. Hoge, and loving his simplicity of character and benevolent spirit more and more, he assisted in the instruction of the college. The first office he accepted was the unpretending one of librarian, in 1818. His influence over the students was great and salutary. Fond of the natural sciences, he called the attention of the students particularly to that department of education. The trustees procured apparatus, and in a little time a passion was excited among the students for experimental philosophy. In 1819, he accepted the chair of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, and was styled the *first Professor*. In discipline, Mr. Cushing excelled. Tall, dignified, noble in appearance, master of manners and self-respect, he swayed the hearts of college boys, they knew not how. They would will to do as he willed to have them. He possessed the rare art of managing Virginia boys. Treating religion and its ministers with the greatest respect, strictly moral and upright, he had not

connected himself with any church in Virginia. This circumstance detracted somewhat from his influence with a part of community, and prevented that full outpouring of approbation his qualifications and labors deserved.

On account of the limited funds of the College, and the dependence for salary upon the Tuition fees, the labors of the teachers were too numerous and varied. Mr. Hoge's great powers of body gave way in the year 1819, overwhelmed by his unremitting labors. After a long confinement, he but partially recovered. In the spring of 1820, the Presbytery made him their delegate to the Assembly. He took this opportunity of gratifying a long indulged desire to attend a meeting of the American Bible Society. He also visited Princeton College, which, in 1810, had conferred on him, in company with his friend, Mr. Alexander, the degree of S. T. D.; and passed a few days with Dr. Alexander. A cold easterly rain was falling the whole time of his visit. He examined thoroughly the condition of the two institutions, the College and the Seminary, with reference to the two in Prince Edward. He rejoiced in the extended influence of his friend Alexander, and Miller the co-laborer. He could not refrain from a visit to the grave-yard to meditate by the tombs of Burr, Edwards, Davies, Witherpoon, and Smith. As he tarried in that hallowed spot, the bleak wind pierced his diseased frame, and hastened his descent into the valley of death. His heart was elevated as he went from grave to grave, and read the epitaphs of these Presidents of College and teachers of Theology; and his body under the cold rain was chilled in preparation for his own resting in the silent tomb. The conversations of Hoge and Alexander those few days, had there been a hand to record them, laying open the hearts, as by a daguerreotype, of men of such exalted pure principle, so unselfish and so unlike the mass of men — what simplicity in thought, benevolence in feeling, and elevation of piety! — but there was no man to pen what all men would have been glad to read. Mr. Hoge took his seat in the Assembly — but his fever returned upon him, of a typhus cast, and by means of the cold caught in Princeton, became too deeply seated for medicine to remove. He bowed his head meekly to the will of the Head of the Church, and fell asleep in Jesus, on the 15th of July.

Mr. Hoge had filled his measure of usefulness. The fixed habits of Synod and College prevented that change in his position and labor, the exigencies of the case, and his health required, and he loudly demanded. He must die. There must be an interregnum in College. A President must be chosen, that the Synod could not make the Theological Professor. And then a professor must be brought out that could improve upon all the past, and give form to an endowed Theological school. But who should be called? Who like Hoge would sacrifice everything of a temporal nature that could be done without sin, and even in his extreme self-sacrificing approach the very borders of transgression by its excess, to advance the desired school? Who would be found of that tender benevolence —

that as a student of his said of him — “the old Doctor is distressed about the poor devils; no mercy has ever been offered them, and he can't find any authority in the Bible that there ever will be. I have seen him weep about it; and that any body would, by impenitence, be lost; and he would spend all he had, and his life beside, to have the gospel preached to every creature.” And who, like him, would be heard pacing his study, the live-long night, crying unto God for a communion sermon, and a blessing upon it? And where would a wife be found, that would pinch herself to the boundary of decency in using her own property, that her husband might spend his income, and some of her's, on necessitous students of divinity? “Ah, wife, God will provide for us,” said the old man, when he paid out his last money in the case of a student that must have aid or abandon his studies; and paid it knowing that necessity was coming on himself rapidly. And it came, and no money came. “The Lord will provide for us, wife!” And then a call came to ride away some twenty or thirty miles to preach a funeral sermon. Away he went, and performed his duty, and hastened back to his pressing duties at College, and handed his wife a little paper put in his hand as he set out for home — “I told you the Lord would provide;” and the sum he had given the student was all returned to him. Where could a man of years be found that would undertake the labor? Where could a young man, with a rising family, that could make the sacrifices even if he would? Where could the unmarried man be found, the Virginia Synod, with her peculiar feelings, would make her principal professor? Who should succeed, in his double office, this pure, meek, fearless, old man? Reflection answered the more thoughtful, no one. But the majority of actors still thought some one might be found. No one was ready to cry out aloud — that it was impossible, yet no one could say it was possible.

The eyes of all were turned to Dr. Alexander to do all that man could. The Board of Trustees of the College, as soon as the news of Dr. Hoge's death reached them, held a meeting, and elected Dr. Alexander his successor; and offered all inducements in their power to obtain his acceptance of the appointment. Many of the brethren, in the Valley, were of opinion that the Theological school in Prince Edward should be abandoned, and all the patronage of Virginia given to Princeton Seminary. Mr. Rice and others in Hanover were firm for a seminary somewhere in the South; and greatly averse to giving up the incipient school. The Synod in its sessions in Lynchburg, in the October succeeding Dr. Hoge's death, gave Dr. Alexander a hearty invitation to return to Virginia, and become the Synod's professor of Theology. Wishing him to be entirely engaged in the Theological teaching — the Synod would, nevertheless, have agreed to any arrangement he might propose with the College. Many private letters were addressed to him, urging his acceptance of the Synod's appointment; not the least urgent went from Dr. Rice, who still advocated the support of Princeton by donations from Virginia. Dr. Alexander declined both appointments. He

thought he had been sent by the providence of God to Princeton; and did not think Providence called him away.

For two years the Synod did nothing for the advancement of their theological school. There was a division of sentiment on two subjects:—should the Synod go on with their school—and who should be Professor? The former was sooner settled than the latter. The terms on which the funds of Hanover Presbytery, and much of the Synod's, were used, required a theological school in Prince Edward, Virginia. There were many men in the Synod fit to occupy the chair of theology; and four of them before their death did fill such a chair, Rice, Matthews, and Baxter, and Wilson. Speece stood in equal, perhaps higher estimation in the Synod than some of these; and Hill and Lyle not behind. The Synod declined a nomination from prudential motives. The Rev. Messrs. Speece, Rice, and Baxter, with elders John Alexander and Robert Williamson, a committee to report on the whole subject of a Seminary, presented to the Synod in Staunton, in October 1822, a paper containing as the result of their consideration, three courses, either of which the Synod might adopt: 1st. The throwing the funds, or the proceeds of the funds, of the Synod for the present into those of the General Assembly, to be applied to the benefit of the Princeton Seminary: 2d. Leaving the present funds to accumulate by interest and donations till they should be sufficient to establish a well endowed Seminary: 3d. Transfer the Seminary in perpetual trust to Hanover Presbytery. The committee recommended the last. Whereupon resolved—“That the funds of the Theological Seminary be, and the same are hereby assigned, transferred, and set over, to the Presbytery of Hanover, in perpetual trust, that the same shall be forever applied and devoted to the object for which they were raised, that is the education of students of divinity who design to take orders in the Presbyterian church, at the College of Hampden Sidney, or elsewhere within the bounds of the commonwealth, and provided also that the Presbytery shall annually report to the Synod, the state of the Seminary and funds under their care.”

The Hanover Presbytery assembled on the 14th of the next month at the College—present—Messrs. James Mitchel, James Turner, Matthew Lyle, Clement Read, John D. Paxton, Jesse H. Turner, Benjamin H. Rice, John B. Hoge, John M'Lean, John Kirkpatrick, Matthew W. Jackson—with elders, Samuel D. Rice, Jesse Leftwitch, Nathaniel Price, Alexander S. Payne, Conrad Webb, Richard Hammond, Carter Page, John Gordon, James Caskie, James Maddison, Thomas Holcomb, and John Thompson—Men whose names are to be remembered in the Virginia Church. Mr. Rice preached from Psalm 2d: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Presbytery accepted the transfer of the Seminary, and funds to the amount of \$8756.04. She had of her own funds, 12 shares of stock in the Farmer's Bank of Virginia, two in the Bank of Virginia, and \$1115.68 in money. Messrs. Lyle, Hoge, and Paxton, with elders Price and Maddison, a committee, sketched the outlines of a Semi-

nary—the present U. T. Seminary. The salary of a Professor was fixed at \$1200, per annum. The choice after solemn prayer fell on John H. Rice. Mr. Lyle immediately gave notice that the congregation worshipping at the College would now be assembled to make their choice of a pastor. Mr. B. H. Rice enquired what had that to do with the present business of Presbytery. An interesting discussion followed—should the Professor elect be encouraged, or permitted, to engage as pastor, or stated supply, to any congregation? On one side it was urged that from the foundation of the College, to the present time, the President and teacher of Theology had been connected with one or more of the surrounding congregations; in some cases as co-pastor, and in others as the sole pastor; and that the congregations were desirous it should continue to be so for the future; on the other, the immense labor about to be devolved upon the newly elected Professor. The Presbytery declined giving countenance to any such connexion. The congregation soon after made choice of Mr. J. D. Paxton, who immediately entered on his office.

The committee, Messrs. Paxton and Jesse H. Turner, waited on Mr. Rice to communicate the result of the proceedings of Presbytery. They found him at the house of Dr. Wm. Morton, prostrated by disease, and languishing under the effects of an obstinate fever and ague. Shortly after his return from his tour through New England, he had come to Prince Edward to attend, as trustee, upon the usual business of College, with more than his usual interest. The College under Mr. Cushing, the successor of Dr. Hoge, was flourishing beyond anything in its history since, perhaps, a few years after its organization, when it was more properly a high-school than a college. The new President obtained able teachers and sustained them; attracted scholars and retained them; was getting funds and preparing to erect the present college-buildings. An interesting revival of religion had been enjoyed by the congregation at College; and a large number of students had become hopefully pious. In all these things Mr. Rice rejoiced. But during the visit, the latter part of September, he was seized with great violence; and with the unremitting attention of his friends and the physicians, was unable to return to Richmond till the succeeding January. The committee found him weak, and unable, without pain, to see company. In a short interview they laid the matter before him, begged his consideration, desired him not to give an immediate answer unless it were favorable; and assured him that the brethren would wait his recovery, and expect an answer as soon as convenient.

When Mrs. Rice came up from Richmond to attend upon the sick bed of her husband, she brought the following letter from Dr. Miller, of Princeton.

Princeton, Sept. 26th, 1822.

REVEREND SIR:—The Reverend Doctor Green resigned the office of President of the College of New Jersey yesterday. As a com-



mittee of the Board of Trustees appointed for that purpose, we have the pleasure of announcing to you, that you have been this day unanimously elected President of the said College; and also that we have been instructed to take the proper measures for presenting the call to you for that office. It is our intention, with the leave of Providence, to set out on our journey to Richmond with the view to execute the trust committed to us, on Monday the 21st of October next; and we hope to have the pleasure of seeing you about the middle of that week. In the mean time, sir, we will only add, that we are persuaded that the unanimity and cordiality of this election, together with the situation and prospects of the College, if fully known to you, would make a deep impression on your mind. And we express an earnest hope that, if you have any doubt respecting your acceptance of the office to which you have been elected, you will suspend any decision on the subject, until we shall have the pleasure of seeing you.

We have the honor to be, Rev'd Sir, most respectfully, your obedient servants,

SAML. MILLER,  
AND. KIRKPATRICK,  
JOHN MCDOWELL.

The Rev. Dr. RICE.

Professor Lindsley writes —

Princeton, Sept. 28th, 1822.

REV. AND HONORED SIR:—You have been officially informed of your recent election to the presidency of our college, by a unanimous vote of its Board of Trustees. In their choice every friend of literature and religion in our country must rejoice. It may appear impertinent in me to address you on this occasion. But I cannot suppress the expression of my feelings and my wishes. You will therefore attribute to an honest purpose what may appear quite superfluous at least, if not presumptuous. I ought not to flatter myself that my opinion or wishes or counsel will have the slightest influence on the decision which you are now providentially called to make. It is not with any such expectation that I write. It is merely to lay open before you my whole heart, and to say that should it please a gracious God to dispose you to accept the honorable, arduous, and responsible office to which you have been elected, I shall rejoice most unfeignedly, as will all the members of the faculty, and all the students of the college. We shall receive you as a father, and love and venerate you as affectionate and dutiful children. You will have the cordial support of the trustees, and the entire confidence and esteem of all descriptions of people in this part of the country. We need your services to build up our falling institution; to elevate Nassau Hall to that rank among sister colleges which it formerly sustained, and to which I trust it is destined still to attain. I beg you most earnestly, and affectionately, and respectfully, to accept the office, and to enter on its duties as soon as

practicable. We are extremely desirous that you should be here at the opening of the college in November next, that the whole establishment may be organized under your auspices and agreeably to your wishes. I shrink from the thought of attempting anything before your arrival. Only two individuals of the old faculty remain. Could you be here at the commencement of the session, everything would be arranged according to your own views. I pray God to afford you such light and counsel as to enable you to discern clearly the path of duty, and to direct you speedily to that choice which accords with the hearty wishes of all your friends, and which will promote the lasting interests of our beloved institution.

With sentiments of affectionate and filial respect, I am, Rev. and dear sir, your most obedient servant,

PH. LINDSLEY.

Dr. M'Dowell, after hearing of the protracted illness of Dr. Rice, thus writes to Mrs. Rice:

Elizabethtown, Oct. 30th, 1822.

MY DEAR MADAM:—Your kind letter, or your good husband's letter through you, was duly received. Accept my thanks for it. I should have answered it sooner, but until now expected shortly to see you. I sincerely regret the illness of Dr. Rice, and sympathize with you both in this affliction. I hope this will find you in Richmond, and your husband restored to health. Officially I have communicated with Dr. Rice on the subject of his appointment. Permit me now to communicate with you unofficially. I earnestly desire that our invitation to the college may be accepted. There are a number of circumstances which it may be proper to mention in a private letter, which would in an official one have been too particular. Our board was fuller than I have known it since I have been a member, and probably fuller than it has been in the remembrance of any member. Only two members were absent, Mr. Sargeant, of Philadelphia, and Col. Ogden, of this town. A number of persons were mentioned, the ballot was taken, and without any consultation out of doors, on the first balloting Dr. Rice had an unanimous vote, every person voting. The two absent members have since expressed their approbation of the choice, and would doubtless have voted in the same way if they had been present. I cannot but view the unanimity as a strong indication in providence that God intends Dr. Rice for this station. If he should decline, I fear the consequence to this important institution. I do not believe a like unanimity will again be obtained, or that we will be able for a long time to unite on any other person. Such unanimity I believe has not been known in the election of a president, since the election of Mr. Burr; and from everything I can learn, I believe that there is not only an unprecedented unanimity, but cordiality; that it is the earnest desire of every member of the Board that he should accept, and that there will be an universal disappointment if he does not. The appointment has also, I understand, the cordial approbation of Pro-

fessor Lindsley and Mr. M'Lean, who are the only members of the old faculty left. It is a popular appointment in Princeton and the neighborhood, which is a matter of some importance. I know Dr. Rice is in a very important situation where he is. But allow me to suggest whether he would not probably do as much and more good ultimately for his beloved Virginia, in Princeton, where he could have the forming the minds of many from that State, and where he could have much influence on young men in the seminary to go as missionaries to Virginia. You have been informed of the attempts of the committee to wait on Dr. Rice, in person. We appointed 21st instant to set out. The intelligence of his sickness prevented. Yesterday was then appointed. In consequence of this, Chief Justice Kirkpatrick and myself set out, prepared to go to Richmond. Your letter to Dr. Miller, informing that Dr. Rice was still sick in Prince Edward, stopped us at Princeton, from which place we sent official letters yesterday. I returned this morning. My paper is full, and I must stop.

Your sincere friend,

JOHN McDOWELL.

Dr. Miller writes :

Princeton, Nov. 1st, 1822.

MY DEAR BROTHER—The inclosed call and official letter were agreed upon and signed in this place, on the 29th ult., and left in my hands to be transmitted, with such private letter as I might think proper to send with them. I intended to have sent the whole the very next day; but being suddenly called to Philadelphia, whence I did not return until late last evening, I have not been able to complete and dispatch my packet until this time. I sympathize with you most cordially, my dear brother, on your protracted indisposition and feebleness. It was, indeed, a mysterious dispensation of Providence! But it is all for the best, though we see not now. May the Lord enable us all to make a proper improvement of it. I hope that before this packet reaches Richmond, you will be there, and in a tolerably comfortable state. You are by no means to consider us as abandoning our project of waiting on you in person. We have merely *postponed* it. At the same time we wish to be governed in the whole thing by *your wishes and judgment*. If you are deliberately of the opinion that our taking the journey can answer no purpose, say so, and we will do as you wish. But if you think that the *appearance* of the committee at Richmond (one or two, or the whole of them,) would serve in any way to give a *complexion to the business*, either as it regards *you* or as it respects *us*, in any view favorable to either — say but the word — give but the hint — and your wishes shall be sacred with us as far as we can possibly comply with them. If you feel any difficulty or constraint in writing to the committee, or to me, as a *committee man*, on this subject, I beg you to write to me as *Brother Miller*, and express your whole heart. If our appearing there would help you in deciding, or help our cause in any way, cause it to be understood, and I will communicate as

much, or as little, of what you may write, to my colleagues, and endeavor to execute your will to every possible extent.

Dear Brother, you must *not* give us a *negative answer*. Indeed you must not! You will disappoint and grieve us more than I can well say, if you should. It has occurred to me that *two things* may produce an unfavorable influence on your mind in deliberating on this subject. The *FIRST* is, that you very decisively *advised* Dr. Green to resign, and, in the course of your conversation with him, expressed yourself very strongly as opposed, for yourself, to every employment of that kind. It is my deliberate opinion that this ought not to influence you at all. You will learn the state of Dr. Green's mind as to this point, by the following anecdote. He was lately conversing with a respectable gentleman (who was my informant,) on the probability of your accepting the call to Princeton. The Doctor expressed himself on the subject thus — "I do not, on the whole, think that Dr. Rice will come; for among all the friends whom I consulted on the subject of my contemplated resignation, he was the most decisive and unequivocal in expressing himself in favor of the measure; and I certainly gathered from him in the course of that conversation that nothing would tempt him to take such a charge. Yet," said the Doctor, "he may come, notwithstanding all this; and if he does, he will act just as *I acted myself in similar circumstances*. For no man ever expressed stronger repugnance, or a more firm determination against accepting the appointment than I did. Yet I accepted the place after all." He then added — "There is no man in the United States whom I would rather hail as my successor than Dr. Rice." Dr. Green has repeatedly said the same thing *in substance* to me; and I am sure will be cordially gratified if you accept the presidency. In a day or two after the appointment was made, I urged him to write to you; but he declined it, saying that he did not wish to have any part of the *responsibility* of bringing you hither lying on his shoulders.

The *SECOND* consideration I refer to, is that if you come, and especially if you come this winter, you may feel the business of giving a course of lectures on moral philosophy as a thing too arduous to be entered upon at once, especially by a man just from the sick bed. I fear that the influence of this thought may be the greater on your mind, from knowing that you are accustomed to take large views of subjects, and could not be satisfied with small matters. Now, if I were in your place, and should undertake the task, I would certainly for the *first* year (perhaps for the first two years,) *adopt and continue* Dr. Green's plan of taking Witherspoon for my *text-book*, and causing the students to recite his book, making remarks and comments in the course of the recitation. I would do this for two reasons — first, that I might avoid giving direct and immediate offence to Dr. Green by knocking away at one stroke, and at the outset, his system; and *secondly*, that I might gain more time for preparing such a system as I might think proper to substitute for it; causing it to be understood in the beginning, that it was not my intention to

adopt Dr. W.'s book as my ultimate plan ; but only a temporary expedient, until I could look around, and see what ought to be done. It seems to me that in this way all difficulty respecting this business may be effectually obviated. Hoping to hear from you as soon and as fully as your returning strength may allow, and with best and most affectionate respects to Mrs. Rice, (who I hope, by the way, will not suffer her attachment to Virginia to make her hostile to our wishes in regard to her husband,) I am, dear brother,

Yours very cordially,

SAML. MILLER.

The report of the election of Mr. Rice to the Presidency of New Jersey College had reached Prince Edward, before his election to the Professorship. The letters were in possession, and the contents made known to him before the committee of Presbytery waited upon him to announce the choice of his brethren. He wisely laid the subject aside as much as possible. In the month of January he had recovered strength sufficient to return to Richmond. His position was both critical and interesting. His weak state of health rendered mental effort injurious ;—and the expressed will of his friends seemed to render mental effort unavoidable. In a letter to his friend, Dr. Woods, of Andover, Massachusetts, he writes, March 22d, 1823, and states his condition as far as he could remember it :—

“REV. AND DEAR BROTHER.—(After excusing his delay in writing, he goes on to say)—I beg for constant remembrance in the prayers of my brethren. Let them pray that I may be restored to health and usefulness, if such be the will of God ; and if not, that I may be willing to be nothing. I know that the Almighty has no need of such a worm of the dust as I am to accomplish his purposes ; but yet I do greatly desire the honor and happiness of being employed in his services, and of being made a blessing to my fellow-creatures. I wish I had a better account to give respecting my exercises, during my severe sickness. My situation then was such as to show the madness of putting off the work of full preparation for death and judgment. During a part of the time I was like a man excited with wine. Every thing pleased and diverted me. I was very happy ; but I could not depend on exercises and feelings of which I was then conscious, because they were so much colored by the operation of disease. And when this took a turn, and fell on the nervous system, my imagination teemed with ‘all monstrous, all prodigious things,’ and that in a manner so vivid, as to put me up to my best exertions to disbelieve the real existence of the monsters which appeared around me. I recollect having spent a considerable part of a whole day in a most strenuous exertion to keep me from crying out for help. In this situation, you can well conceive that I had but little comfort. I remember feeling that I was a poor sinner, and that my hope and help were in the Lord Jesus alone. And on one occasion I had a sense of the presence of God, and of the divine glory, which as far

outwent any thing I had ever experienced before, as the sun outshines a star. But in general the state of my disease prevented religious exercise or engagement. While I tell you these things, I ought to observe that my recollection of the whole scene, and of the events which took place, is like that of a confused and troubled dream. Pray that this affliction may be sanctified to me and to my family. The thought of its being misapproved, and of my being chastened in vain, is very painful to me."

Extract from a letter from Dr. Miller, Jan. 17th, 1823.—"I will not enter into the business of the Presidency, for two reasons. The *first* is, because I have no time, having only a few minutes to devote to this letter; the *second*, that judging of your feelings from what mine once were in a similar situation, you ought not to be burdened with any such weighty matters, until your recovery has made further progress. One thing, however, I will say. Give yourself no uneasiness about the delay of your answer. There is no reason why you should. We are in no haste to receive it. Take your own time. But do not, I beseech you, think of a negative answer. I hope you will not. I think if you let us know your mind by the last of next month, or the beginning of March, or even by the first of April, no one will complain. The earnest hope of every one whom I have heard speak on the subject, is, that you will not suffer your mind to be burdened with it, in your feeble state.

"P. S. I am going on with my answer to Brother Stuart, slowly. You were right in predicting that I would not despatch the subject in a single short letter. It is not improbable, if I live to finish it, there may be 7 or 8 letters, making in all a pamphlet as large as his." The Dr. refers to his controversy with Dr. Stuart on the Eternal Generation of the Son of God.

Dr. Miller sent Dr. Rice an extract of a letter from Chief Justice Kirkpatrick,—under date of March 17th, 1823, "You will be able to judge of the state of mind of at least one of the committee, by the following extract of a letter received two days ago, from Chief Justice Kirkpatrick, viz.: 'It is now a long time since I have heard any thing concerning Dr. Rice. The meeting of the Trustees of the College is fast approaching, and I begin to be afraid we shall not be able to give them a satisfactory account of the matter committed to our charge. We were appointed to wait upon the Dr. at Richmond. Can we give any satisfactory reason why we have not done so? Will it be sufficient to say, we made a communication to him last autumn, (such as in truth we did make), and that we expected, that upon that communication, he would accept or decline the Presidency; and that therefore we have done nothing further since that time? Is it not probable that his silence is grounded upon the expectation, that the committee must necessarily perform the duty imposed upon them by the Board; and upon the sentiment that it might be rather indelicate for him, either to form or to signify his determination before that was done?'"

Dr. Miller adds—"I know of few things on which my heart has been more set, for a long time, than prevailing with you to come to this place, and take charge of Nassau Hall."

The sickness of Mr. Rice prevented a decision of the questions before him; and the delay in deciding kept his mind in agitation, and delayed his recovery. In his waking moments he could refrain from any conversation on these matters. But as he rolled upon his bed in his feverish restlessness, the broken prayers and exclamations that fell upon the ears of his watching wife and friends revealed the workings of his mind, and the burden on his heart, "*Dear old Virginia! Richmond, and the dear people there! Oh God! O God! for life and health to labor and glorify thee! O for health and strength to do something for old Virginia! A theological school—we must have a theological school! Where does duty call? What can I do for the College of New Jersey? What can I do for the Presbytery—for the Church—for the world of man!*" From such like expressions his wife and friends drew the conclusion, before he was sufficiently recovered to make a decision, that his heart was inclining to the theological school, with all its difficulties, which he felt in their full number and weight. He had urged Mr. Hoge to hold on, and encouraged him in his wonderful self-denial and multiplied labors. He had urged Alexander to return and take the arduous post, which no one could fill so much to the satisfaction of the Virginia Synod. And how should he refuse the call of the Presbytery to occupy that very station? As he considered the case of Mr. Hoge, he could make no objection. When he looked at his own election he could excuse himself somewhat by saying that Alexander was the choice of the whole Synod, and he had been chosen by his own Presbytery. But then the Presbytery had thought of no one else, and were in earnest to have a school; and all the arguments he himself had used for a seminary of the kind in the South, would come back upon him as reasons why he should leave Richmond, and refuse Princeton, and remove to Prince Edward.

When the winter was passed, and his health but partially restored, he felt himself bound to make some reply to the invitations given him in his early sickness. Having resolved to decline the appointment of president of the college, he wrote to Mr. Alexander, March 5th, 1823; and after stating that his health would entirely prevent his usefulness in that office, he goes on to say—"But if this were removed, there are others I know not how to surmount. I will state them as briefly as I can. 1st. There has been no question so often proposed to me, as whether I would accept the presidency of a college. And in reference to nothing have I studied myself so completely as to this question. The result of the whole of my examination is, that I am not well fitted for the office. 1st. I have a very strong dislike to it. 2d. My education has never been sufficiently complete for it. In that station I could not bear the idea of being unable to instruct in any department in college. I do think that a president ought to be able to look particularly into the studies of

every class, see that the professors were discharging their duties, and rouse the pupils to activity in their studies. Now, this I could not do without an intensity of application which would kill me.

2d. It is well known that the acceptance of the presidency would be very advantageous to me in a pecuniary point of view. Here, my nominal salary is two thousand dollars; my real one sixteen hundred dollars, very irregularly paid; and my expenses are beyond my income. At Princeton I should get two thousand five hundred dollars, punctually paid at quarter-day, and should have much less company than here. On acceptance, then, it would at once be said, 'Ah! this is what his love to Virginia has come to. Northern gold has bought him, and it can buy any of them.' And then my influence at the South would be greatly lessened, if not destroyed. And, with my disqualifications for the office, I could never regain at Princeton what I should lose here.

"3d. The state of things in the South is such, as in my view, presents very serious obstacles to my going North. I have been observing as carefully as I could, how matters are working, and I am convinced that a theological seminary in the South is necessary; and that if there is not one established before long the consequences will be very deplorable. The majority of students in the South will not go North. I think this a settled point. In North Carolina there are twelve or fifteen candidates for the ministry, now studying divinity in the old field-school way. And between preachers brought forward in this manner, and those who have better opportunities, there is growing up a strong spirit of envy and jealousy on the part of the former. This is so much the case, that among Presbyterians there is actually now an undervaluing of that sort of education, which we think very important. And things are like to get worse and worse. If, however, a seminary can be established in the South, many will frequent it who will not go to the North. If we do not go on with ours, they will have one of some sort between themselves in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. The more remote, the more dissociated from the centre of Presbyterianism. But my plan is, if we can succeed here, to take Princeton as our model, to hold correspondence with that great and most valuable institution, to get the most promising of our young men to finish off at Princeton; and, in a word, as far as possible, make this a sort of branch of that, so as to have your spirit diffused throughout us, and do all that can be done to bind the different parts of the church together. And it has appeared to me, that if the Lord does not intend to throw me aside as 'a broken vessel,' of no use, that I may be more useful here than I possibly could be anywhere else. I do not speak now of the effect of training up men for the South in the North country, nor of the unfitness of most Northern men for our purposes. You know that in general they will not do.

"P. S. — I have just lost one of the dearest and most devoted friends I had in the world, Mrs. Wood, widow of the late General Wood."



Having given these efficient reasons to his friend Dr. Alexander, he announced to the committee of the board of trustees, that he declined the call to the Presidency of New Jersey College. Dr. Miller, under date of April 21st, 1823, gave an official reply, couched in the most courteous language, and expressing the kindest sentiments. He adds: "The contents of the preceding pages are official. I add a few unceremonious lines, as a friend and brother. I will not attempt to tell you how grievously we were all disappointed by your rejection of the call to the presidency. Had not your letter to Dr. Alexander, a few days before, in some measure prepared us for it, it would have been still more grievous and disheartening. As it is, I can only say, with those around me, the will of the Lord be done. You have indeed, I had almost said, cruelly disappointed us; and yet, if the estimate which you make and express in your letter, of the state and prospects of your health be indeed correct, you have done right. Again, I say, the will of the Lord be done! I had hoped to spend the remainder of my days near you; but it is all ordered in the wisest possible manner.

"Mr. Lindsly is elected president. He has not yet accepted the office. Whether he will do so is uncertain. I have already in type two hundred and twenty-four pages of my answer to Professor Stuart. It is as you predicted. I have written eight letters, instead of one. I hope it will be out in a fortnight or three weeks."

To recover his strength, Mr. Rice tried an excursion, in the month of April, towards the sea shore, visited Gloucester and Mathews, and then the Eastern Shore. The moderate exercise, the sea air, and unmeasured kindness of the people refreshed his languid frame, and affected his heart. "The people down here," he says, "are as affectionate and respectful to me and your aunt as possible. It is not possible not to love and pity them. They are so destitute, and yet such excellent stuff to make Christians of. Everywhere we are received with kindness, and treated with affectionate respect, which may well awaken gratitude to the gracious Being, who, I was almost ready to say, paves our way with love. I have a deeper conviction than ever, of the necessity of building up a theological school among ourselves. We must have a school. But must I be the professor?" That was the question which now rested on his mind: none the less difficult of solution, because he was at rest respecting New Jersey College. In the month of May, he was undecided about the professorship. Two things now caused the difficulty: his health, the febleness of which had, in his estimation, rendered the performance of the duties of a president of a college impossible, was still so frail, that some thoughts which he expressed early in the spring were still in his mind, that he might have to retire to some quiet and healthy situation, "where I should be called on to preach but little, and have opportunity of taking a great deal of exercise;" and the situation of the printing press in Richmond, established by his efforts for the circulation of religious books, "the press give us great advantage, and increases our moral power to a vast extent;

if we give it up, we shall be shorn of half our strength." He feared that, if he left Richmond, the press "in which I have worked almost alone, have broken my constitution, spent my time and sunk my money," would have to be given up, and the preparation and circulation of religious books abandoned; "to give it up now, will be a sore business to me, and ruinous to our plans." In the end the press was abandoned, to his great grief and pecuniary loss; but he lived to rejoice in seeing the work done on a larger scale by the benevolent societies that were then coming into being and activity.

But he must decide; and as in declining the invitation to Princeton he had cordially set his worldly interests aside, supposing him able to perform the duties, so, in finally accepting the invitation to the professorship which his brethren still urged upon him, he still further sacrificed his personal interests, and assumed a weight of labor, the very prospect of which made him tremble. Funds were to be collected to sustain the professor, and make provision for other professors, to erect necessary buildings, and gather a proper library; and beside these labors laid before him, in which he himself must take an active part, beside the duties of the professorship, which embraced the circle of studies allotted to the two able men, Alexander and Miller, in Princeton, he was to be in a position of comparison with those men, in very disadvantageous circumstances, perhaps even of apparent rivalry to those he loved and respected to the highest degree. If he pressed the claims of a Southern institution, would he not seem to be in opposition to the beloved brethren in Princeton? If he gave way to them to the degree his heart prompted, would he not seem to be traitor to the very cause he had urged with effect on Hoge, and with great urgency on Alexander?

On the 2d of June he made a communication to the session of his church, announcing that, "with the utmost reluctance, and even with deep anguish of spirit, I have been brought to the determination to accept that appointment," and also to announce the necessary consequence, "I resign to you my pastoral office." The session and church, in the whole matter, treated their pastor with the greatest kindness and respect. The thought of his leaving them was painful. His peculiar relation could be filled by no one else; but it is not known that a single intimation, reflecting either on the motives or acts of their pastor, escaped their lips, or that any efforts were made to decide for him. They waited for his decision, with an affectionate confidence that he would do what seemed to him was duty; and when the announcement was made, that brought sorrow to many hearts, they yielded at once, but their hearts went with him to the seminary; he was their spiritual father. The Rev. John B. Hoge, pastor of the church on Shockoe Hill, and successor of Mr. Blair, presided at the session that received the kind letter of resignation from Dr. Rice, and passed resolutions dignified in their conception, and complimentary in their truthfulness.

About the middle of July Mr. Rice embarked, to try the advantage of the sea air, on a voyage to New York. Not finding much advantage from this short trip, he proceeded to visit Saratoga, to try the medicinal waters. Besides attention to his health, he proposed, in his journeyings, as far as opportunity was afforded, to carry into effect a resolution of Hanover Presbytery, passed in April—"That the Board of Trustees be authorized to raise by subscription a sum sufficient for the erection of necessary buildings for the accommodation of the Professor and Students of the Seminary, to procure a site for the buildings, and have them in readiness by the 1st of November, if possible:"—and another resolution passed in June—"that the Rev. John H. Rice be a special agent to solicit contributions to the funds of the Theological Seminary." The Presbytery of Albany held its meeting in the village of Saratoga, while Mr. Rice was there. Encouraged by the brethren, Mr. Rice laid before the Presbytery the project of the Presbytery of Hanover, in giving greater efficiency to her theological school. Mr. John Chester, pastor of the Church in Albany, said he addressed the Presbytery then, in a house put up, in a great measure, by Southern funds, and strongly commended the enterprise laid before them. Dr. William Chester, pastor of the Church in Hudson, related some of his experience in Virginia, and confirmed the statements made by Dr. Rice, of the great necessity of the proposed school. The members of Presbytery listened with attentive benevolence, and gave assurance of their aid. The character Mr. Rice had acquired in the Assembly gained him a hearing from the Albany Presbytery at Saratoga; and from this Presbytery he received his first encouragement to expect that the Presbyterian Church would cherish the Theological School in Prince Edward. Dr. Nott received him kindly in Schenectady. In Albany Dr. Chester's kind welcome was followed by some handsome donations. At Lebanon Springs he found advantage from the mineral waters, and the excitement at the reception of his enterprise among his friends. In Boston he found many friends, the acquaintances of his former tour, and made many for his Seminary. In Salem Dr. Cornelius assisted him in making collections. At Andover his acquaintances of the former visit, Messrs. Porter, Stewart, and Woods, proffered their friendship and assistance. The summer being passed, his health improved, his spirits cheered, and many friends to the Seminary secured, he turned homewards, preaching and making collections in Philadelphia—in Baltimore with his brother Nevins, and in Fredericksburg with his friend Wilson, since his successor in office, and reached Richmond in safety.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## JOHN H. RICE, D. D.—HIS ENTRANCE ON THE WORK OF THE PROFESSORSHIP.

WHEN Dr. Rice left Richmond, in the fall of 1823, to enter upon the duties of the Professorship, he went with hopes and fears, providential warnings and encouragements, intermingled. In the eleven and a half years of useful and pleasant occupation in Richmond, he had seen great changes in the constituent parts of Hanover Presbytery. Death had been busy with the ministry. The venerated Hoge, the lovely Legrand, the noble-hearted Lacy, the amiable Blair, and the ardent Robinson, after years of service, had passed away; all, and Robinson peculiarly so, with some degree of suddenness in the final call; and young Kennon, after having given earnest of extensive usefulness, had fallen with his harness on. Changes were taking place from age and infirmity; and Mitchel and Turner were growing old in Bedford, time worn and time honored; Logan had paused from his labors, waiting the event of providence, whether his impaired health should sink in death, or be refreshed for more labor. Turner the younger, in feeble health, was occupying Hanover—and Lyle, in full strength, was at his post in Briery and Buffalo; Read, putting forth his energies in Cub Creek; Reid, teaching school in Lynchburg, and extending the borders of the church; Paxton, at the College, ministering to that part of the Cumberland Congregation south of the Appomattox; Russell, was in Norfolk; and Petersburg was nourishing a church under ministry of his brother Benjamin; and Lee, Armstead, and Davidson, from the Republican Methodists, held their congregations in Lunenburg and Charlotte. Of the Alumni of the College and Theological School, under the teaching of his venerated predecessor, Dr. Hoge, John B. Hoge had lately removed from Winchester Presbytery to the Church on Shokoe Hill, the successor of Mr. Blair; Kirkpatrick had been removed from Manchester to be pastor of Cumberland, north of the Appomattox; Kilpatrick, at Boydton; and Caldwell, in Nelson County; and Taylor, from New England, was gathering a church in Halifax. In addition to these were the missionaries, John M. Fulton, in Buckingham County; Silliman, in Leaksville; Brookes, in Fluvanna; Curtis, in Brunswick; and Cochran at large, under the direction of the Young Men's Missionary Society; and James G. Hamner, was supplying the pulpit he had himself just vacated. The position of his Presbytery seemed to say to him—work while the day lasts; work in hope; but remember, also, the night cometh.

When he looked at the College, the place of his happy labor in his youth, there were changes both to sadden and to cheer him. Mr. Jonathan P. Cushing had succeeded his friend Hoge, in the Presidency. The trustees had wisely determined that, in the present

state of literature and science, the President should not be encumbered with care, foreign from the College duties. For the accommodation of students that were now flocking to the College, the present spacious buildings had taken the place of the old wooden chapel, endeared by a thousand recollections; and the contracted brick walls of the old College, over which some tears were shed, were torn down; and preparations were making for better accommodations for the Professors in comfortable dwellings near the College. Mr. Cushing's powers, as a teacher and administrator of College, shone still brighter in the President than in the admired Professor. His feeble health, contracting somewhat his sphere of usefulness, made that sphere more resplendent, and excited the enquiry in men's minds, what degree of excellence he would attain with firm health. Able associates were actively engaged—and the College was rising in usefulness, and influence, and fame. All this seemed to say, work in hope, but remember the night cometh.

When he turned to contemplate his own prospects as professor, he saw much to try his faith. He found himself houseless. Accommodations had been "voted" by Presbytery, but not a trace of the buildings were to be seen. Where the seminary now stands was the native forest in the possession of one not supposed to be friendly to the cause. Nothing had been done for the accommodation of students. There were no preparations made for his library, or for the assemblage, for prayers and for recitation, of those disposed to profit by his teachings and experience. Funds to some amount had been raised, but inadequate to the object designed. The committee appointed to superintend the erection of proper buildings had not agreed upon any plan, and were preparing to act upon a very small scale, and through efforts at economy were hazarding the whole enterprise. Mr. Cushing entered fully into the situation and views of Dr. Rice, encouraged him to act on a large scale, and offered him every assistance in his power.

A person well acquainted with the sayings and doings at that time, thus relates the passing events of the day. "No arrangements had been made for his accommodation. The committee had supposed that the Doctor and his wife could reside at her father's at Willington, and the Doctor could ride up to college and attend to his classes, as they had no children, and servants were not thought of. They supposed the few students could find some place to live, and a recitation room could be found about college. But Dr. Rice was obliged to have a room for his books, and to live where they were. And of course Mrs. Rice must live where he did; and their servants with them. Their good friend, Mr. Cushing, who had been appointed President a year or two before, and lived in the President's old house, which is now burnt down, and kept bachelor's hall with Professor Marsh, finding the Doctor's situation, very kindly invited him to share with him, and acted as if it were the Doctor's house, and he and Mr. Marsh were boarders. The house had one room, a large passage, and two very small rooms down

stairs ; and two attics. These two in the roof were small, at least the one that had the fire-place, and the other had always been used as the College Library, shelved for the purpose and without a fire-place. Mr. Marsh had the small room with a fire-place up stairs ; and Mr. Cushing the large one below, and his health at the time was such that he often had to hear his classes there ; and much of the chemical apparatus was also there. The larger of the small rooms down stairs was used for a dining room and parlor. Harriet Minor, now Mrs. Bowman, the Doctor's niece and protege had the small room without a fire-place. Professor Marsh still used his room as a study, but gave it up at bed-time to the Doctor and his wife for a lodging room, and he slept with Mr. Cushing ; his room was prepared for him before breakfast. The servants were fixed in the loft of the kitchen to sleep ; and their room adjoining the kitchen was fitted up for the library, study for Dr. Rice, and recitation room. In this room he commenced with three students, Thomas P. Hunt, Jesse S. Armstead, and Robert Burwell."

"It was long a favorite plan with the committee to lay out as little as possible in building ; either rent a house, or build a very small one for a shelter, with three rooms, one for a study, recitation room, and library, one for a chamber, and the other a dining-room. That it would be well to have no place to incur the expense of entertaining company, as the Doctor's family were thought to be too much given to hospitality. One gentleman very strenuous for this plan, said he would take the company. Mr. Cushing so ridiculed this scheme as to seem to fix the idea that a three-roomed house was obliged to be a three-cornered one. He, in a very quiet, pleasant way, helped the Doctor more than I can tell, constantly saying he had nothing to do with it ; but unless made an ornament to the college it must be put out of sight. He called on Martin Sailors, an old bachelor, and induced him to give the five acres where the seminary now stands, and then with much adroitness had the building commenced very much as Mr. Rice wished. It was first built with four rooms on a floor. The Doctor moved into it when only the lower story, above the basement, could be occupied, and that unfinished, not plastered. So it was built over his head. He took possession, the fall of 1825, getting eight new students from the senior class of college that year, besides a few others. White, Hart, Royal, Bartlett, and Barksdale were among them ; Henry Smith came the year before. Mr. Cushing had a house added for himself and Mr. Marsh, as soon as it could be done after the Doctor came. The college was then filled with students ; the new college-building was finished before the Doctor came."

The house commenced for the accommodation of Dr. Rice and the students, forms a part of the east wing of the seminary. It was constructed in anticipation of the main building and the west wing, which now offer accommodations for a hundred students. The committee commenced a brick building of 40 feet by 38, two stories high, with a basement. The Presbytery, in Charlottesville, July

17th, 1824, "Resolved, that the building committee of the Theological Seminary be authorized to enlarge the plan of the professors' house, twelve feet in length and one story in height; and that the Board of Trustees be instructed to make the necessary appropriations of money for this purpose." The house was finished fifty feet by forty, three stories with the basement, architecturally arranged to be the east wing of some future building.

The inauguration of Dr. Rice took place on the 1st day of January, 1824. He took for his text Paul's words to Timothy, 2d Epistle, 3d: 16, 17 — "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." His first position was — *The sacred Scriptures are the source from which the preacher of the gospel is to derive all that doctrine which has authority to bind the conscience and regulate the conduct of man.* Under this head he observes: — Among us, thanks to God for it, the principles of religious liberty, and the rights of conscience, are so well understood, and so fully recognized, that to attempt to establish them by argument, or by the authority of Scripture, is to undertake a quite needless labor. We all know that God is the only Lord of conscience. To prevent any misunderstanding of our views and feelings, I take this opportunity publicly and solemnly to declare, for myself, and for those under whose direction I act, that the principles of religious liberty, recognized by the Constitution of the United States, in the Bill of Rights and Constitution of Virginia, and in the act establishing religious freedom, meet the most cordial and entire approbation of all who are concerned in this theological institution.

His second position was — *That the Scriptures afford the only information on which we can rely, in answer to the all-important question — "What must we do to be saved?"* This question, he says, most manifestly involves the determination of God on the case under inquiry. It is only God who can answer it. For how do the wisest know what the Holy One has determined to do, in the case of rebellion against the divine government?

His third position was — *That the Scriptures contain the most perfect system of morals that has ever been presented to the understanding, or urged on the conscience of man.* In making this observation, he says — I mean to say, 1st, that the precepts of the Bible reach to all the relations which man sustains, and to all the duties which grow out of them; 2d, that the gospel accompanies its precepts with the most urgent motives that ever made their way to the human heart; 3d, for the accomplishment of this object, the address made by the gospel is the most plain and direct that can be imagined. The inference drawn from these various remarks is — that he who receives the office of a teacher of Christianity, must go to the Bible for all that has authority to bind the conscience. Again, we infer that he is the best theologian who is most intimately acquainted with the Scriptures. And from this it follows, that the great duty of a

professor of theology is to imbue the minds of his pupils as thoroughly as possible with the knowledge of revealed truth. *The Bible ought to be the great text-book.* The sentiments of this third position drew from an eminent theological professor, Dr. Woods, great and peculiar praise, that the Bible, as the text-book, was set forth in a bold and clear manner, a thing aimed at by all protestants, but avowed by Dr. Rice with a clearness and simplicity that was unequalled. The same sentiment was expressed by President Graham, on his visit to New England. In answer to the question — "From what, then, do the Virginia clergy obtain their divinity?" he replied — "*From the Bible.*"

The Doctor then argued the question — Is a public or private theological education to be preferred? Admitting the fact that many most valuable men had been raised up under private instruction, he goes on to say — 1st. In this country the want of such seminaries (theological institutions) has been so felt, and their value so appreciated, that almost all denominations of Christians have made, or are making, vigorous efforts to establish them. 2d. No need of referring to Europe for examples. 3d. As soon as Christianity had gained sufficient foothold in the world, miraculous gifts ceased; and very shortly afterwards, it was thought expedient to erect Theological Seminaries. None of these schools or academies were of more note than that which was established at Alexandria, commonly called the *catechetical school*. The library at *Cæsarea*, about the year of our Lord 300, contained thirty thousand volumes. 4th. Among the Jews, it is said there were seminaries for the instruction of religious teachers, established at an early period. After the destruction of the first temple, we hear nothing of schools of the prophets; but academies or seminaries for instruction in the law of Moses were established in various parts. It appears that from a very early age to the present time, the judgment of great and good men has been decidedly in favor of theological seminaries; and that, after the experience of ages, that judgment is unchanged. To detail the reasons by which this long standing opinion is supported, would require too much time. It is sufficient to say, that at such institutions, when well endowed and properly conducted, *there is an accumulation of means of excitement and improvement which cannot be procured in any other way.*

To the objection, that there are seminaries already established, and that it would be better to make use of the advantages offered by them, than to attempt a new experiment, the Doctor replies — 1st. That the institutions already established do not afford anything like an adequate supply for the wants of the country. 2d. It is not desirable that theological seminaries should be frequented by great numbers of students. The history of European institutions affords much instruction on this topic. 3d. If this were not so, it is easy to see, that where an institution depends for its support on the interest excited and kept up in the public mind, it ought not to be very remote from the people. 4th. A suitable number of seminaries,



placed at convenient distances, are, on the whole, cheaper to the church than one great central establishment. Again, there is so wide a difference in climate, habits and manners, in different parts of the country, that it is on every account desirable, yea, necessary, that we should have *native* preachers in the Eastern, Middle and Southern divisions of our territory. The conclusion of the whole argument is, that theological seminaries are the best places for theological education; and that such an institution is most urgently needed for the Southern country.

The Doctor then proceeded to urge the necessity of a competent number of theological instructors; that the work was too great for any one man. And also the necessity of cultivating piety in the theological students. He says—“The age calls for men who, in the fervor of their devotion to the cause of the Redeemer, and love to the souls of men, can forget self and its petty interests, and make any sacrifice, submit to any privation, and undergo any labor, if they may but fulfil the ministry which they receive of the Lord; it calls for men of enlarged views and comprehensive religious benevolence; men who, notwithstanding, every way can rejoice that Christ is preached; men who are willing that God should send by whom he will send, and whose great desire is that He may be glorified and sinners saved; men who can delight in the usefulness and success of others, though they themselves should be nothing. He is in truth the best theologian who has brought his whole nature, moral and intellectual, most completely under the influence of that Scripture, which was given by inspiration of God.”

Rev. Matthew Lyle, the old friend and ministerial neighbor of Dr. Rice, then administered the oath of office. The Rev. Clement Read delivered a characteristic charge. He has long since passed to his reward. He usually committed but little of the process of his thoughts and their results to paper, and of that little a very small portion was given to the public through the press. This charge will remain a fine specimen of his manner of thought and his spirit. Frank, open, fair, kind, evangelical, always Calvinistic in creed, for a time a Whitfield Methodist, but at last a sincere Presbyterian; tender in his feelings, and decided in his creed, his influence extended as far as his acquaintance—the influence of love. He charges the professor to remember his office—“that the professor is accountable for the improper ministerial acts of every preacher whose theological education was committed to his care, and which arose either from his negligent or defective instruction.” He says, a ministry to be useful—1st, it is important that it be learned; 2d, it should be plain and simple; 3d, should be orthodox as well as learned; 4th, pious as well as orthodox. He encourages the professor to stand out against that greatest of discouragements, “*the lukewarmness of friends.*”

Under the head of orthodoxy, he says—“It is only by the influence of truth that the church can be sustained. This is the rock on which it is built. The opinion that it is immaterial, as it relates

to his moral or religious character, what a man believes, is contrary to reason and Scripture. As every action of a man's life is under the influence of his faith, his religious creed becomes a matter of great importance. What that system of doctrine is, which is taught in the Holy Scriptures, is indeed a subject of controversy. This controversy has divided the church into various and distinct parties, and each party has its own articles of religion as a standard of faith. The Presbyterian Church has adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith as its standard of orthodoxy. It is, therefore, from this Confession that we know what our Church receives as true, and what it condemns as heretical. A Theological Seminary, professedly erected under the patronage of the Presbyterian Church, should teach no doctrines but such as are agreeable to this standard. The consideration that the Confession contains the doctrines of the Reformation, and that it presents the most correct, lucid and systematic view of the doctrines of the Scriptures that can be found in any language; and moreover, that a departure from it would endanger the peace and purity of the Church, gives additional force to this charge. Guard against innovations in this system, under any pretence whatever. And in explaining the doctrines of the Confession, it will be of importance to follow the method, and even to use the terms employed by the standard writers of the Church. This will not only give uniformity to the religious opinions of the Church, but will shut the door against much wild and mischievous speculation. It will be your duty not only to see that the main pillars in the building of that system of faith, which has been reared by the piety and sealed by the blood of our ancestors, be not overturned, but that not a single stone in the edifice be removed out of its place. The least departure from truth is dangerous. Error, like the breach in a dam, though small at first, becomes wider and wider, until one general ruin is presented to view."

Dr. Rice commenced his labors as Professor on the day of his inauguration, meeting his class in his kitchen—library—study—recitation-room. Looking at him, as he is engaged in arraigning the studies of Hunt, Burwell, and Armstead, in his humble seminary—one is ready to say—"Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord, shall Jacob arise, for he is small."

In the April succeeding the inauguration, Dr. Rice was authorized by the Presbytery—"to employ Mr. Marsh as a temporary assistant teacher in the Theological Seminary: provided that his support can be derived from individuals who contribute expressly for that object, and not from any of the funds of the Seminary." This gentleman, Mr. James Marsh, was Professor of Languages in Hampden Sidney College. To encourage the students of divinity, he made translations from the German for their improvement. One of these, Herder's Introductory Dialogue on the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, was published in the third number of the Biblical Repository for 1826. He assisted in the Seminary about two years, with great popularity.

Returning to Vermont, he became President of the University of that State.

In September, of the same year, by report to Presbytery, the funds of the Seminary were,—in Bank Stock, \$2550—in bonds, bearing interest, \$7437 35—in money, yet uninvested, \$2477 99. Of this last sum, by order of Presbytery, \$1000 was appropriated—“for building the Theological Seminary”—as the professor’s house was called. The permanent fund of \$11,665 29, was for the support of the Professor. The deficiency of about \$500 of his yearly salary was to be supplied by donations.

In the month of May, 1825, Messrs. Rice, Lyle, and Paxton, were a committee of Presbytery—“to prepare and send, in the name of this body, a circular letter to the Presbyterians in North and South Carolina and Georgia, containing a brief history of this Seminary, a statement of its object, a sketch of its resources and wants, and an earnest invitation to them to unite and cordially co-operate with us in building up this important institution.” The board was directed to send a delegate to the Presbyteries at their fall meeting; and to appoint a general agent to present the cause of the Seminary wherever there was a prospect of success. A great Southern Seminary was now the grand idea, and professed object of Dr. Rice. To build and endow a Seminary worthy of that name, he devoted all his powers. The magnitude of the enterprise gave him strength; the grandeur of the work inflamed his heart more and more; and to his earnest contemplation the work appeared more and more grand and beautiful.

In 1820, he wrote to Dr. Alexander—“While it is my wish that the whole Church should give Princeton full support, I do think that a good Seminary under orthodox men, I mean true General Assembly Presbyterians, established in the South, would have a happy effect. My work has long been to keep up a kind of nucleus here, around which a great Seminary might be gathered. I am ready to do, to the utmost of my abilities, what shall be thought best by a majority of brethren. I acknowledge, very readily, that there are wiser heads than mine, but none have warmer hearts for the prosperity of good old Presbyterianism. I learn there has been a meeting of the Board of Trustees of H. S. College, and that you were unanimously chosen to succeed Dr. Hoge. O, if you would!—but I check myself.” Dr. Alexander would *not* accept; and he himself was now attempting what required wise heads and warm hearts to assist him in performing. A Seminary fit for the patronage and wants of all the South was the very thing to supply the wants of any part of the South. For counsel and advice he now turns himself to his old friend, busily and happily employed in Princeton, but loving Virginia with all his heart—and on the 18th of March, 1825, writes to him, under that discouragement which magnificent schemes with small means will occasionally throw over an ardent heart, that is restless in its poverty and confinement:—“The Elder brethren of Hanover Presbytery have kept themselves so isolated, and are so

far behind the progress of things in this country, and the general state of the world, that they think of nothing beyond the old plans and fashions, which prevailed seventy years ago. In fact, there is nothing like united, entire exertion to build up this institution, and I often fear the effort will fail. Had I known what I know now, I certainly would not have accepted the office which I hold. But now I have put my hand to the plough, and am not accustomed to look back. There is, however, a sea before me, the depth of which I cannot fathom, and the width such that I cannot see over it." Referring to some reports that the Seminary was hostile to Princeton, he adds—"if I thought it was so, I would resign to-morrow." He further adds—"I have given you this dismal account of Virginia, to convince you that you *must* come to our State during your next vacation. All love you with unabated affection, and regard you with peculiar reverence. Your presence would awaken a new set of feelings. A few sermons from you would do more, at this time, for the good of the Church here, than any human means I can think of. And I am sure that you would hear and see little, if anything, of the complaints and troubles that exist; for the people would be ashamed to let you know how they feel. I do deliberately and conscientiously believe that it is your duty to come."

Dr. Rice's earnest entreaty, strongly seconded by his friend's desire to revisit the scenes of his former enjoyments and labors, prevailed; and Dr. Alexander made a journey in June, 1825, to his native State, such as can occur in the lives of few men, and but once in theirs. Welcomed to the residence he had occupied as President of Hampden Sidney College, he looked around with intense excitement on men and things. Some of his old friends and admirers were gone; but others were filling up their places, ready to give him as warm a place in their hearts. The small brick building that had served as the college, from the days of the Smiths to those of Cushing, had given place to a sightly building, that surpassed Nassau Hall, and, by the celebrity of the young President whose energy and popularity had erected it, was filled with students. Near by, on grounds familiar, and sacred in association, he saw arising the Theological Seminary, simple in its elegance as a single building, and fitting the more extensive fabric of which it was destined to be a part. And here was an old associate fully engaged in working out, as practical problems, the dreams and visions of their former years, the erecting and endowing a seminary for the supply of ministers for the southern churches. He saw the difficulties in the way of his friend Rice. To any other man he would have said, "you cannot accomplish the splendid design." Such was his influence over the surrounding community, and over his friend, a discouraging word would, in all probability, have prostrated the hopes of Rice, and crushed the Union Seminary in its embryo. Not daring to discourage his friend, or shut out one ray of a hope already clouded, yet far from sanguine, he sat out on a preaching excursion through Charlotte, Prince Edward, and Cum-

berland, among the congregations to which he once ministered. Dr. Rice accompanied, deeply sensible that the reception, and effects of that visit would in all probability be decisive, and his hopes be realized, or the seminary fade from his view for ever. The congregations that crowded to hear, insisted that both should preach; and declared they had never preached so well; and when the visit was over, and the enthusiasm of Alexander's welcome found expression, the people in recalling the sayings, and doings, and preachings of that exciting time, were unable to determine which of their old preachers they most loved and admired, Rice or Alexander. The visit was an epoch. For a long time it was common to hear the expression — *It took place about the time of Dr. Alexander's visit.* And, what was better, the churches determined to endow the seminary.

Immediately after this visit, the Trustees appointed Mr. Robert Roy, from New Jersey, sometime a missionary in Nottoway, to act as agent in conjunction with Dr. Rice. Of the success of their first visits, Dr. Rice thus writes to Dr. Woods of Andover, August 6th, 1825: "The Directors of our institution wanted me to go on again to the North, and solicit aid. But I said I could not go again, unless I could say and show that our own people had taken hold of the thing in good earnest. If they would adopt a plan for putting the institution into full organization, send out agents, and make full trial of the southern people, then I would go to the North, and ask the brethren there to help us. Accordingly a promising agent has set out, and made a very good beginning. I went with him two days, and obtained about four thousand dollars. This, however, was among my particular friends, and in the best part of our State. How the whole plan will succeed I do not know. Pray for us."

Having taken possession of the basement and lower story of the seminary-building, he writes under the same date, August 6th, to Dr. Alexander — "We are at length in occupancy of a part of our new building. We find it a very pleasant, comfortable house, thus far, and I think when all things are fixed about us, that it will make a very desirable residence. It appears to me too, that there has been a good stirring up of the people in behalf of our seminary; and they are more than ever resolved to build it up, and place it on a respectable foundation. Mr. Roy is engaged as our agent, and I hope that he will be efficient. He has not had a fair trial yet, but I think he has the talent for the work." Speaking of the visit lately made, he says — "I do believe that if you could make such an one every year, it would prolong your life, and extend your usefulness." The Doctor did not consider that while his friend might visit Virginia and find — "the stimulus which good, hearty, old-fashioned Virginian friendship would give, would be a better tonic and cordial than wine could furnish" — that *such* a visit as had just passed could never be made again; and Dr. Alexander, though often entreated, wisely refused the attempt.

Rice's friends in New York city had not forgotten the earnest plea

he had made for the incipient Southern Seminary springing as a germ from the college, and in June of 1825, Mr. Knowles Taylor, a merchant in that city, born on the banks of the Connecticut, sent him word that a mutual friend had determined to endow a scholarship in his seminary, and that he might therefore take in another indigent pious student of theology. "I was," says Dr. Rice in reply, "casting about for ways and means by which to enable them to do this" — i. e., three or four young men to enter the seminary in the fall — "when your favor came to hand. And now permit me to say that I know two young men of considerable promise, whose circumstances are such that if the \$175 mentioned by you could be divided between them, I think they both might be enabled to enter the seminary the beginning of next term." This news, received about the time of Dr. Alexander's visit, added to the growing interest in favor of the seminary.

In August, Dr. Rice received the papers from the donor, Jonathan P. Little, confirming the donation, and under date of Sept. 1st, writes — "Surely, my dear sir, it was God who put it into your heart to remember us in this way, and at this very time, and to him we will give the glory. My friend Mr. Taylor gave me intimation of this matter at a time when the difficulties of establishing this seminary seemed to be increasing, and many of its warmest friends were desponding. I began to feel as though I were alone in this great work. But when it was found that the Lord had put it in the heart of a brother in a remote place to found a scholarship in the seminary, it gave an impulse which has been generally felt; our languid friends were aroused, and more has actually been done in six weeks than in the previous twelve months. On the whole I can confidently say that *I have never known the giving the same sum in any instance productive of so much good in so short a time.*"

Under the same date he wrote to Mr. Knowles Taylor, under the influence of this donation, and of Dr. Alexander's visit — "The truth is, while all acknowledged the necessity of our institution to supply the wants of the Southern country, most thought that it was an impracticable scheme. So few they said here cared for these things, that it is hopeless to undertake by them to raise so great a structure as a theological seminary; and it is in vain to expect that Northern people will do this work while engaged in so many others. And really I began to fear that I should have to labor at the foundation all my life. But now I have good hope that this temple of the Lord will go up in my day." He then goes on and details Mr. Roy's agency, the object of which was to get ultimately enough funds to establish two professorships, and erect the seminary buildings — "I hope our Presbytery will raise enough to establish one professorship. I have the pleasure to add that I have just returned from a trip to North Carolina, the object of which was to convince the brethren of that State of the importance and necessity of building up a Southern institution. In this it pleased the Lord to make me successful beyond my expectations, and that I have good hopes

of seeing the Presbyterians of that State taking hold of this great object in company with us. I bless the Lord, and take courage. And now if I can just engage the brethren to the North to take hold of this thing with a strong hand, and help us, the work will go on prosperously."

The Presbytery on the 1st of October, 1825, continued Mr. Roy's agency. He had secured \$14,000 in Charlotte and Prince Edward. The committee appointed to attend the Synod of North Carolina reported to Presbytery on the 28th of the month that they had been kindly received by the Synod at their meeting in Greensborough, and that a committee had been appointed by the Synod with full powers to confer with a similar committee of this Presbytery, and adjust the principles on which the Seminary shall be conducted. The committee of North Carolina were Messrs. McPheeters, Wither- spoon and Graham; that appointed by Presbytery of Hanover, Messrs. Dr. Rice, Paxton and Taylor.

Application was made in May, 1826, by a committee, Dr. Rice, and Messrs. W. J. Armstrong, and Wm. Maxwell, elder, respecting the transfer of the seminary funds to the trustees of the Assembly for safe-keeping, and also to ask that body "to extend its patronage to our seminary," offering "such negative control" as may be necessary to secure the exercise of proper Presbyterian principles. Rev. Dr. Alexander, Dr. Laurie, Dr. Janeway, Mr. Sabine and Mr. Gildersleeve were the committee appointed by the Assembly on this request. On May 31st, the thirteenth day of the session, they made report of the following resolutions, which were adopted:

"Resolved, 1st. That the General Assembly will agree to take the Theological Seminary of the Presbytery of Hanover under their care and control. The plan of the seminary has been examined by the committee, who are of opinion that it is such as merits the approbation of the General Assembly.

"2d. That the General Assembly will receive by their trustees, and manage the permanent funds of the Theological Seminary of the Presbytery of Hanover, which may be put into their hands; which funds shall be kept entirely distinct from all others belonging to the General Assembly. But the General Assembly will not be responsible for any loss or diminution of said funds, which may occur from the change of stocks, or from any other unavoidable cause.

"3d. That the General Assembly will agree to permit the Presbytery of Hanover to draw annually, or quarter yearly, the avails of their funds, and will give direction to their trustees to pay any warrants for the same, which may be drawn by the President of the Board of Trustees of the Theological Seminary of the Presbytery of Hanover, or by any other person named by the Presbytery.

"4th. That the General Assembly do also agree, that they will permit the Presbytery of Hanover to draw out, in part or in whole, the funds deposited in the hands of the Trustees of the General Assembly: *Provided, however,* That the proposal to withdraw shall lie before the Presbytery at least one year previously to its being

acted upon. The General Assembly shall also be at liberty to resign all charge and superintendence of the said Theological Seminary, whenever they shall judge the interests of the Presbyterian Church to require it; in which case, the General Assembly will direct their trustees to return to the Presbytery of Hanover all their funds which may have been deposited in the hands of said trustees, or convey them in trust to such individuals as may be named trustees by the Presbytery of Hanover.

“5th. That the General Assembly shall have the right to exercise a general control over the Theological Seminary of the Presbytery of Hanover; that is, they shall have a negative on all appointments to the offices of professors and trustees in said Seminary, and on all general laws or rules adopted by the Presbytery for its government.

“6th. That therefore the Presbytery of Hanover shall annually send up to the General Assembly a detailed report of all their transactions, relating to said Theological Seminary; on which report, a vote of approbation or disapprobation shall be taken by the General Assembly; and all appointments or enactments of said Presbytery, or of the Board of Trustees acting under their authority, which may be rejected by the General Assembly, shall be null and void. But the authority of the General Assembly over the seminary shall be merely negative; they shall not originate any measure, or give any special directions for the government of the institution.

“7th. That if it shall appear to the General Assembly that doctrines contrary to the standards of the Presbyterian Church are inculcated in the said seminary, or that in any other respect it is so managed as to be injurious to the interests of truth, piety and good order, the General Assembly may appoint visitors to examine into the state of the said seminary, and to make a full report to them thereon.

“8th. That if the General Assembly shall be convinced that any professor in said seminary inculcates doctrines repugnant to the Word of God, and to our Confession of Faith, they shall require the Presbytery of Hanover to dismiss such professor, and to appoint another in his place; and if said Presbytery neglect or refuse to comply with such requisition, the General Assembly will withdraw their patronage and superintendence from the seminary, and will take such other steps as may be necessary in the case.

“9th. That if the Presbytery of Hanover accede to these terms, then the Theological Seminary at Hampden Sidney College shall be denominated the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, under the care of the Presbytery of Hanover, and the aforesaid articles and conditions shall go into effect.”

These resolutions of the Assembly were laid before the Presbytery of Hanover in October. Before acting decisively on them, another project was laid before Presbytery by Dr. Rice, and Messrs. Benjamin H. Rice and William S. Reid. were appointed a committee to wait on the Synod of Virginia, at its approaching meeting. From



a paper presented by these gentlemen to the Synod, it appears that the Hanover Presbytery "have erected a building which cost between seven and eight thousand dollars, have procured a library of the value of about seven thousand five hundred dollars, and a subscription amounting to about twenty-five thousand dollars, and there will probably be twelve or fourteen students at the institution the next term. The Presbytery of Hanover proposes then, that the Synod of Virginia should take the institution under her care precisely as it stands, with its principles and its present engagements; and in case the proposed connexion with the General Assembly and the Synod of North Carolina be carried into effect, that thereafter the seminary shall be, and be denominated, *The Union Seminary of the General Assembly, under the care of the Synods of Virginia and North Carolina.*"

"After discussion, the Synod of Virginia, believing it to be eminently desirable that the Theological Seminary heretofore confided to the care of the Hanover Presbytery, should be enlarged and established on a more liberal foundation, and placed, with the countenance and favor of the General Assembly, under the immediate care and management of the Synods of Virginia and North Carolina, agreeably to the arrangements that are now in progress for the purpose, so as to make it a proper institution for the education of pious youth, candidates for the gospel ministry, for the supply of all the churches within the bounds of these Synods and elsewhere, in the southern and western parts of our country, *Resolved, unanimately,* That the said proposition of the Hanover Presbytery be, and the same is, hereby accepted, and that Synod will cordially unite with the Presbytery of Hanover and the Synod of North Carolina, in any further measures which shall be necessary and proper to complete the said arrangement, and to secure to the Union Seminary, as far as possible, the entire undivided aid and patronage of all the churches within their bounds."

On the 3d of November, 1826, Dr. Rice and Rev. Jesse H. Turner met the Synod of North Carolina, in Fayetteville, and laid before that venerable body the articles of agreement prepared by the joint committee, with the reasons therefor at length, and the proceedings of the Synod of Virginia, in agreeing to take the place of the Presbytery of Hanover, in relation to the seminary, and urged upon the Synod the final adoption of the plan of union. The subject was under discussion two days, and was argued with great ability. The leader of the opposition was Dr. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University of North Carolina, whose history is interwoven with the rise and fame of that institution. He had projected a theological seminary to be located in North Carolina, and was moving on in the matter as fast as the duties of his office permitted. Dr. Rice had gotten the advantage, by being wholly devoted to the subject, and having put his machinery in successful operation in a place much beloved by many Carolinians. Dr. Caldwell had much experience and influence with men; able in debate, and sustained by the

local attachments of his brethren, he entered into the discussion manfully, and contended for a seminary in the old North State, as the Virginians had one in Prince Edward, and as the South Carolina brethren had projected one in their mountains; that North Carolina had men and money for the enterprise, were the Synod aroused to the importance of the work, and he called on them to awake to their responsibilities.

Dr. Rice argued that the work of founding and cherishing a Seminary was too great for one Synod, in the present position of Christian effort and self-denial: that the Presbytery of Hanover had, in her own bounds and elsewhere, raised funds to build a house, to procure a library, and had subscriptions for the support of Professors, in all, to more than fifty thousand dollars; and that, while little more could be raised in Virginia now, this sum was not more than half enough to complete the proper arrangement of buildings, fill the library, and support competent Professors: that all that could be raised immediately in North Carolina would not make up this deficiency—and that instead of two Seminaries, the two Synods would find a difficulty in founding and sustaining one. In the second place, he argued—that one Synod, in the present state of things, did not embrace a sufficiently large Presbyterian population, to afford a sufficient number of students. The great expense of a Seminary is justified only by a goodly number of students, except when only a small number can possibly be obtained; and in the South a great area must be traversed to gather these students. And as Carolina had, hitherto, been united with Virginia in the expenses and benefits of the theological school in Prince Edward, he besought the Synod to continue that union, and make it closer by becoming a constituent part of its government and support.

The discussion closed on Saturday evening, under great excitement. The Synod had never heard such a debate. The whole subject of Theological Seminaries lay before the brethren in all its extent; and the Synod was called on to decide upon its course, for an indefinite length of time, and for incalculable interests. In the midst of their beloved Carolina, the brethren contemplated the whole church, and compared the advantages of one well endowed Seminary with those of two or more with limited endowments and opportunities of instruction. The records of Synod say, that—"after a very full discussion, and a prayer for divine direction, the following resolution, with but two dissenting voices, was adopted, viz.: *Resolved*—That the Synod will agree to support the Theological Seminary in Prince Edward County, Virginia; and that the articles reported by the committee on that subject, be, and they hereby are adopted." All private local feelings were merged in the general cause. Dr. Rice, on his return to Virginia, writes to Dr. Alexander—"Dr. Caldwell, who has more influence than any other man in the State, had set his heart very much on having a Seminary in North Carolina. He is a very able opponent. The subject was debated for days, at length the Doctor yielded. Mr. Roy can tell you all

about it: but I mention the subject for the sake of observing that when Dr. Caldwell found that the majority was against him, and felt that he was totally defeated, instead of showing offended pride, he yielded with all the grace of a gentleman and a Christian. He certainly raised himself very much in my estimation and affection."

The Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at their next meeting, May, 1827, approved and ratified the arrangements made by the Presbytery and the Synods, and recommended that the permanent funds be continued, in whole, or in part, in the State in which they had been raised, in such manner as may be safe and proper.

## REV. MATTHEW LYLE.

Before the consummation of the union by the Assembly, one of the co-laborers in building up the Seminary was removed by death, Matthew Lyle, who had been more than thirty-two years pastor of Briery and Buffalo, expired March 22d, 1827; son of James Lyle and Hannah Alexander, an aunt of Dr. A. Alexander, and born in the year 1767, he was reared in the Congregation of Timber Ridge, Rockbridge County. The circumstances of his early youth and education were similar to those of his cousin Alexander, first at the fireside, then the old field-school, and then the College under Graham. He was one of the theological class or school organized by Mr. Graham, after the great revival in his charge in 1789. Though five years older than his cousin, he was not so far advanced in his studies preparatory to the ministry. At Hall's Meeting House, now New Monmouth, April 29th, 1791, he, together with Thomas Poage of Augusta, a youth eminent for piety, but of short continuance on earth, and Benjamin Grigsby, that gathered the church in Norfolk, were proposed to Presbytery, as candidates for the ministry, of good moral character, in full communion with the church, and of a liberal education. "Presbytery having received of them a detail of their evidences of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and repentance toward God, and their call and motives to the gospel ministry, together with a specimen of their ability to solve cases of conscience, maturely considered the same, and agreed to receive them as candidates." Parts of trial were then assigned to all. At Augusta Church, Sept., 1791, Mr. Lyle read a homily on the subject—Can they who have attained to a living faith and evangelical repentance, finally fall from a state of grace; and also an Exegesis on the question—An originale peccatum detur? With his companions he was examined in the languages by Messrs. W. Wilson and Montgomery. Messrs. Scott, Crawford, and Erwin examined them on the sciences. April, 1792, in Lexington, Mr. Lyle delivered a popular sermon, 1st John 3: 8, latter clause; and read a lecture on John 2d: 1st to 12th verse inclusive. Together with Messrs. Poage and Grigsby, he was examined on divinity, criticism, moral philosophy, and geography. On Saturday morning, the 28th, the three candidates were licensed to preach the gospel. This was a joyful time to the church in Lexington;

four young men, fruits of the revival, were now licensed to preach the gospel, and two more were at this time received on trial.

Mr. Alexander, licensed in the preceding fall, had passed the winter in Jefferson and Berkeley Counties. At this meeting of Presbytery, he and Messrs. Lyle and Grigsby were recommended to the Commission as missionaries. In the fall succeeding, a call from Providence, in Abingdon Presbytery, was sent in for Mr. Lyle; but owing to some informality, it was not approved by Presbytery. At the Cove, in Albemarle, October, 1794, Mr. Lyle presented his credentials, and was received under the care of Hanover Presbytery. A call was at the same time presented by the united congregations of Briery and Buffalo, among whom he had been preaching as a missionary of Synod, asking for his labors as pastor. On the 2d Friday of February, (13th day) 1795, the Presbytery met at Buffalo—Messrs. Alexander, M'Robert, Mahon and Lacy, with Elders John Morton and William Womac—and having heard Mr. Lyle preach from 2d Cor. 4: 13th, proceeded to his ordination and installation. Mr. Alexander preached from Titus 2d: 18, and Mr. Lyle presided and gave the charge. To these two congregations Mr. Lyle continued to preach till his Master called him away. For a time Mr. Alexander was united with him, and Dr. Hoge also for a number of years.

Mr. Lyle taught a school part of the time for the education and maintenance of his family. He was a firm friend of the College; and took an active part in establishing a Theological School, and building up the Seminary, the prosperity of which cheered him in his last days. His life was fully occupied in the duties of his station. He was happy in his domestic relations, happy in his pastoral office, happy in his Presbytery, and blessed in his communion with his God. The troubles that came upon him God gave him grace so to bear that few knew them to be troubles. Without any startling events in his life, which was too even and happy to have any, his history was interwoven with that of the Seminary and his Presbytery. In all the good that was doing he had a part. Without seeking prominence, he rejoiced in the work of his master in any form. Firm in principle and in friendship, he had many friends. Orthodox in his preaching, classic in his style, and earnest in the ministry, he left in his congregations evidences of his labors that remain. Dr. Rice was with him in his last hours, and thus writes to Dr. Alexander—“Mr. Lyle's, March 22d, 1827.—I am here in a scene of affliction. You will be afflicted, too, when you learn that this is a fatherless family, and that Mrs. Lyle is a widow. It pleased an all-wise Providence this day to remove our excellent friend and brother from this world, as we assuredly believe, to a better. He died this evening a little after sunset. His disease was a disorder of the stomach and liver. During a considerable part of the last summer he appeared to be in rather infirm health, and I persuaded him most earnestly to cease preaching, and go to the *springs*, but could not succeed. As the winter came on, his health declined still

more; but nothing could persuade him to quit his work, or disuse his favorite beverage, coffee. But it is useless to pursue the detail of causes which conspired to produce the event which we now deplore. Mr. Lyle's last hours were not such as to permit him to communicate anything of his feelings or views. His voice failed him, so that it was with great difficulty that he could say anything. And although never delirious, yet he was for some time in a comatose state; and generally the brain seemed to perform its functions very laboriously. This was so much the case, that his afflicted wife and children have to refer to his *life* for evidence of his being prepared for death. We are all thankful that here we have evidence enough. You know there never was a man of more absolute sincerity, never one who was more what he professed to be. And though he gave no dying testimony, his living one was sufficient for the purpose.

"Mrs. Lyle affords the greatest pattern of calm, firm, steady resignation, that I have ever seen. She says that more than a thousand times she has prayed that God might order her lot for her; and as he has done this, she has no right to murmur or repine, and does hope that he will not leave her comfortless. Her fortitude seems to sustain the whole family; and there really seems to be something of the presence of God about the house. She is no common woman. Mr. Lyle's children, that are grown, are all very respectable. I fully expect that God will make the children great blessings to their mother. I do not know any particulars of the worldly circumstances of the family. But there are, you know, ten children, of whom seven yet live with their mother, and several are yet to be educated. I wish to make arrangements to have Mr. Lyle's pulpit supplied during the year, so as to continue his salary from the congregation until Christmas; or at any rate as long as the people will rest satisfied without a pastor. I hope this can be done; and I have no doubt it will be a convenience to the family. The people in general were greatly attached to Mr. Lyle, and they appear sincerely to deplore his loss. It will be felt through this whole section of the church, for his influence was great. This has turned my thoughts and feelings very strongly to you. May it please the head of the church to spare you for many years to come, and to give you health to labor in building up his kingdom of righteousness."

To return to Dr. Rice. He commenced an article in the *Evangelical and Literary Magazine* for November, 1824, thus—"In the whole conduct of our work from the beginning to the present time, we have endeavored to study the things that make for peace. It has been our wish and effort to keep out of sight the divisions of Christians, to put down the spirit of jealousy, and promote fraternal love. We know well what is the standing reproach of Christianity, and it has long been our prayer that it may be wiped away. We know that men in many respects truly excellent, have been prevented from entering the Church of Christ by the stumbling-blocks cast in their way by Christians, and it has long been our earnest wish that they might be removed. In a country, too, where the best efforts of all sincere

Christians will not furnish a competent supply of religious instruction, we *do* desire that all who agree in fundamental doctrines may unite, as far as possible, in diffusing the influences of the gospel: We have no taste for angry polemics. Controversies which gender wrath and strife are our utter aversion. Every man, and of course every Christian minister, has a right to state his honest convictions to all who may choose to hear him, and none ought to complain. But if in doing this, he makes severe reflections on others, he thereby throws the fire-brand of discord into society, awakens angry feelings, and kindles a spirit of contention which does more harm than even error respecting mere matters of form and outward observance can easily do. We are, verily, persuaded that a few more such sermons as these two, would do greater injury to the cause of Christianity in the Southern country, than twenty of the ablest preachers can do of good in their whole ministerial life. We say this not in anger, but in sorrow."

He then proceeds to review two discourses lately issued from the press, from the pen of John S. Ravenscroft, Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina. These sermons contained much that is cordially received by all Christians; but they also claimed for Diocesan Episcopacy the sole agency of God's covenanted mercy, thus denying the right and name of Church members to all professors of religion not within the pale of the Episcopal Church. These principles more or less openly avowed in the pulpit, for some preceding years in Virginia, now first appeared from the press. In the year 1814, in a letter to Dr. Alexander, Mr. Rice says — "I am, indeed, apprehensive that we shall have a controversy in this State between Episcopalians and Presbyterians; but I hope, if this should be the case, that we shall act entirely on the defensive." The next year he says to Mr. Maxwell, speaking of a meeting of Episcopal ministers in Richmond — "My congregation pretty generally attended. They were pleased too with most things in the ministers; but disapproved the keen spirit of proselytism manifested by them. This is active and ardent enough beyond all doubt, and you will very probably see a sample of it before long. This spirit will produce irritation and offence, which, I fear, will ripen into controversy." Mr. Rice had declined making any attack on Episcopacy in his Magazine, or to do anything by which he could be considered the aggressor. At length, to satisfy the public desire, he published his *Irenicum* in a pamphlet form, in which, in an exegetical manner, the passages of Scripture relating to Church Government and forms, were considered with much ability and a kind temper. In the review of the Bishop's sermon, with the same kindness and ability, he contests the High Church notions openly avowed, and shows succinctly that they were founded on error.

In the same month, December, 1824, in which the latter part of this review appeared in the Magazine, Bishop Ravenscroft preached by request, before the Bible Society of North Carolina, the annual sermon. In this he endeavored to show that it was dangerous to

the best interests of the Church and the souls of men generally to circulate the word of God without some accredited expounder accompanying. This sermon Dr. Rice reviewed, in his Magazine for April and May, 1825, endeavoring to show that the Bishop's arguments were fallacious, and his fears of evil to be wrought by the free circulation of the word of God without note or comment, were groundless.

In the month of March, 1825, the Bishop preached in Raleigh a sermon on the study and interpretation of the Scriptures. A copy of this sermon, published by the vestry of his church, was sent to Dr. Rice, with a communication, containing the following sentence — "I forward by this mail, a printed copy of a sermon, preached to my congregation here, on the study and interpretation of Scripture — in which you will see my views on that subject — which you may refute if you can; and by which I am willing to test the soundness of those doctrines I have preached, and shall continue to preach to the good people of North Carolina, until shown to be erroneous by better and higher authority than that of the Editor or Editors of the Evangelical Magazine." This challenge was accepted by Dr. Rice, and a review of thirty-one pages, in the Magazine for the July following, gave greater evidence of the power of his pen as a polemic than any preceding production. His view of the Bishop is thus expressed at the outset — "He is a firm and fearless man. Doubtless he is sincere. He is persuaded that out of what he calls the church, there is no assurance of salvation: he *does* believe that it is ruinous to distribute the Bible 'without note or comment;' and therefore regardless of consequences, he is continually throwing himself on ground from which many a bold and able combatant has been beaten in times past."

Dr. Rice combats the Bishop's rule, viz. — "*That interpretation of Scripture is to be followed and relied upon as the true sense and meaning, which has invariably been held and acted upon by the one Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ:*" and shows that there has been no such interpretation or explanation preserved; that of the interpretation or explanation which the Church held for the first three hundred years only a few passages have been preserved; and that if the Bishop "*by interpretation of every doctrine,*" has reference to the ancient creeds, he shows there is no certainty that any creed, however short, claims origin higher than the second or third century. He brings forward Bishop Hooker in defence of the clergy of his day against the charge of not preaching enough, as saying — "*The word of life hath always been a treasure, though precious, yet easy as well to attain as to find; lest any man desirous of life should perish through the difficulty of the way;* and though the clergy did not preach they read the word of God publicly, and that was enough. After calling up the testimony of Bishop Horsley, that there is no need to a plain man for a church to interpret Scripture: and of Bishop Hurd, that the great principle of the Reformation is, that *the Scripture is the sole rule of faith* — that Daille, *On the right use*

of the *Fathers*, opened the eyes of intelligent inquirers, and led Chillingworth to establish for ever the old principle, that the Bible, and that only interpreted by our best reason, is the religion of Protestants — he sets in a clear light the truth that we cannot be governed by authority in our explanation of Scripture, further than that authority is derived from the Scripture itself.

He brings the review to a close with such remarks as these:— “Bishop Ravenscroft, in two sermons with which our readers are somewhat acquainted, set up the highest pretensions of High Church, and denounced all preachers who have not received Episcopal ordination, as intruders into the sacred office, and as ministers of Satan. He also begs pardon for having in times past yielded to the pretensions of a spurious modern charity, and promises hereafter to discard all false tenderness from his bosom. True to his purpose, on being requested to preach the annual sermon of the Bible Society of North Carolina, he delivered a discourse directly against the Institution, and all others of similar organization in the world. The great object of that effort of the preacher was to prove the insufficiency of the Scriptures as a guide to heaven. This is followed by a fourth sermon, in which he fills up his system, and tries to persuade us that we must acknowledge the Church as the authorized interpreter of the Bible. We have been made to understand that the Episcopal clergy of North Carolina follow their Diocesan. We know that sentiments of a similar character are boldly advanced in New York by a man of learning and talents; and that the wealth of the richest Church in the United States is pledged for their support. We have satisfactory evidence too, that influence from abroad is made to bear on the religious character of our population. In a word exertions are made to extend opinions among us, which we do conscientiously believe to be injurious, both to Church and to society. We therefore felt it to be our imperious duty to point out, plainly and frankly, the errors held by these brethren, and show as well as we could to what they tend. We have not for one moment, ever thought of laying any thing to their charge but bad reasoning, and mistaken apprehension of Scripture. If we have in any instance misapprehended the meaning of Bishop R., it has been our misfortune, not our fault. In conclusion, we cannot help saying we have heard that Bishop R. has been sick. We pray God to have mercy on him, restore his health, prolong his days, and make him a blessing to the Church over which he is called to preside. We hope yet to hear of his taking the lead in the glorious work of charity in which Christians in this latter day are engaged.” He thus ended the review, believing with “*the ingenious Bishop Hurd*,” that when any branch of the Protestant Church left the sure ground that “*the Scripture is the sole rule of Faith*,” and took in its place *the Scriptures as interpreted by the Fathers*, the mismanagement was fatal—that the discussion would be in a dark and remote scene, and *no certain sense could be affixed to their doctrines; and any thing or every thing might, with some plausibility, be proved from them.*



Bishop Ravenscroft felt himself called on to notice this review of Dr. Rice, and sent forth a pamphlet with the following title—*The Doctrine of the Church vindicated from the misrepresentations of Dr. John Rice; and the Integrity of Revealed Religion defended against the no-comment principle of promiscuous Bible Societies.* By the Right Reverend John S. Ravenscroft D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina, 8vo. pp. 166. Raleigh, printed by J. Gales & Son, 1826.

Dr. Rice commenced his review in the Magazine for July, 1826, thus, — “This is probably the most polemic title page that has been printed for the last hundred years.” He then states succinctly the relative position of the two churches, the Episcopal and the Presbyterian; the beginning of the controversy on church order; that it was at the time when “there was not courage to avow exclusive claims and pretensions, there was a secret agency, the object of which was to spread the opinion, that the Presbyterian Church is not a Church of Christ. It was not difficult for those who chose it to trace this underground work to the very commencement;” and that was, as we learn from a letter to Dr. Alexander, soon after his removal to Richmond. In carrying on the review he says — “But we wish it to be distinctly understood, that we design to pursue the uniform policy of that Church, of which we have the honor to be members. We make no attack on Episcopalians — *under the full conviction that the Episcopal Church may be fairly separated from High Church pretensions.* If, however, we have mistaken the case; and this thing cannot be; then we are prepared to maintain that the prevalence of that Church in this country is far, *very far* from being desirable.”

He then enters on the subject at large, and goes over the whole ground of the Episcopal controversy, with as much minuteness as could be compatible with the space afforded in twelve numbers of the Magazine. At the close of the fourth number, which appeared in the Magazine for October, he says, “it is due to ourselves and readers to state the reason why this review lies under the disadvantage of appearing in fragments—at long intervals. The truth is simply this: the writer’s daily avocations are fully sufficient to occupy the time and attention of at least three men of *his calibre.* He is therefore obliged to write in *ends and corners of time,* by sentences and half sentences, otherwise he must neglect much more urgent duties. For his own sake and that of his readers he wishes the case were otherwise. But as he was called on to notice the Bishop’s book, he thought it better to write in these unpropitious circumstances, than not at all.” This statement of the Doctor is true as it respects his great pressure of business. Yet his reply to the Bishop is one of unusual ability and power and research. He goes over the whole ground of controversy between the Bishop and the Bible Society; and the Bishop, as a diocesan of the strictest sort, and the Presbyterian Church; and also that between the Bishop and himself. The whole production is a masterpiece of polemics. The

Bishop was an open, fearless man—a high churchman. He wrote strongly but unguardedly. The Doctor showed himself far his superior in Theological literature, and caution, and the suavity of controversy. He shows from history, and fair deduction of argument, founded at last on history, that the High Church notions of the Bishop are inimical to the advancement of true piety, and even the existence of godliness, and are opposed to civil liberty; and will either govern the State as Pope, or be allied as an Establishment; and that they are all founded on error in the interpretation of Scripture, and the misconstruction of historical facts and the opinions of the Fathers.

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## CHAPTER XXXII.

JOHN H. RICE, D. D.—HIS AGENCIES, 1827–1829.

DR. RICE yielded with reluctance to the necessity which imposed upon him the duties of an agent. In a letter to Dr. Woods, of Andover, he states the circumstances.

“New York, June 5th, 1827.

\* \* \* \* “During the last year the pressure on me was so heavy that for five months I had a continual headache, and my nerves become so irritable, that the click of a penknife, or the scratching of a stiff pen on paper, after an hour's confinement, was just like a strong shock of electricity through my brain. I may say that half of my time was spent in torture. I felt that I must either give up this great enterprise in which I am engaged for the South, or sink under the load which was pressing on me. The Lord just at that very time put it into the hearts of a few of my beloved friends in New York to raise a fund to support a young man who should assist me. But his support is only for two years. In the mean time, we must endeavor to get a permanent establishment for him, or for some one else, or I shall again be left alone. The house which we have built has cost \$8000; the library about \$8000. Our invested fund does not amount to \$15,000; and the situation of about \$2000 of that is such, by the will of the donor, that we receive nothing from it. So that I have to depend for my support now on the interest of twelve thousand dollars. I have sacrificed my little estate, in order to establish and support a religious printing *press* in the South. So that I have found it very difficult to live through the year. We have a subscription at the South of twenty-five thousand dollars; but that was purposely conditional, so that none of it is binding unless we can raise two professorships. In a word, the state of things is such, that if the brethren abroad will help us, we can get along, and a seminary will be built up to

bless the southern country. But if they cannot stretch out a hand for our aid, we shall have to struggle along for years, doing but little; and the result must be, that I shall sink prematurely to the grave through the excess of my labor. If some one could be prevailed on, by a donation of ten or twelve thousand dollars, to fill up the partially endowed professorship, which is now affording me *half* a living, it would be a relief from permanent embarrassment, of the most important character."

The trials and success of Dr. Rice, on this agency, can be best understood from extracts from his letters written while absent from home. These supply the place of a journal, and are more life-like, as conversations with one as deeply interested as himself in building the seminary. He first attended the General Assembly in Philadelphia in May. The Theological Seminary, west of the Alleghenies, was located at Alleghentown, and Dr. Janeway chosen Professor. The Assembly resolved — "to approve and ratify the arrangements which have been made for placing the Theological Seminary, heretofore confided to the care of the Presbytery of Hanover, under the immediate care and joint direction of the Synods of Virginia and North Carolina. 2d. That the Assembly will sustain the same relation to the seminary, and exercise the same species of control over it, under the recent arrangements, as they proposed to do by their act of the last year, in its state as then existing. 3d. That hereafter the seminary shall be denominated — The Union Seminary of the General Assembly, under the care of the Synods of Virginia and North Carolina." The Assembly commended the interests of the seminary to the active patronage and support of the churches at large, and especially of the churches within the bounds of the Synods which have it under their care.

As chairman of the committee to adopt a pastoral letter, he produced one worthy of circulation in a tract form. The two leading sentiments are — "They who agree in the great truths of the gospel and of church government as expressed in our Confession of Faith, ought not only to love as brethren, but heartily co-operate for the glory of God and the salvation of souls: and The importance, yea, the necessity of exhibiting plainly and distinctly the truths contained in the Bible, and depending *on their instrumentality alone* to effect the conviction and conversion of sinners; there is no value in religious feelings unless they are excited by distinct views of divine truth. It is only the plain, simple doctrines of the Bible, carried to the understanding and conscience by the Holy Spirit, which can sanctify the heart of man and make him fit for heaven."

In a letter to Mrs. Rice from New York, June 1st, 1827, he says: "I was persuaded we could do little or nothing at this time in Philadelphia; and I would not have the name of that city to a trifling subscription for our seminary. My plan then is to fix on a time when we can operate without the impediments of the General Assembly, or any interfering scheme of any magnitude. To this end

it will be necessary to write beforehand to the leading men of the city, that they may keep themselves in reserve for our object. This would have succeeded well this spring, had not my letters to Mr. Ralston, Mr. Henry and others, been received just after they had pledged the whole of their *charitable fund* for the year to the American Sunday School Union. Indeed some of them had gone beyond their annual sum at least a thousand dollars. And these were the men, too, who are looked to in Philadelphia as examples, and whose lead is followed by all others. I presume there will be but two classes at the seminary this summer. The first class will pursue the study of Greek and Hebrew, as they did last winter. The second will go on with their study of the Bible; writing essays on the various topics, or heads of Divinity, in order pretty much as before. Besides I wish them to read Dr. Alexander's book on the Canon of the Scripture. I wish the students to form a society, the object of which shall be to give them exercise in the exposition of the Bible. The general plan I have thought of is, for a portion of Scripture to be selected, on which a member of the society appointed for the purpose, shall prepare an expository lecture, to be read at the succeeding meeting. The other members of the society shall read in the original, and study as carefully as possible the same passage, and so be prepared to discuss any difficulties that may be found in the passage, and refute or sustain the exposition, and remarks contained in the lecture. This is the best plan of an association for a Theological Seminary that I have heard or thought of. But a theological debating society, of the character of a college debating society, I cannot think of without utter repugnance, and even a feeling of horror."

"New York, June 5th, 1827."

"Alas, these trials are severe on our feelings. But they ought to be borne patiently, for they are endured in a good cause, and for an all-important object; and of all people in the world you and I ought to be most ready to do any thing for the cause of our Lord. He has so blessed us, and made our lives so happy, that all we have and are is the least we can think of offering to him in return. I now have a little apprehension that we shall not make out very well, because we have no party spirit. I see clearly that while all the brethren appear to regard me with great personal affection, neither of the parties are entirely cordial to me. The Princeton people apprehend that I am approximating to Auburn notions; and the zealous partizans of New England Divinity think me a thorough-going Princetonian. So it is! And while there is much less of that unseemly bitterness and asperity which brought reproach on the church in past times, I can see that the spirit of party has struck deeper than I had ever supposed. And I do fully expect that there will be either a strong effort to bring Princeton under different management, or to build up a new seminary in the vicinity of New York to counteract the influence of Princeton. One or the other of these things will assuredly be done before long unless the Lord

interpose, and turn the hearts of the ministers. This evening is appointed to hold a meeting of the ministers and the friends of the seminary, and as soon as possible I will let you know the result. If it turns out trifling, I will soon come home; if the prospect is encouraging I shall feel it to be my duty to stay and reap the harvest; for what is to be done must be done soon. Perhaps in another year no man who is not a determined partizan will be able to do any thing."

"New York, June 12th, 1827.

"My health is still improving, I think, but the business I am on is extremely wearisome to the flesh, and still more to the spirits. After all this, being a beggar goes strongly against my Virginia feelings. After a good deal of talking and labor, we have obtained a hearty, unanimous recommendation of our object from the body of the New York clergy. It is said to be the only thing in which they have been unanimous for more than a dozen years. I am not able to tell you how much we have obtained, or may consider as pledged, because several who were about to subscribe have delayed, at our request, in hope of getting others to join them, so as to raise their subscriptions to \$500. Let the seminary continue in prayer that the Lord may bless our efforts, and make them sufficient. I have proceeded more slowly in making applications, because it is indispensably necessary that we should proceed successfully. If we do not get our professorship filled up during this season, I apprehend from the course of events that we shall stick fast. I have yet got no money. All is subscription for the permanent fund."

"New York, June 15th, 1827.

"The work I am in is painful. It is extremely laborious; it excites the feelings, and exhausts them of course more than preaching or study. I often have to call on one man three or four times before I can find him in; and then after hearing my story he says, 'I will think of it, and you can call again in a day or two, when I will let you know what I can do for you.' In this way I have to work from week to week. Nothing but the good cause, and the necessity of the case, could induce me to continue here another hour. But the thing must be done, and done *now*. Next year we shall have no chance at all. The people here are only waiting for me to get out of the way to bring forward other enterprizes. We have obtained subscriptions to the amount of \$6000. We hope in the next ten days to get about \$14,000; and I cannot think of leaving New York till then. I shall receive the proceeds of Mr. Little's scholarship, and an appropriation for four young men besides — I hope for six."

"New York, June 19th, 1827.

"Yesterday I walked about ten miles, and among all the calls which I made found only *one* man at home; and he insisted that I should give him time to make up his mind on the subject. I went home

with feet swelled and corns aching, thinking I could not stir this morning. But Providence is gracious, and I feel that I can do more by one half in a day than when I first began."

"New York, June 22d, 1827.

"Mrs. Caldwell has set to work to raise one thousand dollars for the seminary, which I think she will give her name for, the next time I see her. Mr. and Mrs. Tappan have agreed for the present to give \$1000. Eleven men have each engaged to give \$500 — making \$5500. About ten have promised \$250. This may be considered as the amount of what has been positively promised. A number of gentlemen have the subject under consideration; but they are slow in coming to a determination."

"New York, June 26th, 1827.

"Wet weather, and other causes have impeded my progress. But the most troublesome thing of all is the slowness of the people to decide on the case before them. Every man requires me to make two visits. And to find him twice I have to go on an average six times to a place. And then I have to talk so much; and it is mostly the same story. You know how this exhausts me. You cannot think how much jealousy and party spirit are in the church here. The feeling respecting atonement, and subjects connected with it, is stronger than I ever saw; and the dispute is all about things not directly treated in the Bible. I am more and more convinced that our plan is the right one, and that it is necessary for the peace of the church that we should succeed and do well."

"New York, July 2d, 1827.

"For a week past I have found a very serious difficulty in getting on. Indeed I spent several days and scarcely received subscriptions to the amount of \$100. On enquiry I found that some who did not want to bestow their money, had raised an objection, that our Professorship was placed too high. The machine which seemed to stick fast is moving again. This morning I turned out, and found a hatter, who, with the spirit of a prince, put down \$500. I shortly after met another person (a poor man, who lives by his daily labors) in the street, who stopped me, and put down \$100. This encouraged my spirits. I am just now resting in Mr. Taylor's, after walking many a weary step, and finding no person in I went for, except one old man, who said, he could not help us."

"New York, July 6th, 1827.

"Our Seminary cannot get along, unless I should succeed in my present mission. Other projects are also on foot, and another year will see them broached, and urged on with great zeal. This is the day of collision in our Church. We *must* before the next General Asserthips have three professorships endowed, and our Seminary established. And I must establish a personal influence, or a Seminary influence, which will keep its hold on the hearts of many people

amidst all the changes that take place. I feel the sore necessities of the case, and am making sacrifices of feeling, of which no one in this world, but my beloved, has any idea."

"New York, July 11th, 1827.

"We have now over \$13,000 on our list. A brother minister has pledged himself to raise \$1000 more. So we advance at a snail's gait. It is now time for me to move. My feet are sore,—and my limbs stiff with walking. The weather is hot and damp,—and I fear I shall not be able to accomplish much to-day. But still, in the name of the Lord I will go forward."

"New York, July 16, 1827.

"We have now on our paper a little more than \$14,000. I consider \$2000 more fully pledged. The next letter which I write will be dated Albany. I am going up there to-day by the advice of friends, in the expectation that some large subscriptions may be obtained, which will swell our sum so as to enable us to call a meeting in New York, and get the whole that remains subscribed at once. I expect to be in Albany about a week."

Instead of going home, or leaving Albany in a week, he thus writes from Albany, on the 27th of July.—"But you have no idea of the impediments in the way of our work. It takes mighty and long-continued efforts to get up among a people, where we go, a state of feeling necessary to success. It is not worth while at all to go about, and make applications, until we have made an impression which turns public sentiment in our favor. And when we have accomplished this, our work is just begun. We have then to go to individuals, and call again and again, and talk over and over the matter, and get people to talking one with another. And thus, on an average, we see a man six times before we get his subscription. I went on Monday to Lebanon to see Dr. Beecher and Mr. Edwards, to ascertain whether they would not get to work in Boston, and raise \$10,000 for us there. In the trip I met Dr. Woods, and got them all to promise that they would make an effort for us. I returned from Lebanon on Tuesday morning, and went to Schenectady, to see Dr. Nott and the students there, and see if we could not get young men to suit the South. There is now sitting at Lebanon a council, the object of which is to agree on some principles, which shall be used to regulate the conduct of ministers in revivals of religion. What it will all come to I know not. I have learned much by coming here, which will, I hope, be useful to me, and to our Seminary, and to the Southern country. I am collecting facts as I can. All show the unspeakable importance of thorough education among ministers in a new point of view. The old ministers and leading friends of revivals are in very great fear. They are convinced that it is to be brought to a decision, whether revivals should be utterly disgraced and turned into a curse to the Church, or restored to their former estimation and made a blessing.

It is said that the whole evil has grown out of the pushing forward into the ministry young men not sufficiently trained."

"Albany, August 5th, 1827.

"But I have been so perplexed here that I have not known what to do. Mr. Weed was occupied with the council at Lebanon for seven or eight days: Dr. Chester was absent, travelling. The people in Albany were all in utter agitation about the trial of Strang and Mrs. Whipple. And we found it a matter of extreme difficulty to get our affairs agoing. We have now got about \$1200. As soon as we can increase our subscriptions now to the amount of \$3000, I intend to leave. I shall leave the filling up the balance to Mr. Roy; everybody said we ought to get \$4000."

"Lansingburg, August 9th, 1827.

"Instead of being at home, as I fondly hoped at this time, I am at Dr. Blatchford's. I have come here in hopes of getting a \$1000. We did not obtain as much in Albany as we expected. I spent last Thursday night with Mr. Wisner, (B. B.) He has now gone home, and will write to me as soon as he returns. Beecher, Edwards, and Dr. Woods, together with Wisner, are to hold a council on this subject with some gentlemen in Boston, and immediately Wisner is to let me know what is to be done. I cannot think of going there for less than \$10,000."

"Lansingburg, August 18th.

"Our hope at present is to get \$6000 in this region and in some of the towns below. We shall certainly get \$3000 in Albany. We hope for something in Lansingburg and Waterford. And Troy, Newburg, Goshen, Catskill will beyond a doubt give us two or three thousand more. I am glad Mr. Cushing's marriage is over. I hope we shall have a good neighbor, and that he will be under a fine religious influence. I trust, too, an increase of pious persons about College will be of great advantage. Dr. Blatchford is still very poorly; nay, he is very sick.

"Wherever I go, and get access to the people, it is seen that greater efforts are necessary to promote religion in our own beloved country than have yet been made, and new views are taken of the real condition and responsibility of the Presbyterian Church. It is amazing how few, either ministers or people, take enlarged views of things, or think of operating on a great scale. It is so everywhere. And I am at this moment better pleased with Southern Christians than I ever was. For little as they do, asleep as most of them are, they are equal to any that I find, (except here and there an individual,) and ahead of most. Let it be considered that there are more Presbyterians in the State of New York than in 13 Southern and South Western States. The first and second Presbyteries in the City of New York have more communicants, and more wealth twice over than the whole Synod of Virginia. The Presbytery of Philadelphia has more members than the Synod of North Carolina. Yet



consider what these Southern people have done for Princeton, and for our Seminary."

From Catskill he writes on the 31st, and gives an account of Mr. Roy's sickness, and of his preparations to return home by the middle of September.

"Philadelphia, Sept. 13th, 1827.

"I am here at our good friend Latimer's. I am authorized to say that the subscription, though not filled up, shall not fall short, and to announce that the *New York professorship is sure.*"

After an absence of about four months, Dr. Rice returned to the seminary about the middle of September. On the first week of October he met the Synod of North Carolina in Salisbury, and made a statement of his labors and success as agent; and also of the condition of the seminary. The Synod passed resolutions expressive of thankfulness for the favorable circumstances, and required the directors from that Synod to name an early day to meet with the directors from the Virginia Synod, at the seminary, to take measures to enlarge the seminary buildings for the accommodation of the students; and to take immediate measures for filling, as soon as possible, the various departments of instruction in the seminary. On the 25th of the month he met the Synod of Virginia in Lynchburg. This body concurred with the Synod of North Carolina in resolutions for enlarging the seminary, and increasing the number of professors.

The meeting of the Board, on the 13th of November, was "lovely; everything as kind and fraternal as could be wished." After recommending to Dr. Rice to visit the Southern cities to raise funds and promote union of effort, "they went home praying for us, and feeling more than ever." But soon after the meeting of the Board he received letters from New York, urging his immediate return to assist the gentlemen who were pledged for the New York professorship, in making up the required amount. Dr. Rice wished to go South; it was the time to promote the union, if ever, of the Southern Synods, in one seminary. There were difficulties in the way, likely to increase every year, till they should be insurmountable, if they were not already so. What Dr. Caldwell was scheming for North Carolina, Dr. Barr and others were already carrying into effect in the mountains of South Carolina, a State of an onward spirit. The members of the Board with whom he could advise urged him to go North. He reluctantly gave up his visit to the South. Early in December he proceeded to New York; and on the 22d he thus writes home — "It is a great deal harder work now than I have ever seen it here. It was easier when we began this enterprise to get \$6000, than it is now to get one. Indeed, we have worked on all the best materials, and what remains now is all knotty and gnarled oak. But the thing will be done." The friends in Boston did not encourage a visit in the fall or at this time.

“ Philadelphia, Dec. 28th, 1827.

“ It was very tough work getting the balance made up in New York. I confess that I felt it to be the very hardest job that I ever undertook and got through with. But it is done. The New York professorship is established, and God shall have the praise. About Philadelphia, I am truly sorry Philadelphia was not scoured last spring. It is a vain thing to wait for a favorable time. *Now* is God's time, and when we are about God's work this is the time for us to work. The Church has lost much in waiting.” Having secured between six and seven thousand dollars in Philadelphia, he thus writes —

“ January 2d, 1828.

“ The Latimers are as kind as they can be, and send many messages of love. I find that it requires nice steering to get along in this place. There is jealousy here, as eagle-eyed as party spirit can make it. But there is a good spirit among the people, at least a few, and none of them can refuse to express their favor towards our plans. It is more and more apparent to me God favors our cause. I am surprised at the success which has attended our efforts, and the interest which is awakened for the seminary. The friends of Auburn think that it is next to their institution; and even the most jealous-spirited and exclusive friends of Princeton say that the hopes of the Church must certainly be directed to us in the second place. By the favor of the Almighty, we must make the Union Seminary a great blessing.” In Baltimore he accomplished something by the help of his friends, John Breckenridge and Nevins. He says, January 21st — “ This is the toughest place I have ever been at yet. I have done my best to make an impression, but yet I cannot see clearly how far I have got an advantage. Yesterday I preached two sermons on my subject. As Dr. Glendy said — ‘ And upon my word, madam, I think the morning sermon was one of my happiest performances.’ I shall know by to-morrow evening what the general prospect is.”

In a letter to Knowles Taylor, of New York, who was very active in co-operating with Dr. Rice and Mr. Roy, in raising the professorship, he says — “ I staid in Philadelphia until I obtained about \$6500. I thought, as matters were situated, Roy could finish the rest. Some men were very liberal. Mr. R. gave \$1000; J. H. \$1000; T. E. \$1000; A. H. \$500; S. W. & A. W. each \$500; J. M. \$300. But after that we had hard pulling. The Seminary at Pittsburg works against us. Many hold back because Dr. Heron is coming in the spring. I look back to our co-operation in obtaining the New York professorship, with peculiar pleasure. First, there is most manifest evidence of the presence and blessing of God in this thing. When I consider the strength of local prejudices which unhappily prevail in our country, and the mighty current of feeling which had long been running in favor of other objects, and, of course, the difficulty of exciting an interest for a new enterprise of magnitude, I do not see how any one can help exclaiming — ‘ See

what hath God wrought.' But in the next place, this has offered a fine opportunity for the exercise of Christian friendship. We, who have engaged in it, shall love one another the better, as long as we live, because we have labored together in this work. When once the heart is right, how delightfully do Christians co-operate! Their aim and object being one, and that, too, of the highest benevolence, they cannot make an effort without a kindling up of love. When you become an old gray-headed elder, and meet in the General Assembly the men who received their education at our Seminary, and hear them magnify the word of God, and see that they are sound, faithful *Bible preachers*, you will rejoice and bless God for what you see and hear. Our Seminary shall be based on the *Bible*, and we will know no *isms* there but *Bibleism*. I am sure that the Bible will afford good support to sound Presbyterianism; and if it will not, why let Presbyterianism go. The Lord bless you, my brother."

Dr. Rice reached home on the 1st day of February, 1828. Of the ten months succeeding the 1st of May, 1827, he had been absent six and one-half on his agency to raise funds for the Theological Seminary. The report of the Board of Directors, at their second meeting, April 30th, 1828, made to the General Assembly, says: "At our present meeting, many subjects are presented, of such magnitude and importance to the interests of religion, that we are unwilling to make any decision, until we have taken time for prayerful consideration and counsel with our brethren, and the friends of the institution. It is for this reason, that we have the constitution of the seminary yet in an unfinished state. The funds of the institution, amounting to about seventy-five thousand dollars, are for the most part secured to us only by subscription; but, that subscriptions to this amount have been obtained in so short a period, is a subject of unspeakable gratitude. During the past year, there have been twenty-one students in the seminary, who passed a satisfactory examination in the various branches of Biblical and Theological learning, to which they have been attending. Three of them have been recently licensed by the Hanover Presbytery." These three were John Barksdale, Roswell Tenny, and Francis Bartlett.

During this last visit to New York, Dr. Rice made arrangements with Rev. Asahel Nettleton, to spend some time at the seminary. In a letter, dated Baltimore, January 21st, 1827, he says: "The more I see of Mr. Nettleton, the more I am pleased with him. He is a wise and holy man; but his health is wretched, and it will be a difficult matter to get him along, in anything of a comfortable way, after we get to Fredericksburg. I have seriously apprehended that he would not be able to ride in the stage all the way, as he is very easily fatigued; but it is of immense importance that he should come to our seminary. His residence with us will greatly strengthen our hold on the affections of the New England brethren. But there is another and a higher view. Mr. Nettleton is most earnestly a Bible preacher; and he is the strongest advocate that I know, for

high attainments of holiness and knowledge, in candidates for the ministry. His whole experience has convinced him of the miserable consequences which grow out of the rashness and inexperience of confident young men, and the danger of running down revivals of religion by over-excitement. He sees the great danger to which this country is exposed, from infidelity on the one side, and from enthusiasm and fanaticism on the other. I have met with no man whose views agree so fully with my own, in relation to all these things; and if the Lord shall permit me to conduct him to the seminary, I shall believe I have accomplished a great good. But he feels the feebleness of his health, and wishes it to be fully understood, that no expectations are to be formed of his laboring in the ministry. Everything must be foreclosed here; and you may tell every one not to expect that Mr. Nettleton will preach at all. Should he recover his strength, it will not be possible to keep him still. But, what he needs now, and must have, is freedom from excitement, and perfect mental repose. All I expect from him, for a long time, is to talk in the presence of the students. Talk he will, and we cannot keep him from it; and I cannot help rejoicing to think how you, my beloved one, will enjoy his society, as he will lie on the sofa in our quiet parlor, and speak of revivals, and tell you his views of the Bible. If our good Lord should permit me to bring him, it will be a delightful treat to you, my dearest, and this is no small reason why I wish to get him with you."

All the anticipations respecting Mr. Nettleton's recovery and usefulness were fully realized; and his visit to Virginia resulted in lasting benefit to the souls of many. His society was sought by the students and friends of the seminary, while he was refreshing himself under the roof of Dr Rice. As the summer came on with its genial heat, and the congregations around began to exhibit evidence of unusual seriousness, Mr. Nettleton's health recruited, and he took an active part in a most interesting revival, that spread over a large section of the State in a short time, and in the course of a year was felt in almost all the Presbyterian congregations, in some degree of excitement. In writing about it, some two or three years afterwards, Mr. Nettleton says to a friend, (Rev. Mr. Cobb,) "The scene of the deepest interest was in the county of Prince Edward, Virginia, in the vicinity of the Union Theological Seminary and Hampden Sidney College. Our first meeting of inquiry was at the house of Dr. Rice, the very mansion containing the theological students. More than a hundred were present, inquiring, "What must we do to be saved?" Among the subjects of divine grace were a number of lawyers, six or seven, and some of them among the leading advocates at the bar. Some were men of finished education, who are soon to become heralds of salvation."

While this awakening was extending its happy influence over a large section of country, Dr. Rice, early in June, went to Boston. The Boston Recorder, of June 13th, 1828, tells us, that on Saturday, the sixth of the month, a respectable number of gentlemen met by

invitation, at the Cowper committee-room, to receive some important statements from Dr. Rice, concerning the situation of the Southern country, the great dearth of well educated ministers, and the importance of the Union Theological Seminary to supply this want, so palpable to all, together with the necessity for the friends of Union Theological Seminary to make further provision for theological students, beyond their means, and consequently the necessity of aid from Boston. Dr. Codman, of Dorchester, was chairman of the meeting, and Rev. Asa Rand, clerk; Dr. Griffin, of Park Street Church, opened the meeting with prayer. After hearing from Dr. Rice a full statement of facts connected with the object of his visit, "*Resolved, unanimously*, That we cordially approve of the exertions made and proposed for the thorough education of pious young men in the Southern States, with a view of their laboring as ministers of the gospel in that portion of our country; that we shall be happy to extend all the patronage in our power to the Union Theological Seminary in Prince Edward County, Virginia; and that we now give Dr. Rice, as the agent of that seminary, a special pledge, that in the spring of the ensuing year, we will, so far as we can consistently with our other duties, contribute pecuniary aid towards sustaining an institution from which we hope and believe our country is to receive great and permanent benefit. The reasons for postponing our subscriptions are, the numerous applications for charitable objects a few months past, and the present embarrassments of commercial affairs." With this pledge, Dr. Rice hastened home, and, under date of the 11th of July, 1828, thus writes to Dr. Alexander: "I have so much to say to you, that I am afraid to begin on the subject of my passing through Princeton without calling, on my return to Virginia. It was a very painful affair to me. But the case was this: I wanted to attend the meeting of the General Assembly's Board of Missions, which was held in June. I arrived in New York, about ten o'clock, on Wednesday. The meeting was to be held in Philadelphia, at three o'clock, on Thursday. I had several hours' business to detain me, and could not leave New York until the three o'clock boat. This enabled me to get to Trenton about one o'clock at night. It was eleven when we passed by your house. I could only, as I went, offer a silent prayer that God might bless you and all yours; and this I did with all the sincerity of old, unchanged friendship.

"I have no doubt you have heard of the excitement, I think I may say revival of religion, in Prince Edward. It was prepared for by previous labors. Much that our valued old friend, Mr. Lyle did in the way of sowing seed, is now springing up, and producing a glorious harvest. Douglass has the grace to acknowledge this. Other things paved the way. When Mr. Nettleton had strength to labor, he soon was made instrumental in producing a considerable excitement. This has extended; and now the state of things is deeply interesting. Five lawyers, all men of very considerable standing, have embraced religion. Henry E. Watkins, Samuel C.

Anderson, Nelson Page, Morton Payne and Peyton Harrison. This has produced a mighty sensation in Charlotte, Mecklenburg, Nottoway, Cumberland, Powhatan, Buckingham and Albemarle. The minds of men seem to stand a tiptoe, and they seem to be looking for some great things. I do fear that, under the influence of men of other denominations, there will be a wild-fire kindled in this region, and every thing will be seared, and withered by the fierceness of the blast. This, then, would put every thing back for another generation. I saw in Troy and Utica, how the raging flame had passed through the garden of the Lord, and every thing looked black and desolate. But what can we do to prevent this evil? We have no men. And in this case of necessity, as usual, I turn to you for aid and counsel. Is there no possibility of getting three or four sterling young men to come on to this middle region at the present time? It is remarkable that the work here is as much among men as women; and as far as it has yet gone it is among that class of society which has hitherto been almost entirely free from religious influence, lawyers and educated men. At last Nottoway Court, there were in the bar at once, seven lawyers, professors of religion! This is unexampled in Virginia. We cannot get on half fast enough, in raising a supply of religious instructors; and what this country will do I know not. You need not be told how it has suffered in its spiritual interests, from ignorant teachers. But experience of the evil is not sufficient for its cure. It is necessary that the people should have just ideas of something better, and they can acquire these only by experience too. But the difficulty is to find men to send among them, and thus let them see and feel what is meant by *good preaching*. Mr. Nettleton is a remarkable man, and chiefly, I think, remarkable for his power of producing a great excitement without much *appearance* of feeling. The people do not either weep, or talk away their impressions. The preacher chiefly addresses *Bible truth* to their *consciences*. I have not heard him as yet utter a single sentiment opposed to what you and I call orthodoxy. He preaches the Bible. He derives his illustrations from the Bible."

Mr. Nettleton visited the Valley of the Shenandoah, and the mountains beyond, during the summer, securing every where personal attachment, and awakening a desire to be witness of a genuine revival of religion, as had blessed the counties east of the Ridge. At Staunton, he met the Synod of Virginia, in October, and renewed acquaintance with some who had profited by his instruction in previous years; one in particular, had attended on his ministry thirteen years before in the city of New Haven. Writing to a friend, Mr. Nettleton says — about his summer excursion, "I spent a week at a place called Staunton, where I left a pleasant little band of young converts." After the meeting of Synod he remained some time to cherish the impressions made during the exercises of Synod. The writer of a communication to the Visitor and Telegraph, says, under date of January 12th, 1829 — "The spirit of godliness and pious

zeal, awakened here at the meeting of Synod in October, has increased and grown under the efforts of our excellent friend Rev. Mr. Smith, aided by the untiring and efficient efforts of the Rev. Mr. Nettleton, into a goodly corps of new recruits for our blessed Redeemer's cause. Seventeen communicants went forward for the first time, to the Lord's table, and openly sealed their pledge of fidelity to his government."

Mr. Nettleton considered the afflictive providence of God, which sent him to Virginia, as the agent of Infinite wisdom, to lead him to scenes of usefulness embracing events and circumstances the most interesting in his life. Others blessed God for his wise providence, for in the awakenings, in connection with his visit, in the different parts of the Presbyterian Church, the caution and mildness, and sound Bible instruction which characterized Mr. Nettleton, were exhibited in a pre-eminent manner by the ministers of the Presbyterian Church.

The Synod of Virginia at this same meeting in Staunton, by an unanimous vote, directed the Board of the Union Theological Seminary to elect the Rev. Hiram P. Goodrich, to the professorship of Oriental Literature. The Synod of North Carolina having made a similar order, the Board of Directors, in December, confirmed the nomination. This young gentleman, on the recommendation of Dr. Alexander, as a good student and well versed in the languages of the Bible, had been employed in the Seminary, as a teacher of the classes in the languages and literature of the Bible, about two years, having commenced his labors soon after Mr. Marsh returned to Vermont. While Dr. Rice was absent on his agency in 1827 and 1828, Mr. Goodrich kept the students employed in oriental studies, to the entire satisfaction of the Board and Dr. Rice. Mr. Goodrich delivered his inaugural address on the 6th of May, 1829, in the College Church. The Rev. Francis M'Farland received the obligation and delivered the charge. Dr. Rice wished Mr. Goodrich to be put on the New York foundation, saying — "being a New Yorker himself and yet suiting the southern country exactly — he will with great propriety suit the New York professorship." The Board agreed that if the fund should yield less than \$800 the arrears should be made up from the contingent fund. Of the New York professorship, part of the funds were sent to Virginia, by Mr. Knowles Taylor, and invested by Mr. J. Caskie in Richmond; and part remained in New York city on which the interest was paid. Unhappily in the pressure which came on the cities in 1837 and onward, a large portion of the funds left in New York were lost to the Seminary after having rendered important service about ten years.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

JOHN H. RICE, D. D. — HIS LAST LABORS.

IN anticipation of the election of a Professor of Oriental Literature in the fall of 1828, Dr. Rice says in a letter to Mr. K. Taylor of New York, in the August of that year — “I ventured on my own responsibility to engage a workman to put up a brick building; and he has now actually begun the job, and has agreed to finish it this season. At the present Mr. Goodrich and I, with our wives, and all our domestic establishments, are in the same building with the students. But I find that on many accounts this does not answer well. The building which I have contracted for will be occupied as soon as finished, by us, and the whole seminary building given up to the students.”

The nineteenth anniversary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was held October 1st, 1828, in Philadelphia. Dr. Rice delivered the annual sermon from 2 Cor. 10th: 4th. “For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down the strong holds.” The editor of the National Preacher met the Doctor at the close of worship on the pulpit stairs, and reached out his hand for the manuscript. Several thousand copies were presented to the Board, and gratuitously circulated by Mr. Dickinson. October 31st, he writes to Mr. K. Taylor — “I have just returned from Presbytery and Synod. I do rejoice to hear that affairs took a good turn in Philadelphia. I have received a letter from Dr. Alexander since my return, and find that he was very much pleased with the meeting. If my sermon did good, and shall hereafter do good, I do not take any credit for it to myself. But I shall be glad indeed if it promotes the cause of missions; and the more so if it indirectly aids our infant seminary; we do so much need well-taught and faithful ministers in the southern country, that I feel our enterprise to be one of the highest importance. It is deeply to be regretted that somebody did not take hold of this matter fifteen years ago. But perhaps the time had not arrived for success. Mrs. Rice desires me to say that she has reserved a lodging-room in our part of the seminary, on purpose for your brother, so that if he needs any nursing, she intends to enjoy the pleasure of affording it herself.”

This brother, James Brainard Taylor, from the banks of the Connecticut, while a clerk in New York, witnessed the departure of some foreign missionaries, and became deeply impressed with the paramount importance of religion to himself and all mankind. As soon as practicable he commenced a course of studies in preparation for the ministry. While in the theological studies his feeble health alarmed his friends. Desirous of restoring the health of a lovely candidate for the ministry, and of promoting the life of godliness in the seminary, and also of doing something agreeable to his cor-



respondent, a warm friend of the seminary, Dr. Rice invited this young man to pass the coming winter at the seminary. Mr. Taylor arrived at Prince Edward in November, in a very weak state, having come from New York to Petersburg by water. "Finding him too feeble to go up stairs we gave him our chamber, the south-west room, (of the east wing)—and we took the dining-room just opposite, across the passage. There he died." With increasing ardor of piety and decreasing strength of body, the young man passed the winter under the care of Mrs. Rice, and two skilful physicians. His religious cheerfulness bound the little community at the seminary, with cords of increasing love, and all exerted themselves to add to the comfort of the dying man. On Sabbath evening, the 29th of March, 1829, he passed to the heavenly world. His last written sentence was — "By my amanuensis, Mrs. Rice, I thought to tell you at greater length; but like all other glorious manifestations of God to the soul, this beggars description. However, let me say, that to-day, I have had sweet thoughts of going to another world. Gladly, gladly, while alone, and resting in my easy chair, would I have bade earth farewell, and winged my way to the paradise of God. The Lord said, Nay. I yet stay, and would patiently wait until my change come. I find it easier to dictate than to write with mine own hands, James."

That the influence of this young man's piety might be perpetuated, and widely disseminated, Dr. Rice commenced a memoir, which, interrupted by his death, was finished by Dr. B. H. Rice; and has been widely circulated, and probably read by those to whom it was dedicated, theological students, and the Christian Church generally.

At the meeting of the Board, in December, 1828, after the election of Mr. Goodrich Professor, Major James Morton, father-in-law of Dr. Rice, and Mr. James D. Wood, for many years treasurer of the Board, were appointed, "with authority to contract for the erection, and so far as they think proper, the finishing of the western wing of the Seminary building, so soon as the general agent shall inform them that \$5000 have been subscribed for that purpose; provided that said Committee shall be able to make an advantageous contract, on payments to be made in one, two, or three years, with such advances as the subscriptions above mentioned shall render practicable." Rev. James W. Douglass, then preaching acceptably at Briery, was, at the earnest entreaty of the Board, persuaded to accept the general agency. The subscriptions to the building and contingent funds were liberal; and at the meeting of the Board in May, 1829, it was found "expedient to alter the plan of a building adopted by a former Board, so as to make each wing fifty-two feet long, and the centre building forty-six. The building Committee were authorized to contract for the erection of the brick work, and necessary wood work of a building ninety-eight feet long, being the wing and centre building necessary to complete the plan of the Seminary, provided that by making contract for the whole at once, there can be any special advantage gained." The Committee pro-

ceeded to make a contract, and secured the erection of buildings sufficient to make the Seminary the very convenient and sightly building it now is. The terms of the contract were, that part of the building should be completed in 1830, the remainder in 1831—“to be finished entirely and complete for the sum of \$12,000, one-third payable the 1st of July, 1830, the balance in four equal annual instalments.”

The private library of Dr. Rice, collected with great care and expense, and well fitted for the purpose of theological study, became the property of the Seminary. It had been open to the students from the commencement of his services as Professor. “But,” a Committee of Presbytery, in 1826, said, “it is not reasonable that, from year to year, the Professor should throw open his library to the use of the students without compensation; especially as it could be procured on terms more liberal than can be expected from any other source.” Whereupon it was, “Resolved, that Thomas Treadway and James D. Wood be appointed a Committee to procure for the Theological Seminary the library of John H. Rice, D. D., after he shall have withdrawn from it books to the value of five hundred dollars, which he thinks least valuable to that institution; that on receiving the library they shall give the said John H. Rice an order on James Morton for the principal and interest of the debt due the Presbytery on account of their Theological fund, provided the same does not exceed \$1500; that they also give him an order on James Morton for \$444 44, left by Andrew Baker as a fund, the interest of which is to be applied to the purchase of religious books for gratuitous distribution; also for the same amount left by the same individual as a fund, the interest of which is to be applied to missionary purposes; the Committee making satisfactory arrangements with the Trustees of the Seminary, that the interest on the sum of \$888 88 shall be paid annually, one-half to such person or persons as Presbytery may appoint, to purchase and distribute religious books, and one-half to the Treasurer of the United Auxiliary Missionary Society; and also that the Treasurer grant a discharge to John H. Rice, D. D., for the sum which he owes to the funds of the Theological Seminary, amounting, as stated in his account, to \$385 38. This proposed arrangement was finally completed, and record made by Presbytery, April 28th, 1828; and also agreed to and entered upon the minutes of the Board of Directors in December of the same year. The sum found in the hands of the Treasurer, was \$1486 59. The Seminary library thus increased was valued by the Board at \$8000.

In the Evangelical and Literary Magazine for October, 1828, is a report on the course of study to be pursued in the Union Theological Seminary. “The design of the publication is, that the members of the Synod of Virginia and North Carolina generally, and of the Board in particular, may have an opportunity of seeing the plan, and considering the reasons on which it is founded.” It occupies more than thirteen octavo pages, and proposes an extensive

course of the most liberal character. The great principle adopted is, "THE BIBLE is to be in the *Union Theological Seminary*, THE GREAT SUBJECT OF STUDY; AND THE ONLY SOURCE OF AUTHORITY. But the Bible must be studied in the original languages. The religious teacher must *prove* the soundness of his expositions, and thus convince his hearers of what God requires them to believe and to do; it is a fearful thing for a minister of the gospel to say that the Bible means what it does not mean; to affirm that the God of truth has said what he has not said. The Bible, though not written in systematic order, contains a system of truth. The Professor of Christian Theology, then, has two great duties to perform; 1st, By a careful induction to establish the theological facts recorded in the Bible. 2d, To give them a clear, scientific arrangement, that the mind of the student may embrace the whole truth revealed in the word of God, and thus be able to present it, in lucid order, and with distinctness, to the understandings of those whom he may be called to teach."

"It is earnestly recommended, that the Board, with the advice and consent of the Synod, should aim at the establishment of four Professorships in the Seminary, with the view of ultimately requiring a four years' course of study. In prospect of such an arrangement, the following might express the titles of the respective foundations. 1st, Professorship of Greek and Hebrew; 2d, Professorship of Biblical Literature; 3d, Professorship of Christian Theology; 4th, Professorship of Church History and Polity. At present it is understood that the order of the Board contemplates a course of study for three years, to be conducted by three Professors: 1st, of Oriental Literature; 2d, of Christian Theology; 3d, of Ecclesiastical History and Polity."

It had been the desire of Dr. Rice and the friends of the Seminary, to contract the expenses of a residence at the institution within the narrowest compass, and meet the condition of many young men that desired to preach the gospel. To bring about the desired result, the students and friends at a distance united in most praiseworthy efforts. Some young men of fine spirit and narrow means, adopted a simplicity of living that might satisfy an anchorite; others of more abundant resources, restricted themselves to the greatest plainness and cheapness in their diet to encourage the others, and establish, if possible, a rate of living as cheap and simple as might consist with health. Says one, well acquainted with the proceedings of the time — "Mr. Hurd and Mr. Tenny boarded themselves, I believe, all the time; but in a small way. They got codfish, which they kept in the ice-house, had cheese, butter, molasses, and such things, and every morning I sent for their basket of table furniture, to wash all up clean for the day. Messrs. Hart, Royall, Barksdale, and M'Ewen, a Scotchman from the South, had a quiet dining-room in the roof (of the Seminary), and very good food which they got my servant to cook and attend to for them. This was before and during 1827."

"About that time Dr. Rice, in passing through Philadelphia on business of his agency, was stating the wants of the Seminary in the congregation of Dr. Skinner. A widow in great poverty heard, and reflecting on the great want of ministers in some parts of her own country, and the desolations in the heathen world, and considering the necessity laid on all to do something in the cause, from her great poverty, sent the Doctor one dollar as her donation. On his return to the Seminary, the Doctor related the circumstances of the widow's donation, the first she had ever made to a work of this kind, and urged the students to the greatest economy. A number of students forthwith made arrangements to leave a comfortable boarding-house, and forming a club, hired a servant, purchased provisions, and commenced boarding themselves at a cheap rate. Friends of the Seminary in the neighborhood, and at a distance, moved by the report of their self-denial and its cause, sent various articles of table furniture and provision." The young men were encouraged by the experiment in 1828; and as their numbers increased the Board of Directors became interested, and endeavored to give permanency to what had been thus far successful.

In September, 1828, the public were informed — "The present students have diminished the price of board from eighty to sixty-five dollars, by paying in advance, and giving their steward a fixed salary, and then dividing equally the expense. Oil or candles are frequently sent to the institution from Richmond, Petersburg and Norfolk, so that this article is not a source of expense. All are encouraged to live as the general spirit of self-denial will allow, which is favorable to severe study." As the tuition, room-rent, bed and other furniture, and use of library were gratis, and candles were generally given, the expenses of the students at that time were, per annum, boarding \$65, washing \$10, fire-wood \$5 — total \$80. In the spring of 1829 Mr. Douglass, the general agent, says — "Some collections have been made for the students' fund, the object of which is to reduce the price of their boarding. In explaining this, it has been stated that the students board themselves, by purchasing their provisions, and hiring servants to prepare them, under the direction of a pious superintendent; and that, if an amount nearly equal to the consumption can be obtained, and if, as will generally be the case, there are students boarding in the family who are not in indigent circumstances, and will therefore pay for their boarding, the expense of living at the Union Seminary may be less than at most of those now established. This plan has just been commenced. In the Rev. Mr. Ewing's congregation, Falling Spring, eight individuals subscribed one barrel of flour each per year for six years, deliverable in Lynchburg. As a student's proper course in the Seminary is three years, the term of six years, or two full courses, was selected, in order that the arrangement might have a degree of permanency as well as system. The ladies' associations in Norfolk, Richmond, Petersburg, Lynchburg, Lexington, Greenville, Winchester, Danville, Milton, N. C., and others which I am not yet

acquainted with, intend to forward articles of diet, of clothing, of room or table furniture, or money, as they may be able. By these and other arrangements it is hoped and believed that the expense of living may be so reduced that every student who is in debt, or who is afraid of debt, will find it his interest to enter at the Union Theological Seminary."

The house especially designed for the Professor of Theology being in progress for speedy completion, the Board of Directors in May resolved — "1st. That after the next session the whole basement story of the present building, and one or two rooms on the first floor, be appropriated to the use of the students for boarding. 2d. That the Board employ a person to superintend the cooking and washing for the students, at a salary not exceeding \$10 per month, and pay the hire of servants to an amount not exceeding \$120 per annum, provided funds are obtained for these objects during the summer. James D. Wood, H. E. Watkins and William H. Venable were requested to attend to the employment of a suitable manager. In this way the expense of board might be reduced to four dollars and a half per month. Large contributions of provisions would reduce it still more." This plan went into successful operation, and for a number of years the price of board at the Seminary was extremely low. The rooms for students were also furnished in a neat and comfortable manner by individuals or associations in different parts of the country. And the Professor of Theology had the pleasure at one time of seeing about forty young men assembled, preparing for the toils and joys of a missionary's life.

While Dr. Rice was preparing to make his visit to Boston according to the mutual arrangement of the previous summer, he received a communication from his friends there, which drew forth the following statement :

" March 31st, 1829.

"Your communication as to my proposed visit to Boston, has occasioned great perplexity. On my return home I found that we were to have near thirty students in our seminary. Our building is only fifty feet long and forty wide. And in this contracted space we have two professors, with their families and our students, except two or three who get lodging in the neighborhood. One room, not eighteen feet square, serves for our library, and lecture-room, and chapel. The professors have to study in their wives' chambers. The students are obliged to live three in a room, and when the weather admits of it, to seek praying-places in the woods. It must be manifest to any one acquainted with study, that we suffer greatly from having to live in this crowded state. I found it so, and resolved that there must be a change. But in the state of utter exhaustion of the pecuniary resources of this region, it was in vain to think of applying to the people here for assistance. I however placed implicit confidence in the pledge given by my Boston friends, and determined that, in reliance on their constancy and good faith, I would make a contract for a building, payment for which should be made

next June. Accordingly, I have pledged myself to an amount a little exceeding \$5000; and hold myself bound to raise it by the time specified. For this my reliance was on my friends in Boston. It is true that there is left to me, after the various sacrifices which I have made, property worth about \$5000 — one-fourth of what I once was worth. This I had thought it my duty to reserve, as I am advancing in life, and shall probably leave my wife behind me in this world, for the support of her to whom I am bound by every tie which can bind man to woman. I know well that in every age those who rise up do not remember Joseph. Every sacrifice of worldly interest which I have made, was made by my wife as cheerfully, to say the least, as by me. But when I am gone, and she is old, there will then be a generation which will not know any of these things. I must, however, raise the money by some means, and if I fail, my little property must go. When it was known that I had ventured to make this contract, the people who knew my circumstances, asked me on what I relied to raise the money. I replied, On the faith of my friends in Boston — their promise is as good to me as money in the bank, to be drawn next June.' They thought me rash in my procedure. Some said I would never get a cent. And so I was told in Philadelphia, and every place south of New York. Now, in the present state of things, I would not, for the value of the money, have it known that I was disappointed in the confidence placed in the Boston people. Of one thing I am persuaded, that it is of some importance to the cause of religion, that in one way or another, I should get this money from Boston. I do not mean to whine about this matter, nor do I aim to excite any man's commiseration. I know, that judged by the cautious policy of this world, I acted imprudently in making a contract, when there was, from the nature of the case, so much uncertainty. But when I saw and felt that interests, in my view, of the highest importance, were suffering for want of such measures as I adopted, I thought that I should betray a want of faith in the head of the church, of reliance on the promises of brethren, and of disinterestedness on my part, if I did not go forward and prepare to meet the consequences. I did so with my eyes open, and knowing that I was doing what the world calls a foolish thing."

In May the Presbytery of Hanover held their sessions at the seminary; and Dr. Rice had the pleasure of seeing the fruits of his labors in the proceedings of his co-Presbyters. Of the students of the seminary some were already ordained ministers and fellow-Presbyters with their beloved teacher. Others, as Drury Lacy, Noah Cook, Hiram Howe, Timothy Howe and Jonathan Cable, were, after due examination, taken under the care of Presbytery as candidates for the ministry; and Andrew Hart, John J. Royall, John S. Watt, Daniel L. Russell and Samuel Hurd were duly licensed to preach the gospel; and the usual steps were taken for the ordination of Francis Bartlett as evangelist. After the meeting of Presbytery, Dr. Rice, accompanied by Mrs. Rice, whom the doctor had found a

most efficient co-agent in the cities, visited New York and Boston. On his way he paused for a short visit in Philadelphia, to look in upon the Assembly, of which his brother Benjamin was moderator. Accompanied from New York by Mr. Knowles Taylor, on their way to Boston, they visited, at Middle Haddam, in Connecticut, the parents of the beloved James Brainard Taylor. By the exertions of his friends in Boston funds were obtained for the completing the professor's house. About the 21st of July they reached home, much encouraged and refreshed. The dwelling, when completed, was called the *Boston House*.

From Statesville, North Carolina, he thus writes under date of Oct. 12th, 1829, respecting an agency he was induced to make immediately after the fall examination, in compliance with the wishes of the Board — "I wrote a very hasty note to you last Monday, just as I was setting out for Salisbury. I went that night to Mr. Stafford's, and next day to Lincolnton, a distance of forty-four miles. On Wednesday I preached at Lincolnton, and went ten miles to General Graham's, where I staid all night. Next day I went to a place called Unity, where I preached, and then went to Mr. Pharr's; next day I went to Hopewell, and preached, after which I went to Mr. John Williamson's; on Saturday I preached at a place called Centre, and went to the house of an old seceder named Young. At Centre I met with Albertus Watts, who came with me to Young's; from that house I came to Statesville, where I preached yesterday in church, and last night in a tavern. To-day I shall let my lungs have rest, and to-morrow I expect to preach at one of the late Mr. Kilpatrick's meeting-houses, called Third Creek; next day I am to preach for Mr. Stafford, at a church called Thyatira; from which place I shall go to Salisbury, and on the day after expect to set out for home. It is little that is done by an agent who just preaches and goes his way. My plan has been to lay the matter before the people, and fix on some one who seems most excited on the subject as a local agent; get such subscriptions as the people are ready to make at the time, and leave the subscription with the agent to do the rest. Some days I get \$100, some \$50, some \$20. If on the whole we get \$2000 subscribed, it will be more than I expect. Mr. Goodrich may succeed better, for he has gone to the best and thickest part of the Presbytery. The people here have many traits of character like those in the valley. They are hard to move, have strong local feelings, and many are not without the hope of having a theological seminary in Concord Presbytery." The avails of this agency by Dr. Rice and Mr. Goodrich were expended in preparing the dwelling for a professor at the east of the seminary, called the Carolina house, first occupied by Mr. Goodrich, and afterwards by Dr. Graham, and by Dr. Sampson.

Reaching home, Dr. Rice found Mrs. Rice keeping house in the newly-finished Boston house, in which Mr. Goodrich's family were also accommodated; and the whole of the east wing of the Seminary given up to the use of the students. On the 24th he met his

Presbytery in Hanover, and on the 28th he met the Synod of Virginia in Richmond. Together with Dr. Speece and Wm. Maxwell, Esq., he was appointed to communicate the action of the Synod to the President of the Convention to form a new State Constitution—“*Resolved, unanimously, That the Synod of Virginia have observed with great satisfaction, that the Convention now assembled to form a new Constitution for the people of this Commonwealth, are proposing and doubtless intending to preserve and perpetuate the sacred principle, Liberty of Conscience, declared in the Bill of Rights, and developed in the act establishing religious freedom as a part of the fundamental law of the land: and they do hereby solemnly proclaim that they continue to esteem and cherish that principle for which the Presbyterian Church of this State, and throughout the United States, have ever zealously and heartily contended, as the dearest right, and the most precious privilege that freemen can enjoy.*”

On the second day of the session, Oct. 29th, 1829, the Presbytery of Hanover, the mother of Presbyteries, was again, by the act of Synod, at its own request, divided. The two Presbyteries were named East Hanover and West Hanover. The boundary line finally adjusted was on the lines of Brunswick, Nottoway, Amelia, Powhatan, Goochland, and Spottsylvania. By the agreement of Hanover Presbytery, in preparation for the division, two days before it took place—“The records to be copied at joint expense of the two Presbyteries, under the direction of the Stated Clerk of Hanover Presbytery. The Original Records shall be retained by the East Hanover Presbytery.” There were two copies of the records—from the commencement of Presbytery down to about 1804. The one the original records by different clerks; the other, a copy made by order of Presbytery by their stated clerk, Mr. Lacy. The copies to be made by this order were to be disposed of according to seniority. East Hanover, embracing the residence of the first preachers, Davies and Todd, took the older copy. It was agreed that the “permanent funds of the Education and Missionary Societies, and of the Book Concern, shall belong to that Presbytery within whose bounds they were originally raised.” Mr. B. H. Rice took his dismissal from Presbytery to remove to the city of New York.

To Dr. Woods, of Andover, Dr. Rice writes, on the 12th of November, 1829—“I was obliged to set out, the day after an examination, (in September,) to North Carolina, to attend to the interests of our Seminary; and I could not return till about the 20th of October. It was then my duty to go to Presbytery and Synod. I have been just a week at home, nearly confined to my house with a bad cold. And what aggravates the case, we have weather as severe, as, in ordinary seasons, we have at Christmas. I have been obliged to overwork myself, and begin the present term worn down with excessive labor. But I do not repine. I only mention these things to show why I have been so slow in answering your last acceptable and affectionate letter.” In the winter succeeding, the Professor was employed in the duties of his office, and hastening to an unexpected



close. The mortal frame, oppressed with the efforts of the mind, was even now tottering; and while the Professor never appeared better before his students, that exceeding interest was extracted from the essence of his life.

In the month of April, 1830, he commenced a Series of Historical and Philosophical Considerations on Religion. In addressing them to James Madison, Esq., late President of the United States, he says -- "I should not have presumed to bring your name before the public in this manner, had I not been permitted to observe you in the late Convention of Virginia, and to see in you the same pious, enlightened, and dignified friend of rational liberty, that you showed yourself to be forty years ago, in that celebrated Convention, which, after a most able discussion, ratified the Federal Constitution. It was principally your agency, which carried the Act for Securing Religious Liberty, through the Legislature of Virginia, in 1785. And as one important object of the following papers is to show how the freedom, which we now happily enjoy, may be perpetuated—I trust that you will pardon the presumption of inscribing these papers to you." These papers, received with marked approbation, were continued through fifteen numbers: the last appearing in Oct., 1830. A reprint was called for: and the Dr. made an effort to bring them to the proposed conclusion in Feb., 1831, but his sinking health forbade his putting a finishing hand to a work of extended usefulness, and not the least in ability, of his varied efforts to interest and instruct the public.

In March, 1830, to Mr. Knowles Taylor he writes — "My spirits have not been good since Christmas, and one reason is, that I have had too much to do; another is, that my health has been much less firm than common; and for the last six weeks I have been consumed by a slow, debilitating fever, which has put it out of my power to do anything at all. This makes all my work move on slowly. We have this winter thirty-five students, and a very fine spirit of piety amongst them." This slow fever never left him; it finally laid him in his grave. In May he visited New York to attend to the collection of the instalments for the Seminary. His health and strength were refreshed by the excursion. In the summer, besides the professor's duties, and the papers addressed to Mr. Madison, he commenced the memoir of James B. Taylor, and left the work to be finished by his brother, Benjamin H. Rice. At the Commencement of the College in September he was complimented by his friends on account of his apparently improved health, in which they all rejoiced, not knowing that it was the insidious flush of fever. He went again to New York to finish the collection of the subscription to the Seminary. And it was ever a matter of thankfulness to him that, rebuked in the spring for leaving Mrs. Rice at home, he had taken her along with him on this his last visit. Visiting the towns on the North River, he encountered a succession of heavy rains. In Hudson he was seized with a severe cold, which fastened upon his lungs. His breast, throat and face became inflamed. Turning his face homeward, struggling with disease, he kept the great object of his

journey in view. Passing through Princeton, he rested for the last time under the roof of his friend, Dr. Alexander. The enjoyments of friendship rose superior to the sufferings of his body, and this last interview was sweet. Dr. Rice was looking on his friend Alexander as leading on a Seminary to the highest excellence; and Dr. Alexander rejoiced in his friend Rice, as doing for his native State a work far beyond his utmost imaginings. One who often witnessed the meetings of these men, thought that in dignity, simplicity, kindness, and unreserved frankness, he had never seen anything to compare. There was a blending of the old Roman Senators, fit to be kings, with the meekness and gentleness of Christian men, fit to be God's ministers.

In Philadelphia he was seized with one of those painful strictures, which increased upon him during his life. His friends showed him all the kindness that a knowledge that this was his last visit could have prompted. In Baltimore he passed a night with his friend Mr. Wirt, and received his best attentions, full of tenderness becoming the last, but full of expectation of many meetings to come. Taking the steamboat to Norfolk, he parted with his friend Maxwell, who finally manifested the fulness of his friendship in a memoir of his friend. In Richmond he passed the Sabbath with "*his own people*," as he called them, and preached twice with great acceptance. The next day he set off, in his own small carriage, with Mrs. Rice, and on Tuesday reached the Seminary to go away no more. In the duties of his office he for a time forgot his disease. His last efforts seemed to his classes more and more full of excellence. His mind took a wider view and more powerful grasp of the subjects before him. In November, 1830, he wrote to Dr. Wisner, of Boston, on the condition of the Church and the world — "I regard the human race as at this moment standing on the covered crater of a volcano, in which elementary fires are raging with the intensity of the tophet ordained of old. Heaven has provided conductors of wonderful power, by which this heat may be diffused as a general warmth and a cheering light through the world. And the necessary process must be performed by the Church. Otherwise there will be an explosion, which will shatter to pieces every fabric of human hope and comfort. Nothing but one strong feeling can put down another. Our learned doctors may wear out their pens and put out their eyes, and they and their partizans will be of the same opinion still. The Church is not to be purified by controversy, but by love. I have, therefore, brought my mind to the conclusion, that the thing most needed at this present time is a revival of religion among Christians, and especially a larger increase of holiness among ministers."

On the second Sabbath of the following December he delivered his last sermon. His hearers were the citizens living in the neighborhood of the Seminary, assembled in the brick church. He presented in striking language the contest about to take place between the Church and the world, as it appeared to his mental vision. With unusual earnestness he exhorted his hearers to come out more pal-

pably from the world. This sermon his hearers delighted to call to mind long after his voice was hushed in the grave. When the people found that this was the last they should hear from the beloved man, they all joined in the conclusion that he could not have closed his ministry more becomingly. Dr. Rice lay down upon his bed, a slowly dying man. Having actively done his master's will for years, he came now to suffer it, for many successive months.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### JOHN H. RICE, D. D. — HIS LAST SICKNESS AND DEATH.

THE active services of Dr. Rice were brought to a close on the 15th of December, 1830, the Wednesday after his last sermon. The pains that had followed the cold that came upon him in New York, returned this day with prostrating violence. He was never more a convalescing man. Drs. Farrar and Mettaux attended upon him carefully; his brother-in-law, Dr. Morton, was assiduous in his attentions; and his old instructor, Dr. Wilson, said encouragingly — “He will come out with the butterflies;” all were trusting that his constitution would, with careful nursing, throw off the disease, and also recover from the over action, mental and physical, to which the zeal of Dr. Rice had prompted. He had commenced the work of the Seminary when not yet recovered from the effects of a long and wasting fever; had tasked himself with labors equal to his strength in his best days; stimulated by success, he had put forth greater and still greater efforts of mind and body; and now, when final success was crowning his gigantic exertions — the Boston house completed had been his residence for a year, — the North Carolina house was finished and occupied by Mr. Goodrich, — the Seminary building on a scale ample for the accommodation of a hundred students, hastening to its completion, — some forty-eight students assembled for instruction on subjects preparatory to the ministry of the gospel, — just then the machinery, while raising the top stone of the beloved fabric, gave way. Uncheered by the frost and snow of winter, that give renewed life to the fevered, — unaided by the genial warmth of Spring that brought out “the butterflies,” — more languid from the heat of summer — the autumn beheld him like a withered leaf dropping in the stillness of evening, to be seen in its place no more.

Unable to use his pen, he occasionally dictated to some of the students, who cheerfully became his amanuenses. The labor of planning and scheming for the foundation of a Seminary, worthy of the cause, being over, his mind turned with energy, quickened by the approach of death, to the great subjects of benevolence that had

cheered and busied him while pastor in Richmond, and had not been lost sight of at the Union Theological Seminary. To his friend Maxwell, a member of the Senate of Virginia, he writes, urging on his attention the subject of public education, from the example of the great deficiency in Prince Edward. The latter part of January, 1831, a correspondent of the Telegraph writes, "three days ago we thought him nearly well; he was able to ride. Since that he has been much worse again. He is now confined to his bed, and was worse last night than he has been before." In the same paper it was announced that the Letters to Mr. Madison would be continued. By the assistance of Dr. Morton two letters were prepared for the press, and appeared in the Telegraph; and then increasing pains with overpowering sickness cut short the series.

A few weeks preceding his last violent attack, in a long and most interesting letter to Dr. Wisner of Boston, Dr. Rice, among other things says, "I made a vow to the Lord, that in my poor way I would do what I could, to have next spring such a General Assembly as never before met on earth. I know this looks like presumption in me. But I hope many will aid in prayer and mighty effort, in this thing. I want some of my beloved New England friends to come to Philadelphia, just to try to get good and do good; to come without feeling they belong to New England, but that they belong to Christ and his Church; not to say one word about any matter of dispute among Christians; but determined to know nothing but Christ and him crucified. And I wish that this meeting may be a subject of much prayer, and previous preparation. We must fight fire with fire, and kindle such a flame of divine love, that it will burn up every material for unhallowed fire to work on. I wish too that some plan might be devised for kindling up in the Presbyterian Church the true spirit of missions, and rousing this great sluggish body from its sleep. Here is a subject of delicacy and difficulty. The Presbyterian spirit has been so awakened up, that I began to apprehend that no power of man will ever bring the whole body to unite under a Congregational board. What can be done? Here we want wisdom. I never will do any thing to injure the wisest and best missionary society in the world, the American Board. But can no ingenuity devise a scheme of a Presbyterian branch of the American Board?" Convinced that he should not attend that General Assembly, which he had hoped would be the best that ever met, he proceeded to adjust his thoughts and commit them to paper, by his amanuensis, and sent them to Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, for his perusal, and that of the other professors.

*Project of an overture to be submitted to the next General Assembly.* "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of North America, in organizing their forms of government, and in repeated declarations made through their representatives in after times, have solemnly recognized the importance of the missionary cause, and their obligation as Christians, to promote it by all the means in their power. But these various acknowledgements have not gone to

the full extent of the obligation imposed by the head of the Church, nor have they produced exertions at all corresponding thereto. Indeed, in the judgment of the General Assembly, one primary and principal object of the institution of the Church by Jesus Christ was, not so much the salvation of individual Christians, — for, 'he that believeth in the Lord Jesus Christ shall be saved,' but the communicating of the blessing of the gospel to the destitute with the efficiency of united effort. The entire histories of the Christian societies organized by the apostles, affords abundant evidence that they so understood the design of their Master. They received from him a command, 'to preach the gospel to every creature,' and from the Churches planted by them, the word of the Lord was sounded out through all parts of the civilized world. Nor did the missionary spirit of the primitive Churches expire, until they had become secularized and corrupted by another spirit. And it is the decided belief of this General Assembly that a true revival of religion in any denomination of Christians, will generally, if not universally, be marked by an increased sense of obligation to execute the commission which Christ gave the apostles. The General Assembly would, therefore, in the most public and solemn manner, express their shame and sorrow that the Church represented by them has done comparatively so little to make known the saving health of the gospel to all nations. At the same time, they would express their grateful sense of the goodness of the Lord, in employing the instrumentality of others to send salvation to the heathen. Particularly would they rejoice at the Divine favor manifested to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, whose perseverance, whose prudence, whose skill, in conducting this most important interest, merit the praise and excite the joy of all the churches. With an earnest desire, therefore, to co-operate with this noble institution; to fulfil in some part at least, their own obligations; and to answer the just expectations of the friends of Christ in other denominations, and in other countries; in obedience also to what is believed to be the command of Christ,

"Be it *Resolved*, 1st, That the Presbyterian Church in the United States is a missionary society; the object of which is to aid in the conversion of the world; and that every member of the church is a member for life of said society, and bound, in maintenance of his Christian character, to do all in his power for the accomplishment of this object. 2d, That the ministers of the gospel in connection with the Presbyterian Church, are hereby most solemnly required to present this subject to the members of their respective congregations, using every effort to make them feel their obligations, and to induce them to contribute according to their ability. 3d, That a Committee of — be appointed from year to year by the General Assembly, to be designated 'The Committee of the Presbyterian Church of the United States for Foreign Missions,' to whose management this whole concern shall be confided, with directions to report all their transactions to the churches. 4th, The Committee

shall have power to appoint a Chairman, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, and other necessary officers. 5th, The Committee shall, as far as the nature of the case will admit, be co-ordinate with the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, and shall correspond and co-operate with that association in every possible way, for the accomplishment of the great objects which it has in view. 6th, Inasmuch as members belonging to the Presbyterian Church have already, to some extent, acknowledged their obligations, and have been accustomed, from year to year, to contribute to the funds of the American Board, and others may hereafter prefer to give that destination to their contributions; and inasmuch as the General Assembly, so far from wishing to limit or impede the operation of that Board, is earnestly desirous that they may be enlarged to the greatest possible extent; it is, therefore, to be distinctly understood that all individuals, congregations, or missionary associations, are at liberty to send their contributions either to the American Board, or to the Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, as to the contributors may appear most likely to advance the great object of the conversion of the world. 7th, That every church session be authorized to receive contributions; and be directed to state in their annual reports to the Presbytery, distinctly, the amount contributed by their respective churches for Foreign Missions; and that it be earnestly recommended to all church sessions, in hereafter admitting new members to the churches, distinctly to state to candidates for admission, that they join a community, the object of which is the conversion of the heathen world, and to impress on their minds a deep sense of their obligations as redeemed sinners, to co-operate in the accomplishment of the great object of Christ's mission to the world."

The foregoing was sent to Dr. Hodge, with the following note:

"UNION SEMINARY, March 4th, 1831.

"DEAR SIR — The Rev. Dr. Rice had the above overture, which he indited while lying on a sick-bed, copied on a large sheet, intending, when Providence should restore his health, to occupy the blank space in laying before you more at large his views and feelings on the subject which the overture presents. But there is no prospect of his being soon at least able to write, and the time of the Assembly draws near. He is, therefore, compelled to send you the article as it is. He wishes you to submit it also to the other Professors of your Seminary, and desires a communication of your views with regard to it. His health does not sensibly improve. He is confined entirely to his bed. The physicians do not appear, however, to anticipate a fatal result. Respectfully,

"E. BALLANTINE, *Amanuensis*."

The overture was favorably received at Princeton; and came before the Assembly on the third day of its sessions, Saturday, May 21st, 1831, and was committed to Rev. Messrs. Armstrong, of North River, Calvert, of West Tennessee, Goodrich, of Orange, Dr. J.

M'Dowell, of Elizabethtown, and Dr. Agnew, elder from Carlisle. On Tuesday, 31st, a Committee was appointed "to attend the next annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, and confer with that body in respect to measures to be adopted for enlisting the energies of the Presbyterian Church more extensively in the cause of missions to the heathen; and that said Committee report the results of this conference, and their views on the whole subject, to the next Assembly." The gentlemen chosen by ballot on nomination, were — Rev. Messrs. John M'Dowell, of Elizabethtown, Thomas M'Auley, of Philadelphia, James Richards, of Newark, as principals; and Rev. Messrs. A. Alexander, John Brockenridge, and Elisha Swift, alternates. When Dr. Rice heard the names of the Committee, he said, smilingly, "that some of the alternates, he thought, understood his views better than some of the principals."

The Rev. Benjamin F. Staunton, suffering from the severity of the New England winters, and hoping for relief from the more genial climate of Virginia, removed to Prince Edward in the spring of 1830; and became the minister of the church embracing the Union Theological Seminary, and Hampden Sidney College, in its bounds. In the early stages of Dr. Rice's illness, Mr. Staunton assisted in the instruction of the classes, in expectation of the Doctor's speedy recovery. In the spring of 1831, the Board of Directors finding that the Professor's health did not improve, cordially invited Mr. Staunton to supply his place in the recitation room as far as convenient, during the summer. The able manner in which he performed the duties, was gratefully acknowledged by the students and the Directors. In the month of March, 1831, Mr. Staunton held a four days' meeting at the College church, assisted by Messrs. J. S. Armistead and William S. White. There were many hopeful conversions to God; and of these a goodly number were traced in their incipient steps to instruction received from Dr. Rice. In this Mr. Staunton, with characteristic feeling, rejoiced greatly. The seed faithfully sown by another he gathered in. As the news of these hopeful conversions, and their attendant circumstances, was brought to Dr. Rice, his spirits revived. "Oh!" said he, "that I could aid the triumph with my voice. But the Lord's will be done." Two of his attending physicians, and some of his relatives were among the converts. This animated him, and under the excitement he sometimes hoped he should get well. These hopes, however, speedily yielded to the deep conviction that this could never be. "I feel an iron hand upon me that is crushing me to death. I cannot escape from it. I have a secret malady that my physicians, with all their skill and kindness, cannot find out, and it must carry me off at last."

As the months slowly revolved, his nervous system became excited to a painful degree, and deprived him of the pleasure his friends were very cheerfully affording him, by reading to him letters, pieces of news, and interesting passages. One after another lost its pleasure, and became painful, and was abandoned. His sickness came upon

him in the southwest corner of the second story of the Boston House, now used by Dr. Wilson as his study. After the frosts of spring were passed, he was removed to the room directly below, that he might have the advantage of some exercise in the open air. A small hand-carriage was constructed, under the direction of Dr. Morton, in which he was occasionally drawn out in the garden by his brother-in-law, or Mr. Ballentine; Mrs. Rice walking by his side, with a mug of water, to moisten his parched mouth. But, in a little time, the sight even of his choice fruit trees and flowers became too exciting, and he was carried out no more. Mr. Ballentine read to him from a newspaper, the death of Jeremiah Evarts, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "God is taking away the stay and the staff from Israel! *The few* that are left will not be regarded, and the *many* will carry all before them. *Numbers* will overwhelm us at last;" referring to the sentiments of his last sermon, that a fierce and dreadful contest was approaching, involving the church and the conflicting powers of wickedness. A letter from Rev. Elias Cornelius, Secretary of the American Education Society, impressing the sentiment, "Man is immortal, till his work is done," was read to him only in part; it caused too great excitement. His friend, William Wirt, Esq., sent a charming epistle, a specimen of an afflicted Christian's sympathy. It was not read to him. He could scarcely hear a passage from the Bible. The sight of books became distressing. His nervous sensibility could not bear the noise of a pen, or the sight of a flower.

About the beginning of July, a change took place in his disease, and he became subject to a wasting diarrhœa. Weak and emaciated, Dr. Morton carried him, in his arms, to the parlor in the second story, from which he went out no more a living man.

From the commencement of his confinement, until about the succeeding May, reading, singing, and pleasant conversation had cheered his watchers, as well as himself; and the students gladly, in succession, sat up as much of the night as was required, with their beloved teacher, and ministered to his wants. When these exercises, losing all their power to please, became sources of distress; when quietness and stillness, and great gentleness were required in his attendants; when caution in avoiding all that might distress, was even more indispensable than care, that all should be done that could contribute positively to the sick man's comfort, there was found one admirably adapted to the necessities of the case. Mr. Elisha Ballentine, introduced to the attention of Dr. Rice by Mr. Nettleton, had joined the seminary the latter part of the year 1828. From his retiring habits, little was known of him, except by reports from the class-room, where his correctness and enterprising scholarship won universal admiration. He entered into the Doctor's plans and views with great facility, and made himself very agreeable to his instructor. The sick man's situation requiring aid suited to the young man's habits, he now came forward, and for the first time in



his seminary life, offered his unsought services for the vocation, and became his constant attendant and unwearied nurse till the end of his life. On the proposition of Mr. Ballentine, all other watchers were dispensed with; and, drawing a sofa near one side of the bed, he assumed the entire care; Mrs. Rice placed a small bed for herself, near her husband, on the other side. Thus, from the spring vacation till the closing scene of life, the wife and the student nursed the dying man.

The Synods of North Carolina and Virginia, and the Board of directors of the seminary, were not remiss in their efforts to obtain a Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity. On the 12th of April, 1831, the Rev. Thomas M'Auley, D. D. was chosen to that office. His appointment gave great satisfaction to Dr. Rice, who anticipated much good to the seminary from his co-operation. Dr. M'Auley's refusal to serve the seminary, came too late to affect Dr. Rice, as the doors of his sick room were closed against all news, and almost all visitors. At the meeting of the Board of directors, of the 27th of September, the Rev. John M'Dowell, of Elizabethtown, was, according to the expressed will of the two Synods, appointed to the office declined by Dr. M'Auley. This appointment was consummated after the death of Dr. Rice. The preparatory step attracted little of his attention; though fond of Dr. M'Dowell, he had come down into the Jordan of death, and all earthly things were passing from his sight. Dr. M'Dowell accepted the appointment, and his Presbytery agreed to his dismissal, against the wishes of the congregation; an appeal was taken to Synod. The conclusion was, Dr. M'Dowell was not permitted by Synod to remove.

Yielding to their own wishes, many expressed the hope that Dr. Rice might yet be restored to sufficient health and soundness to continue his labors as professor. His own deliberate judgment that he should never recover, was too well founded. In August, his brother Benjamin came from New York, bringing his wife and a daughter, for a last interview with a brother who had been to him a brother indeed, now evidently passing the river of death. The first meeting was in the silence of deep emotion: taking each by the hand with affection, he said: "It is too much for me; they must leave me soon." A fortnight passed noiselessly, in the kindness and affectionate attentions of fraternal love and gratitude. Few words were employed to express the communion between the hearts of the living and the dying. The farewell was simply a look of unutterable kindness from the dying man, with "God bless you," on his lips, and a burst of uncontrollable grief from the living brother, as he hurried from the apartment. The nervous suffering increased the latter part of August. Frequent spasms distorted his limbs, and almost constant friction was required to give him any sleep.

On Saturday morning, Sept. 3d, at the breaking of the day, Mrs. Rice, in attempting to give him some medicine, saw manifest evidence that his last day had come. He could not be roused from

the stupor that was on him; his face was haggard in the paleness of death. Leaning her head upon the bedside, his wife earnestly prayed he might once more know and speak to her. After an interval of some length, he seemed to rouse from his sleep, and calling her, said in a soft voice—"I wish to tell you I never loved you more than at this hour." He then expressed his sorrow that he could not leave her in possession of a house. To her reply that she could not live alone, and that God would take care of her, he said—"I know it, but the best of friends would feel differently if you had a house of your own. Then turning to the young man that was attending upon him, whom he had often addressed as his son, he said—"I know Ballantine will be a son to you." The young man bowed his head to the side of the couch in solemn acquiescence. He then spake a few words of farewell to his niece, Mary Morton, and his sister Sally. The news spread that Dr. Rice was dying. Many sought admission, especially the students. In glancing around upon his young friends, he saw one in the attitude of taking notes, and said—"I have no set speech for this occasion." The paper and pencil disappeared. Often during the day he turned to his wife and said—"I expect you to sustain me by your cheerful submission to the last moment." To Dr. Morton he said—"I wish all the world to know how much I love you." Hearing weeping in his room he said, "Don't weep so, you distress me." His wife said "You see I don't weep." Gazing on her with unutterable tenderness he replied, "No—I see you do not, and I hope you will be sustained to the end." President Cushing came in and was recognized with great kindness; in a little time he handed a cup of tea to Mrs. Rice, who did not leave her husband's sight for a moment, and insisted on her drinking it. This act drew from the dying man a sweet smile of approbation.

Throughout his whole sickness he had times of much mental depression, which was attributed in a great measure to his disease. Under its influence he sometimes expressed himself as having been too prodigal of his life in his efforts to serve the visible church; and then he mourned that he had not served his God as he had the church. "When I get well," he would say, "I shall have a new lesson to give my pupils; at least I shall give them an old one with new emphasis, and it is this: that they must never let their zeal for active service run away with their private devotions." With the many evidences of God's favor around he seemed to himself to have been ungrateful and unworthy. Always stirring up others to that purity for which he strove, he seemed to himself a most undeserving sinner. His being cut off in the very meridian of usefulness, often appeared to him as an expression of divine displeasure, under which all his success in the ministry and the professorship gave him no comfort.

On the very last day of his life there was a cloud and melancholy upon him on this account. To the inquiry by his wife, if his hope brightened—he replied, "When I have light, or hope, you shall know it." All the afternoon he gave evidence of great bodily suf-

ering and weakness. About nine o'clock, making a greater exertion than he had been seen to do for a long time, as if summoning all his powers for a last effort, he threw his arms around the neck of his wife and said with a countenance of joy, "Mercy is"—His sudden movement startled Mrs. Rice and she did not hear the closing word, which was faint. Upon her saying so, Mrs. Goodrich said, "Was it great?" "No," said Mrs. Rice, "it was a longer word." After a little pause she called to him—"Husband, what is it?" Her voice seemed to call him back from the banks of the river; and with another effort, he pronounced "Tri—um—phant;" and his head declined. Dr. Morton unfolded his arms, laid him upon the bed—there was a gasp or two, and mortal life was gone. Amid the sorrow and pain of breaking the tender cords that bound the beholders to the dying man, a glance of joy brightened every face, and an involuntary burst of thanksgiving from every heart went up to God that the beloved friend had passed the river "triumphant." The beloved wife retired to her little chamber to weep, and to praise, and to rejoice.

The gentlemen present, his relatives, and the officers of college and the seminary, and some students, emulated, as in waiting upon his sick hours, the office of preparing the lifeless remains for the grave. No strange hands touched his mortal body. At the special request of Dr. Rice the attending physicians made examinations to discover any peculiarity in his disease. He had often complained that his throat seemed clasped by an iron band, close almost to strangling. The physicians found strictures in his bowels, which preventing the natural circulation, must have produced the uneasiness and pain of which he complained, and which were beyond the reach of medicine. He often said a malady was on him which his friends could not find out. The true cause was probably stated by him to his friends, Drs. Woods and Alexander, and others—"I am overworked." Mental and physical exertion broke down the constitution which had given evidence in its long endurance of its original excellence. Those who knew his labors and success will be slow in condemning him for those exertions that consumed his body with pains no medicine could reach; while they will mourn both the necessity and the event.

The body of Dr. Rice was interred at Willington, the residence of his father-in-law, among the kindred of his wife. The students of the Seminary and College formed part of the procession that followed the relations: they conveyed the corpse to the place of burial. At the grave Mr. Staunton pronounced a short oration, a masterpiece of funereal eloquence, which the hearers greatly desired to see in print, a memorial of the speaker and the departed Professor. The hymn—"Why do we mourn departing friends"—was sung by the students, to the tune of China. The music sounded from the little hill like an echo from the world of glory.

The old major, Morton, who had seen service in the Revolution, and from his stout frame and imperturbable spirit, was called "solid col-

umn" by his companions, who had borne the changes and bereavements of life with calm self-possession,—when the procession drew near his house, bearing that son-in-law whose approach till that hour had been gladness,—started to meet the company—sunk down, and cried out, with flowing tears—"I had thought that Mr. Rice would be the glory and comfort of my age—and at last bury me." Like an old oak, uprooted by the tempest, he lay prostrate. In a few days his mortal frame had undergone years of age and infirmity. He talked, and smiled, and went about a broken-hearted old man, searching for his last resting-place; glad when called to lay down his body, despoiled by years and infirmity.

The visitor may read, at Willington, epitaphs to be remembered. Among the rest—near Mr. Morton and Young Taylor—

JOHN HOLT RICE,  
First Professor of Christian Theology  
in the  
Union Theological Seminary,  
Was born in the County of  
Bedford,  
On the 28th of November, 1777,  
And died on the 3d of September, 1831.  
To his Memory  
This Stone is raised  
By her whom he loved.

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## CHAPTER XXXV.

### THE SPIRIT AND EXAMPLE OF DR. RICE.

DR. MILLER, of Princeton, said to Mr. Rice—"I know you are accustomed to take large views of things." Of the truth of this remark, the plans laid while he was tutor at Hampden Sidney College, and those he followed through his whole life, are full proof.

1st. He was characterised as a man indefatigable in his efforts. Neither in mind or body was he rapid in his motions. But however slow, his investigations once begun, were never given over till his judgment and conscience were satisfied. He saw clearly, resolved strongly, and then acted with a vigor, equalled only by his patience. He had an enduring will, a firm physical constitution, and strong feelings; and was capable of deep emotions. He loved strongly, and but for the gospel would have hated strongly. The grace of God made him kind and gentle. As pastor, in Charlotte, the most unceasing effort, never losing sight of the great business of life, characterised him. His compeers had not thought him splendid,

or looked upon him as promising remarkable things. He was rather retiring, and never appearing to have brilliant thoughts. But they saw him moving on, surely though slowly, with prodigious strength,—that he was an improving man; that there was an excellency in his success,—an enterprise without ambition in his efforts,—a doing good without ostentation. In Richmond, he was always at work. Like the improvements in the city,—digging down hills, filling ravines, paving streets,—the work went on slowly but surely. He preached, he visited, he wrote, he was editor of the Magazine, he published pamphlets. How did he find time for all? When did he rest? is it possible his mind moved slowly? In what lay the secret of his strength? He was not found doing things slightly, or laying again and again the first principles of doctrine and action. He moved cautiously, and went on and on, seldom retracing his steps. He never abandoned a project he had once undertaken, till something better was offered in its place, as when he gave up the printing-press in Richmond, and looked to the Bible Society and Sunday School Union for the books he desired. He was diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. The best seven years of his life were devoted to the Theological Seminary. His friend, Dr. Alexander, said —“he did every thing in his power to promote the success of the work, but was long incredulous about its success.” Assisted by the Rev. Robert Roy, he obtained by personal effort the principal donations by which the Seminary and Professors’ houses were commenced; and with the aid of Mr. Goodrich and others, the funds by which they were finished. When the instalments on the subscriptions became due, he visited the subscribers, or their neighborhood, and with a few sermons, and some visiting, made the collections. Many of the donors reckoned the visit a good offset to their assistance in money. These visits consumed time: sometimes cheering him greatly, and at others, particularly the last, oppressing him. His name with an agent did much—his presence more.

2d. He was always thirsting for intellectual improvement and spiritual advancement. In Charlotte, where, in the course of his numerous avocations, strong reasons could have been given for not reading much, or for pursuing new studies, we find him writing to his friend Alexander, July 15, 1810 — “I am zealously engaged in the study of Hebrew this summer. I am determined to master it, if possible. Would I could get a Syriac New Testament, such as yours! I am anxious to be an orientalist.” Again, Sept. 4th — “If it pleases God to give me health and strength, I am resolved to be master of those languages in which the truths of divine revelation were originally recorded; and I am very anxious to get all the helps in these studies that can possibly be procured. I must beg your assistance in this business. If you will accept it, I hereby give you a *carte blanche*, a full commission to buy for me at any price you think proper to give, any book that you can find that will, in your opinion, be important for me to have.” The first desire or inclination to leave Charlotte came upon him after a visit to Philadelphia,

and observing the great advantages of his friend Alexander for study. He began to long for a place where preaching, and the studies connected with it, might be his sole employ. Some efforts were made to remove him to Philadelphia. But those made in Richmond were successful, coming nearer his heart. Of Richmond, he says to his friend Alexander, January 3d, 1811 — “Have you heard of Mr. Lacy’s trip to Richmond last month, and of the effects which his preaching produced? I have understood that a number of persons, since that time, have determined, if possible, to get some evangelical preacher to live in the place. The plan laid by Major Quarles is, to subscribe and rent a house for an academy, to the charge of which the minister of their choice is to be invited, and he is to build up a church, from the pew-rent of which a salary is to be raised for him; and then, if he chooses, he may drop his school. Quarles, Watt, and a few others, who are most deeply interested in this business, are very sanguine in their expectations of success. From some late communications that have been made to me, I have reason to believe that they depend on me to do the work for them. And indeed, could I establish a church in Richmond, ‘built on the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone,’ I should do well. But I fear that this is a task not easy to be accomplished.” He did go to Richmond, and improved in knowledge and wisdom, his study forming always an important part of his house; he did build a church, the corner-stone of which was Jesus Christ; and in the study and improvement and exercise of all his powers he became fitted for the work of building the Union Theological Seminary. Who else but a man of strong desires could have done that work. He schemed for himself a liberal course of study, and pursued it with untiring industry, seizing all opportunities for information, listening to able men, reading the best books he could get, always keeping some subject before his mind for study and reflection, and pursuing the investigation till the subject was exhausted. The acquisitions he made were kept securely, and were ready when necessity demanded. Often small as the dew drops, like the dew they covered the fleece, till a bowl-full might be wrung out. In the habit of using his mental armor, he knew all his shafts; he counted his treasures as he laid them by. When he drew his bow, it was because he thought he had a polished shaft for the occasion; and seldom was he mistaken. When he brought out his treasures, their richness and present fitness were apparent to all. When he declared that, on some subjects, he was not prepared for the Presidency of Nassau Hall, he placed a less estimate on his qualifications than did his most intimate friends.

3d. Dr. Rice was a true friend of the colored race. On the subject of emancipation, he writes to his friend Maxwell, February, 1827, and says — “The problem to be solved is, to produce that state of the *public will*, which will cause the people to move spontaneously to the eradication of this evil. Slaves by law are held as property. If the church, or the minister of religion touches the subject, it is

touching what are called the rights of property. The jealousy of our countrymen is such, that we cannot move a step in this way without waking up the strongest opposition, and producing the most violent excitement." To Dr. Alexander, in April of the same year, he says — "It is physically impossible for any decision of the church to be carried into effect, because, taking the members generally, *three-fourths are women and minors*, persons not acknowledged by law. What could they do? Of the remaining fourth, three out of four are in moderate circumstances, without political influence." Dr. Rice hoped for an amelioration of the condition of slavery by the influence of religion on the holders of slaves; and he believed that in a course of years, Virginia, if undisturbed by foreign influences, would throw off the system entirely. The interference from without made him almost despair. He knew his fellow-citizens must do the work voluntarily, or never do it at all. No external force, or argument from abroad, could work that revolution in public sentiment from which should come the freedom of the slave.

Dr. Rice expressed repeatedly to his wife, during his last illness, his wishes respecting the final disposition of the servants she inherited from her father. He expressed his dislike to their being sold, or to their remaining in servitude after her death; but left the decision to her, to whom it properly belonged. At his death, but one instalment on the Boston house had been paid. The second had been due some months. The executors, Mr. James, Dr. Wood and Dr. Morton, proposed to meet the demand on the Doctor's estate, for the payments still due on the house, by a sale of his negroes. Mrs. Rice objected strongly, partly from her own feelings, and partly out of respect to her husband's request. The night after this proposition she was sleepless. Rising from her bed, she wrote to Dr. Woods, of Andover, the whole matter. He, sympathizing with the widow, immediately repaired to Boston, and laid the subject before the friends of Dr. Rice and the cause of theological education at the South; and in a little time the whole remaining instalments were sent forward to Mrs. Rice. The servants were retained by his widow until the spring of 1853. To assist her in the accomplishment of an expressed desire — that her servants might be sent to Liberia before her death — some friends in New York purchased, for one thousand dollars, the husband of her principal serving woman, that the whole family might emigrate together. The servants set free were twelve in number; four stout, able-bodied men, part of them good carpenters, two hale boys, nearly grown, her valuable serving-woman, with five children, the oldest large enough for a waiting-maid; all considered exceedingly valuable servants. They might have been sold at about fifteen thousand dollars. Thus, many years after his death, the wish of Dr. Rice met its accomplishment. The widow preferred doing in her lifetime what is commonly left to the executors of an estate; intending to send them to Liberia, she attended to the emigration of her slaves while still in the enjoyment of health and strength.

4th. Dr. Rice was fond of his pen. Besides the various publications in the Magazine and in pamphlet form, he found time to write out, in a fair hand, part of his lectures on Didactic Theology, viz.—*The Scriptures a Revelation; the Being and Attributes of God; Creation; Man's nature; Christ in his person, character, and works; His Atonement in its nature and effects.* Here the complete series was interrupted. Soon after his death, some friends of Dr. Rice proposed the publication of the Lectures; and preparatory to such an event, the manuscripts were submitted to Dr. A. Alexander, of Princeton, the firm friend of the author. The following extracts from a prefatory paper, he returned with the manuscript Lectures, express his opinion of their merits. “When my judgment was requested on this point, (that of publishing), I acknowledge that previously to an examination of the work, I was strongly inclined to the opinion that it was altogether inexpedient. I knew that Dr. Rice had been but a few years in the Professor's chair; and that during that period he had been oppressed with a weight of cares and responsibilities, and had so many avocations, that I concluded his Lectures must of necessity be mere skeletons; or in so rude a state that it would be a high injustice to his memory to permit them to be published. I had not proceeded far in this examination, before I was fully convinced that this unfinished system of theology ought by no means to be withheld from the public. I found that the lamented author had entered much more elaborately and profoundly into the discussion of several of the most important and difficult subjects of theology, than I had supposed possible in the embarrassing circumstances in which he was placed. Indeed, I scarcely know a writer, on Systematic Theology, who has more learnedly and thoroughly discussed the main points in the system than is done in these Lectures; and that which is especially a recommendation is, that the investigation is throughout scriptural. I mean that the doctrines maintained are founded on a careful exegesis of those texts which are considered as teaching them. No man can, I think, rise from the perusal of this work without entertaining a very exalted opinion of the learning, the candor, and the diligence of the author. And I anticipate that those ministers who enjoyed the privilege of sitting at the feet of Dr. Rice, when he delivered these Lectures, *ex cathedra*, will esteem them a treasure more valuable than gold or silver.

“A. ALEXANDER.

“Princeton, New Jersey, Oct., 1833.”

Unfortunately the project for publication failed; and these lectures still remain in manuscript in the hands of his widow. The opening sentence of his Introductory Lecture is — “Theology teaches the true doctrine concerning God. Christian Theology teaches the doctrine concerning God, as it is revealed in the Bible. This doctrine is the foundation of all true religion. Religion is the worship of God according to his nature, and his purposes, and works among men. It is feeling as God requires us to feel, and acting as God



requires us to act. Hence Theology is the foundation of religion. It teaches the principles which in being religious we receive; and the conduct we pursue. Hence, also, Theology as a science, and religion as a system of practice, embrace all that can be known of the purposes and works of God; the whole range of human relationship, and the whole extent of human duty. Of all objects of human knowledge, it is most important; and on this subject it becomes every human being most diligently to seek for truth."

Dr. Rice's Lectures will show his kind of orthodoxy. And the fact that many in different parts of the country looked on him with suspicion as not caring for the clear truth of the gospel, because he did not adhere to either of the parties into which the church was, at that time, much divided, but appeared to think lightly of some subjects of discussion, would seem to require that those Lectures should now be published, that all may know the ground he occupied. His early life had been spent in a region of country in which the ministers were discussing and contriving a platform on which believers in the gospel might unite in action, as was afterwards done in the Sunday School Union, the American Tract Society, and the Bible Society. The Republican Methodists united with Hanover Presbytery; and had their congregations in his vicinity. In Richmond he offered peace to all, and wrote *Irenicum*, that the peculiarities of denominations should not destroy Christian love. In his visits to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, he was a lovely man somewhere in the centre of good men; not entirely on the side of any one, but between those who were opposite. When he wrote against Bishop Ravenscroft, he declared it was not for the love of war or personalities, or against the Episcopal Church as a branch of the Church of Christ, but against the exclusive pretensions of some of her members. He loved his own church and her peculiarities, without wishing to multiply them. He would go far for the sake of peace; but when peace could not be had on fair and honorable terms, and a clear conscience, he buckled on his armor, and no opponent that met him ever doubted his courage, his firmness, or his vigor. Had his life been spared a few years, he would, in the commotions which rent the Presbyterian Church, have been one of the centres of action, around whom many would have gathered; but where, in the South and in the North, the circumference would have been, no mortal man can now tell, nor is it necessary to conjecture.

5th. Dr. Rice had a quick sense of the becoming and of the ridiculous, in actions and in words. In early life he was ready to use his power of sarcasm with misanthropic force. The power of the gospel, and the kindness of woman, subdued that spirit to playful, humane, and gentle repartee. Ingham was taking a likeness of Dr. Rice for J. S. James, at the same time Dr. Milner was sitting for his picture. Greatly interested in both his subjects, Ingham used to tell of them, that Dr. Milner, one day, on leaving the studio, threw his gown and bands across the chair, and said, pleasantly, "Tell my brother Rice, I leave these for his benefit." When Dr.

Rice came in soon after, and heard Dr. Milner's message, looking at them archly, he said, "Tell Dr. Milner, it is a long time since I have quit wearing women's clothes." Sometimes he forgot his moderation, particularly in his earlier ministry. While yet a country pastor, he visited Philadelphia as a delegate to the Assembly, and was commissioned to purchase some books for the incipient Theological library at Hampden Sidney, for which he, with others, had collected about \$1200. While in the bookstore one day, a ministerial brother came in, and began to talk rather pompously about books. At length turning to Mr. Rice—"Have you any books in your wild woods, away out in Virginia?" "Some, sir." "Well, what?" "Why, we have," said the Doctor, "Dillworth's Spelling-book, and an almanac, in almost every house. Some people have the Seven Wise Masters and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. That is a curious book, sir." Walking to the other end of the store, Mr. Farrand showed him the list of books made out. The young man looked it over, and repeated, "Walton's Polyglott, Walton's Polyglott, what can he want with that?"

6th. Dr. Rice was happy in his domestic relations; and much of his usefulness through life was connected with the enjoyments of his fireside. Not having children to demand his care, he enlivened his heart with the children of his sister Edith, some of whom were kept constantly as members of his family. Under the bereavements of Providence his nieces looked to him as a father, and shared in the tenderness of his heart. They were to him in place of children; and the honorable positions they held in society evidence the faithfulness with which he discharged his important trust. Given to hospitality, he seldom was without some strangers in his house; and their society at meals and his few spare moments, was a source of exquisite enjoyment. By his fireside, and at table, he was cheerful, never light; sociable, but never talkative; slow in speech, and often delighting with his polished wit, sent out to please and not to harm; he maintained a benevolent feeling that drove all slander from his roof. Never speaking unfavorably of the absent, if others in his presence ventured to report some faults, he was wont to say—"What good did you hope to gain by telling me that?" His friends at the North used to insist on his bringing his wife with him. He could make the public speeches; and she could tell in the social circle the thousand little things they wished to know, and would never get from him in company. The assistance he derived from his wife in building the seminary is inestimable. This he ever acknowledged, joyfully, when proper to allude to it.

7th. Dr. Rice ever made it a subject of meditation, desire and prayer that the students should feel and exhibit the exalted principles of pure and undefiled religion before God and the father. While absent upon the duties of the agency, his letters to Mrs. Rice, through whom, as correspondent, it was most convenient and agreeable for himself and the students and professor to communicate with each other, he sends messages to the students to cultivate most

assiduously personal holiness ; he charges his wife and the professor and teachers to impress the importance of holiness in heart and life upon the students, saying he could see the difference in congregations of holy and careless-living men ; that the church must have a holy ministry, or be undone. His sentiments were expressed more at length in a letter to the Rev. Francis M'Farland, copious extracts from which exhibit his feelings and principles in his own words :

" Union Seminary, July 13th, 1830.

"MY DEAR SIR — I thank you for writing it — (a letter to Mr. Goodrich, stating some reports in circulation), but should have been more thankful if you had written to me, and more thankful still if you had spoken to me in Philadelphia. I feel that I am a poor, frail creature, and I do hope that I shall always receive fraternal fidelity in a fraternal way. I know that when I am wrong it is the greatest kindness to set me right ; and every friendly attempt to do this I trust I shall always acknowledge with affectionate gratitude. It is no affectation of humility in me when I say that I feel myself to be very poorly fitted for the office which I sustain. I never would have accepted it if another person would have undertaken to build up this seminary. And now, if the institution could go on without any shock, I would willingly give place to a man better qualified than I feel myself to be. When I left Richmond my favorite object was to get the *South* all united in the seminary, and Dr. Alexander at the head of it. I had sanguine hopes that this plan might be carried.

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But that event broke it up root and branch. That is, it convinced me that it was in vain for me to make the effort. And since then I have just been waiting to see what direction the Lord would give to affairs, that I might know my ultimate duty. If it is the will of the head of the church that I should stay where I am, I am willing to stay. If it is his will that I should go elsewhere, I am willing to go. But this is not said in reference to any particular place or plan, for I have none whatever in view, nor have I had any, but what all my brethren know — to do what I could for this seminary while it should be the Lord's will to keep me here. I do with my whole heart and mind agree with you that the improvement of the students in piety is the most important object to which we can turn our attention. And I rejoice, my dear sir, that you feel on the subject so as to write to us about it. I should rejoice if every member of the Board were feeling on the subject so as to write not only to us, but to the students also. And I should be delighted to learn that the members of the church were making it a subject of daily prayer, and that the ministers pray about it privately and publicly. But I have travelled five times from New Hampshire to the borders of South Carolina, and I have heard very few prayers for the seminaries of the church, and almost *all* these have been *official* prayers — not expressions of the abiding feelings of the heart ; but called for

on special occasions. And this is one of the topics on which I intended to write to you.

“ I have made the business in which I am engaged a matter of much earnest thought ; and have laid down a plan for the regulation of my conduct. I have no doubt it is defective, and imperfectly executed. But as well as I can I will detail it to you — and if you can suggest any practicable amendment, I shall hold myself greatly your debtor for communicating it. In the first place, the burden is too heavy for my shoulders ; and I have been, and am now, pressed beyond my strength. My discharge of duty necessarily has reference to my capacity of endurance — and many a thing is done by me with an express design of enabling me to *hold on* until the Lord shall please to send more help. If I had not made daily efforts to keep up a cheerful spirit, I should have been *done over* long ago. In reference to the students, I have had in view these things : — 1st, and I hope principally, a fervent spirit of piety, and a high standard of ministerial holiness ; 2d, a spirit of study, and an earnest desire of intellectual improvement ; 3d, the preservation of the health of the students, that they may be prepared to labor when they leave the institution ; and 4th, their manners and modes of intercourse with their fellow-men.

“ As to my success, as far as the opinion of *students* (and others also) has been concerned, I have heard only two general remarks of an unfavorable character. One is, that sufficient pains are not taken to cultivate a spirit of piety : the other is, that at this seminary there is nothing like a literary spirit, but a general feeling that piety is the only thing necessary. An excellent young man, disposed to be grave, and perhaps rather melancholy, on account of dyspepsia, with a reference to his own health, has been spoken to, *or before*, in a tone of cheerfulness and jocularity, and it has not suited his humor — he has been offended. Another, apparently more desirous to be a scholar than a very holy man, has been urged to pray more, and read his Bible with a more devotional spirit, and he has said that, at the Union Seminary, it was expected to make preachers by *prayer*. Perhaps, in each case, there is some truth. As to the measures to promote piety, I have not visited the rooms of the students for the purpose of personal conversation, because I did not see how, if I undertook that thing, I could *go through* with it ; because I daily meet the classes, and spend four hours with them. I feel it to be my duty to make daily preparation for that work, and in this I spend at least four hours more. Besides this, I feel it to be my duty to aim at a general extension of my little stock of knowledge ; also, I have to receive much of the company which the seminary brings to our house ; and every day I am obliged to answer letters on seminary business. I work in my vocation at least twelve hours every day, and often more, and this in addition to the calls of the students on various matters which concern them. But, I do not know that one day passes by, without something being said to impress on the students the necessity of deep personal piety.

It is always a subject of prayer at every recitation, and frequently in private conversation — not indeed in a dry and formal manner, but in the way of free, affectionate intercourse, which is held between us. It is true, that often when we meet in our parlor, and also in the class, there is a good deal of cheerfulness, and in the recitation there is sometimes jocularity, and that designed and of purpose — yea, on principle; because I am fully convinced myself, that the sombre, fixedly solemn and sanctified behaviour, which some seem to approve, is by no means beneficial to the character of the clergyman, or the Christian. Cheerfulness and piety can go together, and indeed ought not to be separated; for my observation has convinced me, that if young men at study are not encouraged to unbend their minds, and indulge in innocent mirth, they will become gloomy, desponding, and morose: a state of mind far less suited to the growth of that sort of piety which I wish to see cultivated, than anything I have yet observed here. Besides, I have many a time done what perhaps some disapprove, on account of its value to the health of the students — a subject which I have studied much, and regard as very important — but I have no more room.

“As I said before, I have no doubt both of the defects of my plan, and of the deficiency of its execution. But, this I can say, that no student has staid here a year, without giving what I thought manifest tokens of improvement in piety; and there are now here seven or eight bright Christians, who, when they came, could hardly be admitted, because they knew so little of religion. One of these is just now rising up from the very brink of the grave, to which he was brought by his excessive labors in distributing the Bible. He thought and we all thought he would die; and, when my last hour comes, I can hardly desire to be more peaceful and happy than he was. He lay perfectly easy in mind, and said, “Let the Lord do what he pleases.” Another, who came here last winter, near the close of the session, has found religion here so much beyond anything he had seen before, as to feel that he knew nothing about it; and he is just getting through a very fearful struggle, which will do his soul good.

“I wanted to say much more, but I cannot. I wished to tell you of a conversation had by many of us on board the steamboat, the day after the Assembly rose. It was on the subject of the increase of piety among ministers and candidates; and on the meeting of the next General Assembly, we pledged ourselves to one another to write and talk to our brethren — to mention the matter in Presbyteries and Synods — to do everything, in a word, which we could do, to send a delegation next spring, which should, from the very first day, lay hold of this great matter as the principal business of the next General Assembly. In this letter, I have said nothing about my colleague, because I take it for granted he will write to you. But I must remark that I believe him to be *alive* to the great matter on which you are justly solicitous, and I know his influence is very valuable in the seminary.

“With sincere, fraternal love,

J. H. RICE.”

8th. In the class-room, Dr. Rice was kind in manner, patient in teaching, rich in instruction, always interesting, giving forth in abundance the fruits of accurate investigation, carried on through his whole pastoral life. Slow in his enunciation, his thoughts seemed sometimes unwieldy, as if he could scarce manage to give them utterance, and they finally were announced with a clearness and precision becoming their magnitude and worth. He had some lectures written out in full, and was every year adding to them, in a fair hand and pleasing style, fit for the press and the library; he had copious notes of his full course, which he was constantly enlarging and enriching, and has left a syllabus of his whole course, and a full copy of a part. His recitations were close, continued, particular, almost severe, presupposing and compelling close investigation in the preparation for the class-room. To prevent weariness, he interwove playful remarks, cheerful personal anecdotes, pertinent pieces of history, references to common-life, scraps of his own experience with men and things. Diligent students found his recitations happy interviews, improving the mind and the heart, not neglecting personal manners. Rudeness in bearing and vulgarity met no approbation, with whatever other qualities they might be conjoined. The spirit of Dr. Miller's volume on Clerical Manners and Habits, was inculcated by Dr. Rice in his recitation-room, by precept and example, and in his domestic circle by the example of the Doctor and his wife, examples as charming as could be furnished, North or South, the North itself being judge. When the Doctor and his wife were in Andover, Massachusetts, the best way of improving the manners of the students of theology, was a subject of earnest and repeated discussion with the professors and their wives. It was evident the students at Andover were too secluded. "Let us have conversation-circles, or little levees occasionally; that would do very well, if not too prolonged. Let us have some subject chosen, on which the conversation shall turn." "No," said Mrs. Rice, "that will degenerate into formal speech-making. Let each one come ready to do his share of the conversation, on what subject he pleases, and let the ladies make the meeting cheerful, and let it break up before the interest passes away; or, what is better, let the students spend a few moments at some proper hour each day, in a well-regulated family, in cheerful intercourse, and cultivating the amenities of life." Dr. Rice ever bore in mind the moulding influences of his mother, the Malvern Hills, and Willington.

9th. The language of Paul — "in labors more abundant," may be applied to Dr. Rice in his pastoral office — in Charlotte with a school — in Richmond with the press, and in his Professor's chair in Prince Edward. He rejoiced in labors that consumed the very fountains of his life. His error, if we should judge him strictly, was, that he suffered his love of labor for the church to surpass his physical powers. On his death-bed he had some solemn reflections on this subject, and felt some dark hours. Not that he had done absolutely too much as the sum of life; but that in doing it he had

overwrought himself, and perhaps cut short his days. He trembled lest God was angry. He feared that in his bodily service he had neglected his private communion with God. Far from looking, very far from expecting justification by the deeds of his hands, he appealed to mercy and that was triumphant. His strong and abiding conviction had been for years—"I have become fully convinced that the work necessary to be done to build up our seminary must be done by me, or that it will never be done." In his opinion he was probably right; for his excessive labor who will blame him? while all mourn the event.

The friendships formed for Mrs. Rice were strong, numerous, and abiding. Her kind manners, and Christian conversation, and cheerful use of her full treasury of important facts, and amusing incidents about the seminary and the Virginia people, won the hearts of gentlemen, merchants, and ministers, and the ladies generally, to that degree that the friends of the seminary used to say that when she accompanied him on a tour to the North, it was hard to say which was the better agent. And yet she was never importunate; she never solicited, never addressed companies in a set speech. All things of that kind she left to the Doctor and others. But she was always bringing up, when fit opportunities occurred, the seminary; giving some amusing account of the Doctor's labors and the trials they had gone through, some graphic sketch of the wants of the South, and the interest taken in the Seminary, some cheerful relation of Christian experience, and hopeful conversions, and triumphant death—all embued with a spirit of inexpressible kindness. She reigned in the social circle as the Doctor did in the pulpit. He often said to her—"If your cheerfulness and health give out, I shall sink at once under my burdens." To her he gave his youthful affections; in his manhood he said—"I love you more than words can express:" in his dying hours, he said—"I never loved you more than at this hour." To her he gave his last look, his last embrace, and his last words from the midst of Jordan.

*Resolutions in the hand-writing of Dr. Rice, found in his pocket-book with his will, without date, or his name.*

What I resolve that I will endeavor to do.

1st. To keep under my body; and change my physical constitution. Take food for nourishment and not for pleasure. Take no more than is necessary, and be indifferent as to the quality. Sleep for refreshment and not for indulgence. Endeavor to do as much useful work every day as I can. Dress as cheaply as comports with decency.

2nd. To use all my property for benevolent purposes. Pay every thing I owe as soon as possible. Save all that I can by practising self-denial. And give all I can in the exercise of sound discretion to objects of benevolence. Never spare person, property, or reputation if I can do good. *Necessary that I should die poor.*

land, I have no doubt, that, under God, fruits and consequences would arise, which would not only induce our cotemporaries, but men of distant ages to pronounce it blessed. On this account I think it desirable that preachers trained in this Seminary, should be imbued with a cordial attachment to our Confession of Faith. The Scriptures are an infallible guide; the creed is only the best exposition which a fallible church could give of the Scriptures. As such, however, they must take it the bond of union in all their operations. It is therefore not only desirable but necessary that the ministers of a church should be imbued with a cordial attachment to its creed as the bond of its union. The creed of a church cannot be broken up, or trampled under foot, without such a complete destruction of its harmony as would ruin its usefulness. A minister may disturb the peace of his church, by appearing to deviate from its creed, when he does not do so in reality. He may do this by the substitution of new terms, to give an air of novelty to his speculations. How often has the peace of the Church been disturbed for years, congregations distracted, and almost ruined, and mutual confidence between pastors and people destroyed, by things which when brought to the test of dispassionate explanation, have been pronounced on all hands as unworthy of a moment's contention. I sincerely believe that much of the uneasiness which pervades our church at the present moment, has arisen from this cause. Much of new divinity would become old divinity, if the terms of our Confession, or similar terms, were used to express, what, on fair explanation, appear to be the real sentiments of the authors."

After enlarging on the impropriety of using Pelagian terms in addressing common audiences—and on the disposition to indulge a contentious spirit, which he thought he saw in different parts of the Church—he thus spoke about ministers.—“We think the cause calls for preachers who will make up their minds to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ—men strong in faith, who will throw themselves on the promises of their Master, and who will look to that hand which clothes the lilies, and feeds the ravens, to give them day by day their daily bread. When such men shall arise, and enter the field of labor, the Church may consider it as a signal that the accomplishment of the promise draweth nigh. God will own such men in his cause; he will go with them to the work, and put forth that exercise of his power, which will give to his Son the destitute parts of our country for his possession.

Of the labors of his predecessor, the much loved Dr. Rice, he spoke thus—“This Seminary would not have commenced, and advanced to its present state, without the assistance of God. And where God has begun a work, or bestowed remarkable favor in its commencement, we have the best encouragement for carrying it on. When I say God has bestowed a manifest blessing on this Seminary, I refer to the fact that more has been done to bring it into operation, and to give it a permanent existence, than perhaps had been done, in the same length of time, for any similar institution. And



yet some other institutions were evidently in circumstances which gave them a fairer promise of public patronage than this. When I ascribe the prosperity of the institution to God, I do not forget what is due to that distinguished man, who devoted to it his talents, his labors, and his life, and who was, under God, the honored instrument of laying its foundation. On the contrary, I believe that we give the highest honor to an instrument that can be given, and one which would have been dearer to our departed brother than all others, when we say that God worked with him. And certainly God did operate with him, and bless his labors, or this Seminary could not have occupied its present situation."

Rev. William Hill, D. D., in his charge to the Professor, said — "It has so happened heretofore that our Southern churches have been distinguished for their unanimity of sentiment, and for their uniform moderation in disputed doctrines, and in their conduct toward their brethren at large. While our brethren at the North have been split into parties, and agitated by angry controversies, we have happily preserved the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace. This has redounded much to our honor, and given weighty influence in our ecclesiastical councils. Oh that this state of things might be long continued, and handed down to the latest posterity, as a rich legacy from their fathers. While many of our Northern brethren have acquired either an extravagant rage for innovation, or an indiscreet zeal for orthodoxy, have been classed as belonging either to the New School or to the Old School, and have become zealous partizans of course, we have stood aloof, and wondered and grieved at their indiscretion.

"But there is reason to fear that this happy state is not long to continue, and that our Southern clergy are suffering themselves to be drawn into the vortex of contention. The circulation of inflammatory *ex parte* pamphlets and periodicals; the appointment of central and corresponding committees, and their exaggerated statements and misrepresentations, if some expedient cannot be adopted, is enough to set on fire the course of nature. And this mystery of iniquity has already begun to work among us. I need not tell you that much care will be necessary to guard our theological students against these things. Great danger has arisen in former times, and is likely to arise again, to the peace and prosperity of the Church, from angry and unnecessary disputes about orthodoxy. Orthodoxy literally signifies correct opinions, and is commonly used to designate a particular system of doctrines, or a connected series of facts on the subject of religion. It is not to be supposed, however, that the orthodox are, or ever have been, entirely unanimous in their opinions on the subject of religion. In matters comparatively unessential, and in their modes of stating and explaining and establishing essential truths, there has always been a diversity of opinion. Thus persons may disagree as to the form of church government, or as to the mode of administering the ordinances, and not forfeit their claims to orthodoxy. Or persons may differ in their interpretation of par-

ticular passages of Scripture, and their bearing on certain fundamental doctrines, without losing their character for orthodoxy. I would by no means speak disparagingly of creeds and confessions, for I readily admit their lawfulness and utility. Religious liberty includes the right to have creeds, if men please, as well as to have none, if they please. But scriptural, and venerable, and useful as creeds have been and are, their efficiency falls infinitely below the exigencies of the Church of Christ. They do not produce holiness of themselves, nor do they ensure it; nor can they preserve themselves from innovation in times of declension. And of all stupidity, orthodox stupidity is the most dreadful. It ought to be remembered that ice palaces have been built of orthodox as well as heterodox materials. And when the creed, which is but the handmaid of religion, is regarded with more zeal than religion itself, then the reign of high church and creed idolatry has begun.

“There is no remedy for self-ruined man but regeneration; and there is no remedy for corrupt and wealthy communities but revivals of religion. Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord. The government of God is the only government which will sustain the Church against depravity from within, and temptations from without, and this it must do by the force of its own laws, written upon the heart. We never expect or wish to see the Church governing the world; but the world must become Christian, and learn to govern itself by the laws of the Bible. And there is as much liberty in self-government, according to the laws of Christ, as in self-government, according to the laws of the devil; and as much free agency, or republicanism, if you please, in holiness as in vice and irreligion.

“Be assured, my brother, we have fallen on other times than the Church of God ever saw before — times in which the same exertions and influence which served its purpose in a former age, will not enable it to hold its own. The intellect of man has waked up to new activity. Old foundations are broken up, and old prejudices, and principles, and maxims, are undergoing a thorough and perilous revision. The present state of our own country, to say nothing of the European world, is such, on account of the rapid increase of population, by birth and immigration, the rapid influx of wealth and improvements of various kinds, and the vast irreligious influences consequent on these, that without a correspondent divine influence to render the influences of the gospel effectual, the Church, instead of exciting persecution, would sink into such obscurity as to be overlooked both by fear and hatred. Some, who, from past analogies, seem to think it most desirable that conversions should be rather dilatory and gradual than sudden and multitudinous, forget that the cause of the devil has its revivals, as well as the cause of Christ, and the kingdom of darkness is moving on with terrific haste and power. Millions are bursting into that kingdom, and taking it by force, while only hundreds are added to the kingdom of Christ. It is no time for ministers to think themselves faithful,

without revivals of religion among their people. The seed cannot lie long buried without being trodden down, past coming up, and being choked by thorns, should it vegetate. On steamboats, and canals, and railroads, and turnpikes, the ungodly are mustering their forces, and putting forth their strength to obliterate the Sabbath, and raze the foundations of Zion. Nothing but the power of God can sustain the Church in this tremendous conflict, and nothing but speedy and extensive and powerful revivals can save the Church and our nation from impending ruin, and nothing but a phalanx of holy hearts around the Sabbath will save it from desecration and oblivion."

The two speakers represented the ministers of the Virginia and North Carolina Synods. Perhaps never were there two addresses delivered at an inauguration that were so completely an index of things as they existed at the time, and revealed the germs of the things to be developed in after times. As is asserted in these speeches, unanimity prevailed throughout the Southern Presbyteries upon very many important subjects. On the importance of a well prepared self-denied ministry, the object of the Seminary, the importance of revivals to the Church and the world, the vast advantage, the absolute necessity of harmony among brethren; on these subjects there was no dispute. There had been purity of doctrine and forbearance among themselves, and towards brethren at a distance, who seemed to differ materially from their Southern brethren. The men that had given tone to the Southern church, were eminent for their adherence to the doctrines of the Confession of Faith, and equally so for their fervent charity among themselves. They had neither been fond of innovation, or ready to make a man an offender for a word. Living at a distance from each other, and oppressed by ever recurring labors of the ministry, they had no time to indulge in disputation when they met for communion seasons, or in ecclesiastical assemblies; or to cherish novelties in their solitude. They enjoyed social intercourse; the mother Presbytery of the Virginia Synod made it a standing rule to spend a Sabbath in the congregation with which she held her regular meetings. By the Hanover Presbytery it was re-enacted at the first meeting after the Synod was formed; by the other Presbyteries observed as a custom without an order on their minutes. Discussion of important subjects, selected previously for the occasion, was for a time encouraged at the Presbyterial meetings, but after a few years abandoned as not productive of the good designed; and incidental discussions, arising necessarily, consumed all the time. The Presbyterial meetings were times of religious intercourse and enjoyment. On the subject of creeds and confessions, all were united in maintaining their necessity as bonds of union; and an honest exposition to the public of these bonds, drawn out in precise well-arranged words. Some thought a very careful attention to the formulas not only appropriate, but necessary. Others thought there might be too great stress laid on uniformity, and too much reliance on the virtue

of creeds, and were alarmed lest on these subjects there should arise a controversy to distract the Southern church.

As yet the Southern clergy had taken little or no part in the vehement discussions, carried on in the Northern and Eastern Presbyteries—about the nature and extent of the atonement—the ability and inability of man, natural and moral—the nature of sin and of imputation—the origin of revivals—viewed as metaphysical subjects, and argued upon as such, rather than as gospel truths. On all these subjects as doctrines taught in the Bible with clearness and definiteness sufficient for salvation, and as well expressed in the Confession, the Southern ministers preached often, and plainly, and powerfully. They were not accustomed to discuss these subjects in public, except as doctrines of the Bible, to be interpreted by the rules of exegesis, as matters of fact sufficiently plain to be understood, and sufficiently abstruse and offensive to require the authority of revelation for their belief. Few cases had ever occurred, in all the Southern churches, of discipline for unsoundness of doctrine; but the discipline had been administered with becoming firmness and kindness when required. The difference in the expressed opinions among ministers, was generally attributed to the ambiguity of words which might be explained away. The fierceness of the discussion in the Northern churches was generally looked upon as a waste of charitable feeling and loss of time. The Rev. John H. Rice was probably the first Southern man that thought and said, that from the disputed subjects already mentioned, and the vexed question of the Education Society, and the equally vexed question of Foreign Missions, there was arising a storm to rend the Church to fragments; that the time was hastening when the Southern churches would be compelled to consider carefully these matters, and judge upon them in the tribunal of the last resort. His memorial on missions, was put forth to avert the violence of the storm, if not the storm itself. He earnestly desired that the Assembly of 1831, might be an arena of life. He did not see that Assembly, nor did his memorial produce the effect he desired. He passed away in the zenith of his usefulness and fame. And now, in less than a year, there is evidence that leading men were beginning to feel that the neutrality of the South was at an end. On what ground should the South meet the coming tempest, that was moving down from the North? Should it be that of more, or less, strictness of creed? Should she cast her influence with either of the distinctly formed parties at the North, or should she endeavor to repress extremes, and call the church back to its primitive charity and belief? The first alternative she dreaded; of the last, she almost despaired.

The affairs of the Seminary, as a Theological school, went on prosperously under Dr. Baxter and his associates. The new Professor found the chair of Theology the proper sphere for the full development of all his powers of mind, and qualities of heart, and the richness of his varied acquirements. And when called to put forth all his strength, as he was in taking the chair vacated by Rice, he

excelled the expectation even of his warmest friends. His power of analysis, his accuracy in distinctions, and logical reasoning, his profound research, his clearness of conception, and his simplicity in thought and style, were pre-eminent. With these was a vastness of comprehension. Nothing in the range of human thought was beyond him; he was at home everywhere. Like Rice and Alexander, he seemed not to know when he uttered what others called great thoughts or little thoughts in Theology, all were equally clear to him, and all so completely inwoven in the beautiful tissue of revelation.

In financial concerns the new Professor was a child; and the Seminary felt the loss of that incomparable agent Dr. Rice. By the great exertions of Mrs. Rice, and her personal friends, and the friends of the institution, the debts were paid, and the buildings completed, with prospects of great and increasing usefulness of the Seminary.

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## CHAPTER XXXVII.

REV. WILLIAM HILL, D. D.—FROM THE YEAR 1818 TILL HE LEAVES WINCHESTER.

In 1818, in the midst of his highest usefulness and success, a cloud came over Mr. Hill. From its chilling influence he never recovered. The frost nipped his sweet flower; it drooped; and his verdure gradually withered away. Like an old oak, he fell at last by the weight of years, after buffeting many a blast, and never recovering from the ruins of one terrible storm.

He returned in the evening of a long summer day from Richmond, where he had been on some legal business, and met at the door the intelligence, that his child on a visit among his old friends in Jefferson County, was sick of a fever. Without resting after a continuous ride on horseback of fifty miles, he passed on, with a fresh horse, to visit his daughter, a distance of some twenty miles. His worst anticipations were realized. "I know my child,—I dread the event"—was the good-bye to his house as he rode away. When he saw her in the burning fever, a father's hope could not delude a father's penetration. "God is merciful"—was all the encouragement he could give his wife. "I have been thinking, mother,"—said the daughter before the father came, when sinking evidently under the disease—"that it is best for me to die." "Best!"—what a word in that emergency!

A member of Mr. Hill's family, that attended the funeral of Miss Hill, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, stood by her grave, and rambled over the adjoining hills, and wrote for the Weekly Republican, his *Recollections of Winchester, and of that sad funeral.*

*“Watchman, Sept. 7th, 1848.*

“How like a blue wall that Ridge bounds our view on the East! and this broken barrier, like clouds on the west! Those pointed eminences down south are the ‘forts’ of Shenandoah. This village, in the basin surrounded by these hills so beautiful for residences, in the midst of this great valley, is Winchester. This cool stream, passing through the village, flows from a single spring, at the base of those north-western hills, in abundance for a city, and decided the location about a century ago, winning two German families to build their cabins on its banks. On that hill, that seems to end this crowded street, on the north, are the remains of a fort, that once crowned the summit, the defence of the village, and of the surrounding valley, previous to Braddock’s war. Washington was encamped here in those troublesome times of savage inroad. Tradition tells of a siege by the savages in hopes of compelling a surrender by want of water. And it tells how the soldiers blasted rocks night and day, till the water bubbled up through the ledges. In triumph, they poured it, in buckets full, over the walls, and thus raised the siege. This extended street, and the buildings on the hill, have swept away the fort, except the western and part of the eastern wall, and the old well.

“On that hill, out at the south end of this street, were the barracks for prisoners taken with Burgoyne.

“Now let us go across to the old stone churches on the hills that skirt the town on the east. That building farthest to the north is the Catholic Church, with its consecrated ground and few monuments. This next, without a steeple, is the Presbyterian, built after the Revolutionary war; that old wooden building next, with monuments near, is the German Presbyterian; that stone building, with a steeple, is the Lutheran, and holds within its walls, the ashes of the amiable and revered minister, Christian Streit.

“It is to this second house we are to go;—a place hallowed by many associations of a spiritual and sacred nature:—The place of the first meeting of the Presbytery, at Winchester, in 1794, when Dr. Hoge preached from the text, ‘The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field,’—and Hoge, and Hill, and Lyle, and Legrand formed the Presbytery, to which Williamson was speedily attached;—two of whom still remain, lingering on the horizon of life, having had in connexion with them some ninety ministers and candidates, a part of whom still remain, and part have gone to meet the Lord Christ;—the place of licensure of our much loved, venerated Virginia Professor of Theology, at Princeton, Oct. 1st, 1791;—the place of the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1799;—the scene of the ministrations of eminent men, and of revivals of religion, in which Zion may say, ‘*this and that man was born here*’;—the place of assembling of audiences before whom a man might well weigh his words. What scenes of interest have these walls witnessed when the Presbyteries and Synod of Virginia have met, and, with superhuman

energy have acted for all time! What varied talents have here given utterance to the solemn and weighty conceptions embodied in the gospel of Jesus Christ!

“’Tis a quarter of a century since I visited this place of solemn worship for the living, and gathering for the dead. And as I look around on Winchester, what a change has passed! Then this whizzing and puffing down at the depôt was never dreamed of,—the stage came lazily in, three times a week, bringing the mail, and whatever passengers necessity compelled to take the bruising over the rough roads of the valley which then had no turnpike.—How the whole town is changed! A spirit of emigration seized the old houses,—the congregation of the dead,—the very bones of Fairfax,—and the old stone church, on Loudon street, and all passed away. A man of business, a quarter of a century ago, coming back from the grave, or from his exile, would not know the scenes of his traffic and his gains. Market street, with its railway, and depôt, seems a more beautiful creation of yesterday from the ruins of the past. And the paved walks and streets everywhere, leave you to look in vain for the deep soil that once greeted you at every step. The lights of the law that sat along on those western hills—Powell, and Carr, and Holmes, and White,—that galaxy of the bench when Winchester was the seat of the Chancery Court, — all have gone to sleep with their fathers,—and all but one sleep here.

Come, let us enter the yard at this low place at the south-east corner, let us go on to the old locust tree,—now read the lowly slab,

“Major General DANIEL MORGAN,  
 departed his life  
 On July 6th, 1802,  
 In the 67th year of his Age.  
 Patriotism and valor were the  
 prominent Features of his character;  
 And  
 the honorable services he rendered  
 to his country  
 during the Revolutionary war,  
 crowned him with Glory, and will  
 remain in the Hearts of his  
 Countrymen  
 a Perpetual Monument  
 to his  
 Memory.

Here, then, beneath this slab, the man whose voice could make soldiers tremble with his hoarse shoutings, lies as quiet as that infant there!—What a man!—a day laborer in this valley some eighty years ago,—a volunteer against the Indians, and marked by his commander as an officer, for his enterprise and courage,—a wagoner, and an abused colonial militia man in the service of his king,—an officer of the riflemen at the storming of Quebec with Montgomery,

and at the battle of Saratoga,—a major general in the Continental army,—and always a kind-hearted, honest man,—rough among rough men,—sensitive of honor,—generous with the brave,—and almost civil to cowards,—here he sleeps with honorable men. Around him here are the ashes of talent, learning, and refinement,—a congregation of youth and age,—such as a citizen soldier and a Christian man might choose for his companions in the grave.

Step a little northward, and read again :—

“ SACRED to the memory of  
General DANIEL ROBERDEAU,  
who departed this life  
January 5th, 1795,  
Aged 68 years.

“ The name declares the origin and the ‘ father land.’ A soldier in the Revolution, — a follower of Whitefield, — his descendants scattered over Virginia, inherit the blessings secured by the covenant of God to the persecuted, yet faithful Huguenots, ‘ remembering mercy to thousands, (of generations) of them that love me and keep my commandments.’ Every soldier of the Revolution has his name enobled. The simple private, enrolled as a soldier of Washington, claims, and history will yield it to him, to be an integral part of an army such as the world had not seen, and may not see again. But its officers, — the planners of its campaigns, — the leaders of its battles, — why — our hearts swell as we pronounce their names, — our blood pauses as we stand here at their graves. The envious opposition of the Cincinnati made one right judgment, in their folly. They said truly when they said, a place on the roll of that board of officers was a patent of nobility. The Cincinnati fell ; but history preserves the record of its true nobility ; and all posterity will admit its claim.

“ How much it is to be desired that the last hours of the soldiers of the Revolution were better known ; that their conversation on religious experience were as carefully preserved as their principles and maxims of politics and war ! Many, very many lived, and many more of them died, firm believers in Revelation, believers in Jesus. All the sins and destructive follies of the camp, with their grievous inroads upon morals and religion, could neither find, nor make these brave men infidels. This ‘ thunderbolt of war,’ — this ‘ brave Morgan, who never knew fear,’ was, in camp, often wicked, and very profane, but never a disbeliever in religion. He testified that himself. On leaving the Southern army, somewhat grieved at a supposed slight of Greene, he returned to this beautiful valley, from which Gates had allured him. Look eastward, where those blue mountains embank the horizon, and the Shenandoah, seeking its way to the Potomac, skirts their base. There stands Saratoga ; one scene of his glory was the name of his home. As the infirmities of age came on, and the last struggle drew near, the old soldier displayed the skill



of former days. When chased by Rawdon, he turned at the Cowpens, made his preparations for death or victory, and gained the victory; so now as he felt the approach of disease, and saw the advance of death, he entrenched himself in the impregnable truths of the gospel, and gained victory over death by the grace of Christ. We mourn he lived so much and so long a sinner — we rejoice that he died a Christian.

“ In his latter years General Morgan professed religion, and united himself with the Presbyterian Church in this place under the pastoral care of the Rev. (now Dr.) Hill, who preached in this house some forty years, and may now be occasionally heard on Loudon street. His last days were passed in this town; and while sinking to the grave he related to his minister the experience of his soul. ‘ People thought,’ said he, ‘ that Daniel Morgan never prayed; people said old Morgan never was afraid; people did not know.’ He then proceeded to relate in his blunt manner, among many other things, that the night they stormed Quebec, while waiting in the darkness and storm with his men paraded, for the word *to advance*, he felt unhappy; the enterprise appeared more than perilous; it seemed to him that nothing less than a miracle could bring them off safe from an encounter at such an amazing disadvantage. He stepped aside and kneeled by the side of a munition of war — and there most fervently prayed that the Lord God Almighty would be his shield and defence, for nothing less than an Almighty arm could protect him. He continued on his knees till the word passed along the line. He fully believed that his safety during that night of peril was from the interposition of God. Again he said about the battle of the Cowpens, which covered him with so much glory as a leader and a soldier, he had felt afraid to fight Rawdon, with his numerous army flushed with success, and that he retreated as long as he could, till his men complained, and he could go no further. Drawing up his army in three lines on the hill-side; contemplating the scene, in the distance the glitter of the advancing enemy; he trembled for the fate of the day. Going to the woods in the rear, he kneeled in an old tree top, and poured out a prayer to God for his army and for himself and for his country. With relieved spirits he returned to the lines, and in his rough manner cheered them for the fight; as he passed along, they answered him bravely. The terrible carnage that followed their deadly aim decided the victory. In a few moments Rawdon fled. ‘ Ah,’ said he, ‘ people said old Morgan never feared, they thought old Morgan never prayed, they did not know; old Morgan was often miserably afraid.’ And if he had not been, in the circumstances of amazing responsibility in which he was placed, how could he have been brave? Now, who shall say that his preservation in these cases, and in many others, was not indissolubly connected with his prayers and fervent cries to God? He called on God, and the Lord heard him. And when he came in his old age, penitently to the throne, confessing his sins like Manasseh, who will

not hope that God heard him, and covered him with the mantle of everlasting righteousness?

“The last of his riflemen are gone; the brave and hardy gallants of this valley that waded to Canada and stormed Quebec, are all gone; gone too are Morgan’s sharpshooters of Saratoga. For a long time, two, that shared his captivity in Canada, were seen in this village, wasting away to shadows of their youth, celebrating with enthusiasm the night of the battle, as the year rolled round — Peter Lauck and John Schultz. But they have answered the roll-call of death, and have joined their leader — the hardy Lauck wondering that Schultz, the feeblest of the band, whom he had so often carried through the snows of Canada, should outlive him. There is interest around the last of such a corps.

“Come step across to that old wooden church over south; pass by that curiously wrought slab from England; go on by the marble that says

“DEATH”

Inscribes

A beloved Mother’s name upon  
The Tablet.

And a little to the westward, on a white marble upright slab, is the short memorial of one of *the six* of Morgan’s company known during the campaign as the *Dutch mess*, all of whom lived to a great age: and five sleep here: Kurtz and Sperry a few feet from this grave.

“IN”

memory

of

JOHN SCHULTZ.

Who departed this life  
5th day of November, 1840,  
in the 87th year  
of his age.

A little to the east lies the other comrade Grim, who some years since joined the corps in the grave, without a monument. There is no inscription for Peter Lauck, he lies a little farther on — in the rear of this stone church with the steeple, in sight of his residence on that beautiful hill out South, near that tablet, that says the man that sleeps beneath was from Manheim in Germany, more than a century ago — the man that disdained to set a private table for Louis Philippe, in the little village of Winchester, because as he said — none but gentlemen ever stopped at his house, or eat at his table; and turned him from his door for making the request. The sixth one, Heiskill, sleeps in Romney.

“When the improvements in the new burying-ground, now in contemplation are completed, a visit to these mansions of the dead will become as familiar as instructive. Men will say, ‘the last of

the soldiers of Quebeck lie *here*; and *there*, their old commander who bowed the knee only to God.' Look around here upon the old inhabitants of this village, the Hoffa, the Bakers, and the Millers, and Smiths; stop a moment at the grave of the kind-hearted Singleton, and then enter this old church to pay a tribute to the reverend dead. Read the epitaph of the meek, the irreproachable Streit; and then go out and stand a moment at a grave, where widows may take comfort; the grave of his wife Susan Streit.

"Come let us go back to the first yard. Look for a few moments and see how death has gathered the inhabitants of these beautiful hills, and this lovely valley, into his treasury. Powell, the gentlemanly lawyer, from that Northern Hill, rising to plead at the bar, and gone in a moment, lies *there*. Look at the pleasant white residence down westward close upon us; and now at these two tablets by the east wall here, two sisters in one grave, and a manly brother by their side, gathered in in fourteen months, in the very budding of their youth, lovely in their lives, and in their death not divided; read their names; and you recognize Virginia's Professor of law. And this erect monument bears the name of a talented young physician from the village, Dunbar, cut down in his prime; and that slab, the name of another, M'Gill, who sleeps with his kindred, and in the faith of the gospel. And these amiable ladies all around closely wrapped in the solitude of this crowded place.

"Look over west to that far distant brick dwelling on that slightly eminence; and here now by this south wall, in this decaying wooden enclosure; in the southern corner of it. *There* lived, and *here* lies Robert White, who limped with his honorable scars from the field of Monmouth to this grave; the patriot, the Judge, who knew no peer upon the Virginia bench, but Marshall, and Pendleton, and Washington, and Roane; and what is more, in his last days the *humble, devout* Christian. Here under this slab lies Chapman, a minister of God; this week receiving a long-expected princely fortune, and next week called to his heavenly crown, while in this village a wayfarer to his distant family. And this next slab covers the Senator and Governor Holmes, amiable in his life, and in his death cheered by that gospel he heard in his youth at Old Opecan. On this side, in this smooth place, sleeps his brother the Judge, from that north-western hill; and on that side, also without a mark, his brother-in-law, the Rev. Nash Legrand, one of the first missionaries of *the Commission of the Virginia Synod*. Legrand, a name, dear to the Virginia Church, as now borne by *one* venerable representative of the last generations of Christians, a hearer of John B. Smith. One wonders why Legrand does not sleep among his attached people of Opecan. But he, and his brother-in-law by his side, came here to Winchester to find a grave beside the benevolent Surgeon of the Revolution, the skilful Baldwin, the poor man's friend, long a beloved physician in Winchester.

"And this next slab! who that attended the burial here a quarter of a century ago, can forget! The company assembled that day

were not people to forget, or be hastily forgotten. Alas! as I run over their forms in the imagination of memory, and look around, they are themselves, many of the prominent characters, gone, passed away, gathered to this very yard. It was a funeral to call together the minister and his people. And here came the pastor with the session, and the church, and the congregation, that worshipped with him in this house. Here they stood, feeling as one man with the waves of sorrow breaking over him. It seems to me but yesterday I stood, just where that grave now covers a young lady, that was standing here then, Miss Slater. And ah! just by, lies in her girlhood, the lovely scholar, Theda Bent. Oh! how many of that company are gone!

“Why, think over the session — there was the upright and gentlemanly Bell, of whom nobody dared harbor an ill thought, with his face covered; the meek, thinking, successful, silent Grey, with his white locks, and sorrowful face; the devout Little, whom the heathen will bless through his child and the sympathy of American mothers; the patriotic amiable Beattie, with his bald crown and mild face: the fervent, simple-hearted Sperry, the personification of former days, with his bent shoulders and meek countenance; the generous-hearted Smith, then fresh in his manhood, sleeping, now fresh in that new-made grave by the north wall beyond M’Gill’s: the dignified, deep, impassioned, Gamble, with his thin gray hairs, the image, with Grey, of north of Ireland elders, the very things themselves; these, with two elders now living, stood here then; and all sleep on these hills now.

“The hearse, though looked for, yet coming somewhat unexpectedly, drove directly to the gate; — for she had died away from home: death found her on a visit. We gathered in haste, and in silence. People did not speak, as they met at the gate: they scarce nodded. They stood around in amazement, they scarce wept, it was not a time for tears, the frost that nipped the flower chilled our blood. ‘Careful,’ said one voice that all knew, as the bearers jostled the bier against the half-opened gate, every hand raised involuntarily with the father’s. As the coffin of the amiable girl reached its bed, she that bore her, stood motionless, silent, once, only, bending as if to go down to her child. Our hearts bowed with her. One groan broke from him, that stood by her side like a muffled statue. Its accents all knew. One shrill cry from her young companions answered, and died away in sobs and tears: then all wept; — then all was silent. Death reigned in silence that day. We felt his triumph; — but we felt the victory Christ Jesus gives a dying virgin. Read this slab,

IN MEMORY

of

ELIZABETH M. HILL

who departed this life

Sept. 7th 1818

just entering

the 23d year of her age.

Death loves a shining mark, a signal blow;  
 Not simple conquest, triumphed in his aim;  
 Early though welcome was her happy fate  
 Soon not surprising death his visit paid.

Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

“In how many hearts the sorrow of that day wrought purification, by the Holy Spirit, can be known only when the books are opened at the last day. But at this grave some youthful hearts were touched with a sorrow that only the balm of Gilead healed. Death loves a shining mark!—how many shining ones has he gathered to these hills! Gems on earth—gems in heaven. Soon, the actors of that day will all be where spirits meet not human voices or human eyes; where Christ in glory will fill all hearts.

“These monuments are the Records of Winchester, the history of her past. Should one feel pride and ambition rising in his soul; tell him to walk through these yards. If you feel worldliness coming over you, come here and count these sinking mounds. Does the heart fail, from the troubles of life, come visit these regions of the dead. Does the youth need energy, show him the grave of Tidball, the elder M’Gills, the Conrads, the elder Dunbar, the Hoffs, the elder Bakers, and Millers, and Holliday, and Riley who never forgot what he once knew; and tell him, what was done by these may be done again. Does the heart fear about religion? The records here point to Jesus Christ, who brought life and immortality to light; here lie persons that trusted him, from the old Revolutionary General down to the child; believe and thou shalt live for ever. Would that all the dead of Winchester lay together on these hills, and all had monuments. That those who sleep out in the western suburbs, with Fairfax and M’Guire, and Balmain, had been gathered in these yards, along these eminences. Here, then, would be the pilgrimage of their sons, to find their fathers’ graves, to get lessons how to live and how to die.

VIATOR.

“Winchester, August 26th, 1843.”

From this time the current of events did not run smoothly with Dr. Hill. Whether in his bewildering afflictions, under which the father and mother grew old in a day, he had lost his wonderful tact in conducting affairs, or whether the affairs had assumed a form and current he could no longer guide, perhaps can never be decided by man. There were some naturally fiery elements in his Church and in his session; and on some questions of Christian conduct, there was a division commencing among his members. With a cheerful unclouded mind he probably could have directed the elements of strife into a peaceful channel; unhappily he steered upon the quicksands.

In attendance on the General Assembly in the spring of 1819, Dr. Hill,—for while his domestic affliction was newly on him, the authorities of Dartmouth College conferred upon him the academic honor,—

heard his brethren relate the advantages their churches had received from publicly renewing their covenant to be the Lord's. After some reflection and correspondence, he prepared a paper to be presented to his session and Church. Having assembled them he read and explained the paper; and proposed a general and public renewal of their covenant by individual signature. Some were ready to sign; others thought the whole procedure, an uncalled-for innovation on settled habits. The majority of session being opposed to action, time was demanded for consideration. The matter was laid over, and finally abandoned. The tendency to division was thereby increased, and mutual recriminations encouraged. The best means of promoting the life of godliness in the congregation, could not be agreed upon, partly from the difficulty of the subjects, and partly from the uncongeniality of disposition and habits of the persons concerned. They were united in their preacher and not in themselves.

Ill health came upon Dr. Hill, and with it sufferings calculated to give prominence to some characteristics of his temperament. In his family, and his social intercourse, he maintained the dignity of a suffering man. In some discussions involving character before the Presbytery and before the Synod, he may have lost his balance, and pressed on with vehemence ending in a severity he himself had not anticipated. Fond of discussion, he loved to drive his opponent to the wall. If in the discussion, religion or morals appeared to him to be implicated with dishonor, his vehemence was relentless; confessions and submission, or subjugation and disgrace, were the only alternatives. Collision with him, was greatly dreaded in cases where there were exasperating circumstances. He feared no enemy; and dreaded no conflict. His industry in hunting up facts, and circumstances, and items of proof, was untiring; his perseverance in a cause indomitable; his resources were inexhaustible. He would with seeming carelessness expose himself to heavy blows; but his tact in recovering himself was surpassing. He would spy an adversary's weak points, catch the least mismove, and give him no time to recover. If his opponent lost his temper he lost his cause; and he had the power to try a man's temper, and excite a man's fear. Coolness, clearness, precision of words and thoughts, and a stout heart, were the weapons to meet his onsets. An unwary or timid adversary was swept away. In his cheerful hours, his discussions like his conversations were deeply interesting, abounding with amusing anecdote, and full of instruction; he poured out his stores in public and private with a lavish hand, and never seemed to hold any thing in reserve for some future time. When the debate assumed a saturnine cast, then the earnestness became severity; the sentences were arrows dipped in bitterness, or even in fire, that burned in the bones of the assailed. The sufferer never forgot the speech; and hardly knew how to love, or even forgive, the man. As a public prosecutor, he would have been unrivalled, the terror of all evil doers; and the defenders of crime would have earned their heavy fees, when they

cleared the accused from his charge. For these reasons many declined any resistance to the schemes and opinions of the Doctor that should bring themselves into notice; and trembled when they found him in opposition to themselves, or their actions. When any did resolve to meet him and oppose his opinions, they did it with a calculation and determination that insured a conflict, in which a stranger would see more vehemence than the cause apparently required. It is more than probable the Doctor was unconscious of the depth of the wounds he gave; as he was very sensitive of any inflicted on himself.

In the years 1820 and '21 he suffered greatly in his feelings, in the arena opened for him, in Presbytery, by a brother minister with whom he unhappily came in collision. The beginning of the contention was small, and like the letting out of water it became uncontrollable. The point of honor, involved in the first heart-burning became inextricable; more points were involved; offences multiplied, and the contention was severe. The parties became deeply committed. On both sides was an unconquerable will; with the one more fire, and with the other a desperate coolness. There was no layman to lay his hand upon them both. The venerable Hoge might have prevailed; but he had passed away; his amiable son John Blair swayed the will of one, and in common circumstances would have persuaded each, but could not now prevail with both, though his heart desired it. It is not necessary here to say where lay the wrong. To justify any opinion that might be given, pages of statements must be made. But while the case was pending before Synod in Lexington, in October 1821, Joseph Glass suddenly died, at his own residence in Frederick County. When the sad news reached Dr. Hill, he wept. The progress of the trial was in Dr. Hill's favor at this sad moment. Yet he would not thus part with his opponent, who felt aggrieved at him to his heart's core. Such a conclusion after he had made a vehement assault, by some thought resistless and by others severe, and his adversary had not answered him, but was reposing in the shroud of death, lay with a heavy weight upon his heart. He had not so parted with Legrand. He mourned to part so with Glass. A sharp conflict ending in compromise, and concession, and perhaps warmer friendship, was a different thing, with all its exasperations, from an unsettled collision at the grave's mouth. It made him mourn, for his spirit aimed high and he gloried in victories hardly bought, fairly won, the adversary subdued or pacified.

Another discussion took place about this time, worthy of remembrance only as increasing the alienation which had begun in the congregation, and ultimately embittering the pastor's relation to his flock. The subject of dancing in private houses, and of sending children to a dancing school, became themes of public discourse. There were many in Winchester who advocated both, and, as occasion offered, practised both. No member of the Presbyterian Church was known to practise either. An elder declared it as his opinion,

that in given cases, children might be sent to the dancing school; and also that dancing in private circles might be blameless. This opinion was strongly controverted. Communications, written and oral, passed between Dr. Hill and Col. Augustine Smith, on the subject. The Doctor preached upon these subjects, and fashionable amusements generally, and took strong ground against them. Col. Smith declared he would give no trouble on the subject in his own family, nor encourage in others what was offensive to the Church generally. As no family practised on the offensive principles, the whole matter might have rested here; and probably would, but for another circumstance, till some overt act occurred, requiring, in the opinion of Dr. Hill, or the session, the discipline of the Church. Part of the session fully agreed with Dr. Hill; and those who differed somewhat from him in this matter, declared, in 1825, their "willingness to support the discipline of the congregation so far as required by the word of God, or the directory of our church." The only questions for discussion were the kind and extent of discipline to be exercised in given cases, by the Session, in the exercise of their prudence and discretion, and love of God.

At a meeting of the Session, December 29th, 1824, four propositions were submitted for consideration, viz:—"1st. In consequence of my ill health and frequent infirmities, by which I am rendered incapable of fully discharging the duties of pastor, it is proposed that steps be taken to procure an assistant for me. 4th. In case it should be thought advisable to get an assistant, that the sense of the congregation be taken whether Mr. ———, who has been laboring for some time among them, shall be that assistant." The second and third propositions were on the subject of salary, past and future. The salary matters were immediately attended to, and without discussion. The views of Dr. Hill on the two other propositions are thus expressed by himself in a letter of the 25th January, 1825—"I have been, ever since the decline of my health, looking out for a minister to assist and succeed me. My reason for this was, to save the church from division, if not from annihilation, which I was certain, from the discordant materials of which it is composed, would ensue, if the choice were not made while I could exert a personal influence among the members. Last fall twelve months, at Synod in Petersburg, I for the first time saw Mr. ———. I had heard very favorable accounts of his character, and as soon as I heard him speak in Synod, I determined to try to prevail upon him to come and spend some time with us in Winchester, and that evening made a conditional arrangement with him, if other propositions which he had before him failed, then to spend some time with us, that he might become acquainted with the people, and they with him. He was then no more to me than any other young man of promise; nor is he at this time." The session and congregation were generally agreed to have an assistant, if their pastor wished. They all professed high regard for the young man proposed by Dr. Hill. A



part, perhaps the majority, were ready to receive at once the assistant proposed by Dr. Hill, a young man of great worth and ardent piety, with good pulpit talents. Part of the session, with a large minority of the church, proposed that the assistant should be chosen by the free vote of the church, after hearing different persons. Some expressed a preference for another person whom they had heard. The discussion of this subject seemed to involve all the preceding ones. As the minority determined to oppose their pastor in the particular person of his choice, so he declared — “As I never entertained a thought of introducing any who did not unite the voice of the congregation, so they will remember that they can force no one upon me without my consent.” Agreeing in the general principles, they differed greatly in the particular case in hand. Unhappily, all the old subjects of uneasiness were revived in conversation, and the integrity of the congregation was in danger. Dr. Hill proposed to withdraw entirely from any connexion with the pastoral charge. The session and church entirely opposed such a procedure, while his health should be sufficient for his labors. He then proposed that four of the elders, who had been most opposed to his wishes, should withdraw from the exercise of their official duties, till such time as they mutually should agree, “their standing in the church not to be affected by it.” The elders declined the proposed course of action. The Doctor declared — “There is not one of your number for whom I do not feel the warmest friendship, and whom I do not look upon as my personal friend.” They declared — “That you may remain with us in holy communion and works of love, and enjoy unsullied happiness through time and eternity, is our earnest prayer.” They also declared that the facts of their difference, as they understood them, were — “You plainly intimated your intention to select a minister for the congregation, and then retire from your pastoral charge. We were of the opinion that if you were determined to leave us, your resignation should precede the appointment of a successor.”

The whole affair was laid before the Presbytery in April, 1825; and was referred to a Committee. This Committee met, and heard at length the parties, and adjudicated, and failed to restore peace. The matter, in various forms, was before Presbytery, and at last referred to Synod, on the request of a number to be constituted a separate church. The Synod in the fall of 1826, against the most decided opposition of Dr. Hill, granted the request, so far as to constitute a new church in Winchester, the elders of which were to be, Joseph Gamble, John Bell, Robert Grey, A. C. Smith, and James Little. The Synod refused the request, “that the newly constituted congregation be annexed to the Lexington Presbytery.” Dr. Hill suffered greatly in his feelings during the whole process, from the first moving in Presbytery till the conclusion in Synod. An event occurred which afflicted him greatly. While the subject of forming the new church was in agitation, and shortly before its formation, Mr. Robert Grey, the elder, died. He had been the firm friend of Dr. Hill

for about twenty years, and would at last have preferred him as his minister. Dr. Hill was, on his return from the Presbytery, held in Gerardstown, chatting with his brethren. When near Winchester, General Smith meeting him, said, "Doctor, one of your flock died last night." "Ah, who?" "Old Mr. Grey." One long groan broke from the Doctor's heart; and he rode silent home. Everything about the collision with his people, or any portion of them, afflicted him. Death was not welcome thus to any of his flock.

Another circumstance distressed the Doctor. His old friend Williamson, on many occasions, voted against him; and he was equally distressed by finding Dr. Matthews, of Shepherdstown, on the main questions, opposed to him.

Rev. JOHN MATTHEWS, D. D., born in North Carolina, performed the duties devolving on him, till the meridian of life, in his native State. He grew up in the Hawfields, under the ministry of Henry Pattillo. His first choice for an occupation for life, was the joiner and carpenter trade. The last work he performed at this vocation, was in connection with the church building at the Hawfields. The pulpit, as a work of his hands, for a long time was commended as a specimen of that kind of architecture. Becoming a convert to Christ, the things pertaining to the salvation of his fellow-men, were so impressed upon his heart, that he devoted himself to the work of the ministry. His preparatory studies were under the direction of Dr. Caldwell, of Alamance. He was licensed in March, 1801, at Barbecue church, in company with Ezekiel Currie, Duncan Brown, Murdock M'Millan, Malcolm M'Nair, Hugh Shaw, and Murdock Murphy. All these had been influenced, more or less, by James M'Gready, to seek the ministry. After performing missionary service in the South-west, Mr. Matthews was settled over Nutbush and Grassy Creek churches, in 1803. In 1806, he removed to Berkeley County, Virginia; and after some five or six years, to Shepherdstown, and took charge of the church in that place, together with that of Charlestown, and the intermediate country.

A man, fiery in his temper till grace had moulded him, he became so cool and composed in his intercourse with men, that, except physiognomically, his natural disposition would never have been suspected. Of great resolution, and firmness of purpose, he lay in the way of opposition like an enormous granite rock upon a railroad track. His resistance calm, quiet, and unflinching, was hard to overcome. A most persevering student, he made himself master of the great subjects of Theology; and entered deeply into the Hermenutics of the Bible. He was a proficient in logical reasoning, based not so much on metaphysical and abstract truths, and propositions, as in the skilful arrangement of consecutive facts, that should lead irresistibly to the conclusion. In the process there might, or might not be, intermingled abstract propositions, and metaphysical reasoning. If he gained the attention of the hearer, and an admission of his postulates, he led him on to the conclusion almost irresistibly, and com-

monly unresisted. Believing in the absolute necessity of the influence of the Holy Spirit in conviction and conversion of sinners, he attributed a great, an almost inconceivable power to the truth when made to bear upon the mind and heart. And the weapons of truth he used relying on God's blessing for success.

He used his pen freely for the *Evangelical and Literary Magazine*. One of his series of numbers was published in book form, under the title, "The Divine Purpose," and widely circulated, passing through a number of editions. Another, on "Fashionable Amusements," enlarged, was repeatedly republished, and widely circulated. Advancing in years, he accepted the invitation to become the leading Professor in founding and building up the Theological Seminary begun at Madison, and completed at New Albany, Indiana; and, in 1831, entered on his laborious work with the spirit and activity of youth. The church has been looking to his sons for a biography of his life, and a selection from his numerous printed and unprinted writings. Whatever may be the future success of the New Albany Seminary, the memory of John Matthews should not be forgotten.

The Rev. David H. Riddle, a licentiate of Winchester Presbytery, was ordained and installed in Kent Street church, the new church in Winchester, December 4th, 1828. In the fall of 1830, the peace, which had been promoted between the two churches, was confirmed by the meeting of the Synod. An extensive revival commenced before the close of its sessions. The first decided evidences of awakening were seen in the house of Judge Henry St. George Tucker, on Sabbath morning. On Monday, the cry "What shall we do to be saved," was very general. In the progress of the awakening, both churches shared largely. By an act of Presbytery, in April, 1832, the two churches were united under Dr. Hill and Mr. Riddle, as co-pastors. This cheerful position of things was disturbed by a call to Mr. Riddle, from Pittsburg, which he accepted; the Presbytery, with great reluctance, dissolving the pastoral relation. Dr. Hill immediately asked for the dissolution of his relationship. The Presbytery held an adjourned meeting to consider the request, and refused to grant it. Want of congeniality in the session; uneasiness about a house of worship, neither of the church buildings giving satisfaction to all parties; all propositions for building a third, proving inadmissible; some of the old difficulties reviving, at least in discussion; the situation of Dr. Hill becoming exceedingly unpleasant; all these considerations induced the Presbytery, at its meeting in Washington, Rappahannock County, April, 1834, to dissolve the pastoral relation. An earnest invitation from Briery congregation being laid before the Presbytery, at his own request, Dr. Hill was regularly dismissed from Winchester Presbytery to be in connection with the Presbytery of West Hanover.

That a pastoral connexion of some thirty-four years' continuance, formed by the earnest desire of the people, continued by their decided wish, expressed in various ways, at different times, should

finally be severed, in circumstances of weight to convince both pastor and people that it ought to be severed, and yet the severance be a most lamentable fact, cannot be accounted for on any of the common principles influencing ministers and their congregations. After attributing all that can be, with propriety, to the constitutional temperament of Dr. Hill, subjecting him to the suspicion, and sometimes the charge, of determining and acting too much by the volitions of his own will, and too little in accordance to the judgment of others, and allowing for the jarring counsels and purposes likely to be found in a session composed of members widely different in disposition and habits, and views of Christian duty and godly living, taking into consideration the excitable elements that may sometimes be found in the male and female members of the church, adding to this mass of excitability and commotion, any extraneous influence of surrounding parties, that might not be desirous of the peace and harmony of a Christian congregation, still there does not appear sufficient cause for the event. Sincere propositions were made from time to time; undoubted declarations of respect were uttered by the lips, and sent forth by the pen; Presbytery repeatedly exerted itself to restore harmony, and sometimes fondly hoped it had done so; all division of sentiment in Presbytery, respecting the proper course of proceeding, being overbalanced by the desire of restoring harmony in Winchester.

Every one was amazed at the constantly repeated failures of all and every sincere effort at reconciliation. The great and overwhelming charge brought by Dr. Hill, often was, that he had reliable information, on which he based his actions; that there was in the various propositions made to his consideration, a lurking deception, a hidden intention to entrap and bewilder. On this persuasion, some of the fairest proposals were rejected; and his opponents, feeling themselves misinterpreted, were induced to charge their minister with unreasonable suspicions. At the last meeting of Presbytery, in which the Doctor held his seat, an honest effort was made in his favor; it failed; and, after its failure, his dismissal was granted unanimously. In this event, the brethren, for the first time, had a glimpse of the cause of the repeated and strange failures in previous times. But years rolled away, before the truth of the case became apparent to the minds of those most amazed at the events. A member of Presbytery had acted the part of a private informer. Silent in Presbytery, never committing himself by an opinion or speech of any kind, he heard the undisguised opinions, and expressions and plans of the persons concerned, and, unfortunately, he chose to put a construction adverse to peace upon all that was done. Professing friendship to all, and to his venerable friend, in particular, for reasons too mysterious to be yet unfolded, he chose to state to his confiding friend, upon his own knowledge and authority, that the propositions made had hidden, peculiar meanings, and implicated members of Presbytery, and the entire opposition in the congregation as being unfair in their proceedings, and uncandid in their propositions. To the

very last, he continued, with too much success, to prevent all efforts for peace, and made entirely unavoidable, the vote which rendered Dr. Hill's removal from Winchester necessary, although, from his intimacy in the family, he well knew the heart-suffering it inflicted. The total want of principle involved in this procedure, was, in the course of some years, made manifest in other matters, and the instrument of much evil became the loathing of his deceived and injured friend. The day of judgment only can reveal the sorrow of heart endured by the pastor and sessions, and members of the church in Winchester, previous to the final separation in 1884. Who made the first false step, or what that step was, cannot be known till God reveals it. The beginning of the evil was unobserved, like the hidden spring of water. After the stream had begun its course, it is not difficult to map out the augmenting currents. The whole history illustrates the fact, that a few fiery and ungoverned spirits may destroy the peace of a community, and a false messenger separateth very friends.

The exposure necessary to meet the duties of a minister of Briery, proving too severe for Dr. Hill, after a service of two years, he removed to Alexandria, and became pastor of the Second Church, between the members of which and himself there existed a warm friendship. In about two years he returned to Winchester, and, till his death, made his home with his son-in-law.

In Alexandria, he employed his leisure moments in filling up some sketches of religious matters in his early days, commenced at the request of Winchester Presbytery. Writing out these recollections employed him after his return to Winchester. The author of these sketches had free access to the Doctor's papers, and availed himself of the unrestrained permission to profit by them in his labors.

P. S.—The suggestions of Viator, in 1843, respecting a new burying-ground in Winchester, have been more than fulfilled. An enterprising committee have accomplished a work, to remain a monument of their taste, and an ornament of the borough, in cherishing the tender sympathies between the living and the dead. The first public interment in the grave-yard was of the body of Mrs. Atkinson, wife of Rev. William M. Atkinson, D. D., Pastor of the Old School Presbyterian Church in Winchester. Many of the graves in the old yard, referred to by Viator, have given up their ashes, to be transferred to the new ground, which must be the common assemblage of the inhabitants of Winchester, when they go down to the dead.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## CONRAD SPEECE, D. D. — THE CLOSE OF HIS LIFE.

DR. SPEECE never exhibited any enthusiasm in his approbation of Theological Seminaries. He approved such as the Virginia Synod had appointed at Lexington, Canonsburg, and in Kentucky, having the president of the literary institution, professor of theology, after the type of the Log College and the school at New London, and New Jersey College in its infancy. He was a calm friend of the efforts made by Hanover Presbytery for a theological school at Hampden Sidney; and approved the arrangement by which the president of that college became professor of theology. And as years increased upon Dr. Hoge, Dr. Speece was convinced of the necessity of separating the two offices of president and professor. He had doubts about the ultimate success and advantage of the movements made by the Assembly at Princeton; but thought his friend Alexander would accomplish it if it could be wrought out by discretion and talent and perseverance. The appointment of Dr. Miller to cooperate with Dr. Alexander was involved in some doubtfulness, but was a good selection if the thing sought were desirable, and if desirable, its excellence would be seen under the labors of Dr. Miller. That a school in Virginia should equal the institution at Princeton in its appointments and allurements to students, he did not think practicable, if desirable. When it was decided after the death of Dr. Hoge that Dr. Alexander could not be prevailed upon to return to Virginia, Dr. Speece, with others, did not see the way clear for successful action by the Synod of Virginia in carrying on a Theological Seminary. One difficulty they had to surmount was the selection of a professor. Baxter, Rice, Speece, Hill and Lyle looked round upon each other, not able to decide, with that determined harmony in the churches they wished, who should be professor. Dr. Speece, as chairman of the committee to consider the condition of things, reported in favor of committing the whole matter of the seminary to Hanover Presbytery, by whose efforts the most that was accomplished had been done. He admired the boldness and grandeur of Dr. Rice's plans more than their prudence or wisdom. Unwilling to oppose his friend Rice openly, he never vigorously or cordially seconded his efforts. And this coldness towards the seminary kept back the brethren from doing what otherwise they would cheerfully have done, making him a professor, because they would not act upon the supposition that the gift of an honorable post would inspire ardor in his breast.

Dr. Speece was not prepared to go to the extent of his brother Rice in efforts to bring forward young men to the ministry. He differed about the kind and measure of aid to be afforded. He thought it better for the young men desirous of the gospel ministry to enter

that office through difficulties, and after multiplied efforts of their own, than to be allured, as it were, by the enticements of an education afforded to them by the donations of the church. He remembered with deep feeling the encouragement given him by the kind words of Brown, and the opportunity afforded him twice by his friend Graham, to work his way through his classical course; and he knew how his friend Rice had got into the ministry, and Baxter to the ministry and rectorship; and he thought this kind of preparation for the ministry was not harmful, perhaps equally as beneficial in the good effects of the self-denial and perseverance in preparing useful ministers as the training at colleges and seminaries through a full course of study, with less personal effort and persevering frugality. On this principle he acted in his intercourse with the children of his friends Brown and Blain. He encouraged the mothers and the children by precept, and reference to example, to make efforts. But any pecuniary assistance was afforded too privately to become known. Youth were stimulated by what Speece had done for himself, rather than by what he was willing to do for them. Referring to the past, his example said "That is the way."

He frequently addressed his fellow-citizens on the subject of temperance. In Augusta it was a great practical question, not so much of drinking or not drinking, as of income. The region of country all around him was most productive in grain. The distance to market was great, the roads bad, and the demand for breadstuffs but limited. The farmers found it more profitable, with less labor, to have a portion of their grain distilled into whiskey, and in that form sent to market. In adopting the temperance principles the farmer would lessen his income, and must change his arrangements in managing his farm. The discussion of the principles that led to decline drinking, or making intoxicating liquors, or any way trafficking in them, involved the political and religious economy of the valley. Dr. Speece was a host. His weight of character was now used for the welfare of his fellow-citizens. His own excellent financial abilities were universally known, and gave influence to his arguments, persuading the citizens of the valley to change the manner of sending their crops to market — because "the making, vending and using of ardent spirits as a drink are morally wrong." The last sermon he delivered was on Saturday, February 17th, 1836, at a temperance society meeting at Young's Chapel, on 2 Samuel, 16:17, "Is this thy kindness to thy friend?" "The powers of his mind," says a hearer, "were probably seldom more vividly displayed in delineating the existing want of kindness which those who manufactured ardent spirits, and those who sell it for common use, knowing its destructive consequences, manifest towards their fellow-men."

On his way to the old Stone church the next morning, Sabbath, 14th, he was prostrated by a violent affection of the heart, from an attack of which he had but just recovered. Resting at the house of Mrs. Read till Monday evening, he was conveyed to the house of Dr. Allen, on his way to Major Nelson's. Between the hours of

nine and ten at night the family retired, supposing his symptoms altogether favorable. Mrs. Allen delaying a little, and going again to see her friend, gave Dr. Allen the alarm that Dr. Speece was singularly affected. The agonies of death were upon him. "We spoke to him, but he did not answer. We called to him, but he seemed insensible. With anxious looks we stood by his bed for a few minutes, and the scene was closed. He spoke not. He died without a sigh, without a struggle." On Wednesday the corpse was taken to the church, and laid before the pulpit in which he had preached for more than twenty-two years. Mr. James C. Willson gave a discourse on the fight of faith and the crown, from 2 Tim. 4: 7, 8. Messrs. Hendren and Paul, each made a short address, and the body was carried to the old grave-yard, whither on the 2d of the preceding December, he had followed his predecessor William Willson, crushed by the weight of eighty-four winters.

"When I first knew Dr. Speece," says Dr. Baxter, in a sermon prepared upon the occasion of his death, "he was just commencing the course of a liberal education. He had been incited to this by the advice of the Rev. Samuel Brown, who was perhaps the first man who discovered his merits, and made an effort to draw him from obscurity. In the beginning of his literary career, he gave evidence of his uncommon powers. Such was the clearness and comprehension of judgment, the retentiveness of his memory, and the strength of his mental faculties, that his progress was surprising in every branch of study to which he turned his attention, and all eyes were fixed upon him. In the circle where he was known, it was a common remark in conversation, that a star of the first magnitude was about to rise, and it was believed that whatever department of learning he might cultivate, or whatever profession he might pursue, he would appear as a shining light in our country. At the time of which I speak, Mr. Speece was not the subject of religion. He had, indeed, enjoyed in a high degree the benefits of a religious education through the instrumentality of a pious mother. I have often heard him express his attachment to that mother, and his gratitude to God for giving him such a parent. He sometimes said, that when he got to heaven, he believed that after viewing the glories of his Redeemer, the second object would be to search out and find that mother in her glorified state."

After giving at length the exercises of his mind on the subject of infidelity of the French school, Dr. Baxter goes on to say, "When he had rejected that system, he did not humbly submit himself at once to the teachings of divine revelation. In the native pride of the human intellect, he reasoned on the attributes and government of God. He soon came to the conclusion that God must be infinitely wise and powerful, and his decrees irreversible, that nothing can take place contrary to foreknowledge and permission. God in making the world must have had a plan, and no being could defeat the plans of infinite wisdom, backed by Almighty power. But then the world is full of sin and misery, and how can this be accounted



for under the government of infinite perfection? Why did not God exert his omnipotence to prevent the existence of sin? He was perplexed by various unjustifiable questions of this kind until his rebellion arose almost to agony. God permits sin, but does not force any creature to the perpetration of it; and the reasons of the permission are, no doubt, worthy of himself, but they lie beyond our comprehension. For some years Mr. Speece puzzled himself in these presumptuous speculations, but at last he was brought to contemplate this subject in the light of the gospel. In other words, he beheld the dispensation and character of God in the face of Jesus Christ. He saw that whatever misery and darkness might rest on the world in general, the gospel opens a new living way, by which the humble and penitent might find the favor of God; that where sin had abounded, grace had much more abounded, and that no man was excluded from mercy and happiness who did not exclude himself. The all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ, and his willingness to save, was the truth which brought peace and joy to his mind, and silenced all his complaints.

From the time when Mr. Speece found peace in believing, he determined at once to serve God in the gospel ministry. This, in his case, was a noble sacrifice. The prospects of the ministry were more discouraging in a temporal view at that time than at present. Our churches were more feeble and perhaps less liberal than they now are; and, on the other hand, the lucrative professions were not crowded; they stood open before him, holding out the almost certain prospect of immediate wealth and distinction, yet with all these allurements in view, Mr. Speece at once resolved to serve God in that course of self-denial in which his services promised to be most efficient. When he entered the ministry, our church seems to have been pervaded by a better spirit than it possesses at present. Many young men at that day made the same sacrifice which he made. They turned their backs on the allurements of worldly distinction, and devoted themselves to the self-denying work of the ministry. The world was astonished at their choice, and I have heard the reverend fathers of the church express their grateful wonder with tears, at determinations which could only proceed from the grace of God, and which seemed to promise that the grace of God would uphold the cause of religion. And on this subject I have often made another remark with pleasing wonder. Those young men, who gave themselves to the cause of the church when her prospects were confessedly lower than they have ever been either before or since, were generally led through life by a kind Providence which never forsook them; and they often enjoyed even more of temporal comfort than other young men of the same day, who forsook the church that they might pursue the world. I am convinced the hand of the Lord was in the thing. It confirms the promise, 'Trust in the Lord and do good, so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed — your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.' After witnessing these things, I have become

satisfied that in the common movements of divine Providence, sacrifices made in his cause with pious prudence, will not bring his children to want."

While "new measures," by their novelty and apparent success, were gaining attention and popularity, Dr. Speece called the attention of the Synod at Harrisonburg to the whole subject. Dr. Baxter said of them, "that without having any virtue in themselves, he thought they might be advantageous; that their efficiency depended on the manner of their use; and their final advantage depended on the prudence of those who used them; and, therefore, Synod was not called to pass any sentence upon them, particularly as ill-effects had not yet been seen in the Synod." Dr. Speece, without going into an argument, expressed an opinion decisively against them all, individually and collectively, as things uncalled for, and therefore useless, if not positively harmful. "I wish to go along with my old friends and brethren, in all things pertaining to the ministry. I want to hear the strong reasons for these measures. I wish to be convinced if possible. I dislike being left alone by my old friends." A modified use was adopted by his brethren around; and to gratify his people who wished a trial to be made, and, if possible, to agree with those who believed in their advantage, he held a protracted meeting on the improved plan. The success was apparently complete. More than one hundred were added to the church. The Doctor was silent about "new measures." After a time some ill-effects began to appear; and the Doctor returned to his original position, and found his congregation ready to stand by him. Everything objectionable in the "new measures" speedily disappeared from any part of the Valley in which they may have found a partial and temporary welcome. The thing that most deranged the gospel order of the churches, was the hasty admission of members—that is—allowing people to make profession of religion, and hold church membership on profession of religious exercises, in a short space of time—their first apparent attention to the subject—and that, too, by persons not instructed in the doctrines of the gospel. This in its consequences was found so great an evil, that all that led to it became suspicious, and was ultimately discarded. Dr. Speece reiterated his opinion, "that the ordinary means of grace in the church were, with God's blessing, sufficient for the conversion of sinners; and that in extraordinary cases, extraordinary means should be used with exemplary prudence; and that the greater the excitement on religious things, the greater the plainness and precision with which the doctrines of grace should be preached; and that time should be given for due reflection before a profession of faith involving church membership should be encouraged."

Rev. John Hendren, D. D., long a near neighbor and intimate friend of Dr. Speece, says of him—"The mind of Dr. Speece was one of the first order. He excelled in soundness of judgment, and had a most ready discernment of right and wrong in human actions. His intellectual faculties were highly cultivated. Few had read

more or digested it better than he. His taste for literary pursuits did not diminish with the increase of his years. Only a few years before his death he purchased Malte Brun's Geography, and was highly entertained with it, and remarked that his taste for such reading was unabated, and he seemed to regard it as a fact affording some surprise to himself. Of systematic writers on theology, I think he gave the preference decidedly to Turretine. He also esteemed Dwight's Theology. Knapp's Lectures on Christian Theology, translated by Leonard Woods, Jr., he did not value highly. He was an admirer of most of Sir Walter Scott's works, when they first appeared, and I know not that his relish for such reading had at all declined. He valued Henry as a commentator; yet I believe he preferred Scott, and regarded him as a commentator of a very sound judgment, and as a safe guide to the student of the Scriptures. Writers of genius, such as Robert Hall and Foster, who deal but little in common-place remarks, had his decided approbation." Somehow the idea got abroad that Dr. Speece had made a will, and that his valuable library was a bequest to the Union Theological Seminary, in Prince Edward. After his death no evidence of a will appeared, and his large collection of books was disposed of at auction. Being such as became a minister's study, particularly the more valuable, the volumes found their way, for a moderate price, into the libraries of his brethren in the ministry, and are doing their work, perhaps, more effectually than in the alcoves of any literary or theological institution.

Dr. Speece was never married. Ever an admirer of the female sex, and once on the brink of matrimony, he passed his years locking up in his breast the reason of his celibacy, and of his estrangement from the joys and perplexities of housekeeping, "the sunny and the shady side" of a pastor's life. In Powhatan he was an inmate of the family of Mr. Josiah Smith, and in Augusta he made his home with Major Nelson. The kindness and comfort of these families made him insensible of the natural loneliness of his single state. His sudden death, while as yet his congregations were unconscious of any waning of his powers, relieved him from that step he contemplated with pain, and believed was inevitably near, the asking to be dismissed from his charge on account of bodily infirmity. It also rendered unnecessary the careful preparation he had made by his economy and frugality for the wants of age. He died a beloved minister, to whom every act of kindness flowed spontaneously from his extensive charge, and was spared the decrepitude of increasing years.

"The last time I saw him," says Dr. Hendren, "was at a called meeting of Presbytery (Staunton, Jan. 22d, 1836). He looked very pale. I heard him pray, and though I had often heard him pray before, there was something, both in the prayer and in his manner, which struck me very much, especially the great humility, the simplicity, and the tender devotional feelings which he manifested. I have often thought of that prayer since. It reminds me of what the

biographer of Robert Hall says of his prayers. No person who heard him could fail of being persuaded that he was really engaged in prayer, was holding communion with his God and father in Christ Jesus. He seemed to throw himself at the feet of the great Eternal, conscious that he could present no claim for a single blessing but the blood of atonement, yet animated with the cheering hope that that blood would prevail."

The latest of his poetic pieces bears date July 31st, 1835, about six months before his death :

#### FRIENDSHIPS OF ANCIENT DATE.

I love to reflect on my earlier time,  
When social affections all bloomed in their prime,  
When no cold suspicion had place in my breast,  
And heaven gave friendships, the dearest and best.

I love to remember old friends far away,  
With whom I would gladly converse every day ;  
Their features and smiles, which no longer I see,  
Yet pictured by fancy, are precious to me.

I love to sit down with a friend of my youth,  
Long tried and found steadfast in kindness and truth ;  
To talk while we heed not the march of the sun,  
Of what we have seen, and have felt and have done.

I love more than all to look up to the sky,  
And think of the friendships that never shall die ;  
Which here give us pleasure still mingled with pain,  
But there in perfection for ever shall reign.

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## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### GOING INTO CONVENTION.

FROM the time of the Inauguration of Dr. Baxter the attention of the Virginia Synod, and the Synods further south, was turned with increasing earnestness, and deepening interest, to the questions that were agitating the more northern portions of the church. It became from time to time manifest that the tendencies exhibited by the two speakers at the Inauguration were becoming currents, whose direction and power might not be easily defined. Delegates from the Presbyteries to the Assembly were compelled by virtue of their office to hear the overtures, and complaints, and appeals laid before the highest court in the Presbyterian Church, and pass sentence as responsible officers of the Church of Christ. And, in some of the ways recognized in the form of government, all these subjects in dispute were laid before the assembled delegates.

## 1st. THE EXAMINATION OF MINISTERS.

In the General Assembly of 1832, the month succeeding Dr. Baxter's inauguration, a reference from the Synod of Philadelphia, in relation to the right of Presbyteries to require every minister or licentiate, coming to them by certificate from another Presbytery, or other ecclesiastical body, to submit to an examination before he could be received, was presented and read, and after considerable discussion was committed to Dr. Hill, Dr. Spring, Mr. Baird, Dr. M'Pheeters, and Mr. Wisner. Drs. Green and Beman, were afterwards added. This committee reported and re-reported, and after much discussion the matter was indefinitely postponed. On the one side it was claimed that such examination was the inalienable right of Presbytery in order to know the doctrinal opinions of those offering to become members; and that its exercise was peculiarly necessary at a time abounding in innovations in the doctrines, and forms, and practices of the church. On the other side it was replied, that a certificate of membership and good standing had hitherto been a passport from one Presbytery to another, and a change now would be an assumption of authority, and an expression of suspicion not called for by any of the circumstances of the church. In 1834, this matter was brought again to the notice of the Assembly, by a memorial sent up by sundry Presbyteries and Sessions, and signed also by about 18 ministers, and 100 elders in their individual capacity. The report of the committee, of which the Rev. James H. C. Leach was chairman, was adopted, declaring — "that a due regard to the order of the church and the bonds of brotherhood, require that ministers dismissed in good standing by sister Presbyteries, should be received by the Presbyteries they are dismissed to join, upon credit of their testimonials, unless they shall have forfeited their good standing subsequently to their dismissal." In the succeeding year, 1835, the same subject was brought before the Assembly by memorial and petition, and the report of the committee of which Dr. Miller of Princeton, was chairman, was adopted, by yeas 130, nays 78, affirming "the right of every Presbytery to be entirely satisfied of the soundness in the faith, and the good character in every respect, of those ministers who apply to be admitted into the Presbytery, as members, and who bring testimonials of good standing from sister Presbyteries, or from foreign bodies with whom the Presbyterian Church is in correspondence. And if there be any reasonable doubt respecting the proper qualifications of such candidates, notwithstanding their testimonials, it is the right, and may be the duty of such a Presbytery to examine them, or to take such other methods of being satisfied in regard to their suitable character, as may be judged proper; and if such satisfaction be not obtained, to decline receiving them." This discussion renewed from time to time had the form of an abstraction, but the effect was practically evincing the existence of different views of theological subjects in the Presbyterian Church, and a growing conviction of the necessity of drawing the line of distinction.

## 2nd. THE CHURCHES FORMED ON THE PLAN OF UNION.

The plan of union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements adopted in 1801, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the General Association of Connecticut, for the convenience of the new settlements, in forming churches and obtaining pastors, after having been in operation about thirty years, became the subject of enquiry and discussion in connection with the disputed matters already agitating the Church. In 1831, the committee on commissions reported, "a commission from Grand River for a member of a standing committee instead of a Ruling Elder." After considerable discussion the person named in the commission was enrolled among the list of members. Mr. Robert J. Breckenridge, a Ruling Elder from West Lexington Presbytery, on the ninth day of the session, entered a protest against the decision of the Assembly, by which the standing committee-man was admitted as a regular member of the Assembly, and also against the right of said committee-man to sit in that body.

THIS PLAN OF UNION was contained in four articles prepared for the convenience of new settlements on the frontiers, now the heart of the State of New York; and as the frontiers moved westwardly, by tacit consent the plan of union, having been expressed in general terms, was applied to the congregations gathered among emigrants, from different sections of country, settling in the same or convenient neighborhoods.

*Article 1st.* It is strictly enjoined on all their missionaries to the new settlements, to endeavor, by all proper means, to promote mutual forbearance and accommodation, between those inhabitants of the new settlements who hold the Presbyterian and those who hold the Congregational form of Church Government.

*Article 2nd.* If in the new settlements, any Church of the Congregational order shall settle a minister of the Presbyterian order, that Church may, if they choose, still conduct their discipline according to Congregational principles, settling their difficulties among themselves, or by a council mutually agreed upon for that purpose; But if any difficulty shall exist between the minister and the Church or any member of it, it shall be referred to the Presbytery to which the minister shall belong, provided both parties agree, to it; if not, to a council consisting of an equal number of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, agreed upon by both parties.

*Article 3d.* If a Presbyterian Church shall settle a minister of Congregational principles, that Church may still conduct their discipline according to Presbyterian principles; excepting that if a difficulty arise between him and his Church, or any member of it, the cause shall be tried by the Association, to which the said minister shall belong, provided both parties agree to it; otherwise by a council, one half Congregationalists and the other half Presbyterians, mutually agreed on by the parties.

*Article 4th.* If any congregation consist partly of those who hold

the Congregational form of discipline, and partly of those who hold the Presbyterian form, we recommend to both parties, that this be no obstruction to their uniting in one Church and settling a minister; and that in this case the Church choose a standing committee from the communicants of said Church, whose business it shall be, to call to account every member of the Church, who shall conduct himself inconsistently with the laws of Christianity, and to give judgment on such conduct; and if the person condemned by their judgment be a Presbyterian, he shall have liberty to appeal to the Presbytery; if a Congregationalist, he shall have liberty to appeal to the body of the male communicants of the Church; in the former case the determination of the Presbytery shall be final, unless the Church consent to a further appeal to the Synod, or to the General Assembly; and in the latter case, if the party condemned shall wish for a trial, by a mutual council. And provided the said standing committee of any Church, shall depute one of themselves to attend the Presbytery, he may have the same right to sit and act in the Presbytery, as a Ruling Elder of the Presbyterian Church.

The protest of Mr. Breckenridge affirmed that the articles of agreement on which this committee-man claimed a seat, stipulated for a seat for such a person only in the Session and Presbytery; and as these persons were not Elders or Bishops, they could have no constitutional right to a seat in any judicatory, nor any conventional right farther than the strict import of the terms of the agreement. Without discussing the constitutionality of the articles as interpreted — the protest declared — “if, however, they are so construed as to place members here, who are by our constitution forbidden to be here, or as in any degree to affect the principles of the organization of this house as clearly defined in our books, then it is manifest that the articles must be considered utterly null and void.” Sixty-six members of Assembly united with Mr. Breckenridge in this protest. Two days after, the assembly resolved, “That in the opinion of the General Assembly, the appointment by some Presbyteries, as has occurred in a few cases, of members of standing committees to be members of the General Assembly, is inexpedient, and of questionable constitutionality, and therefore in future ought not to be made.”

A fruitful subject of discussion was now opened, involving deep feeling, and important consequences to the Presbyterian Church. In 1832, a motion was made to cite the Western Reserve Synod, to appear before the next Assembly to answer to the charge of neglecting the Confession of Faith; that persons were licensed to preach, and were ordained as pastors and evangelists without being required to receive the Confession of Faith; — and for suffering the office of Ruling Elder to go into disuse to a great extent throughout the bounds of that Synod. “The Assembly directed that Synod to review and examine the state of the Presbyteries and churches under its care, and make a report to the next General Assembly, with a special reference to these points.” The Synod reported next year

that there was no ground of complaint. In 1884, the Report of a committee, on a memorial declaring, "that it is deemed inexpedient and undesirable to abrogate or interfere with the plan of union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements entered into in 1801," was adopted. And with regard to the habit of sending out young men to the west and other places, to labor in the bounds of existing presbyteries, with ordination *sine titulo*, the Assembly recommended earnestly to the presbyteries to refrain from such procedure; and the ecclesiastical bodies in connexion with the Assembly were respectfully invited to concur.

In 1835, the committee on a memorial, Dr. Miller, of Princeton, chairman, proposed, that—"This Assembly deem it no longer desirable that Churches be formed in our Presbyterian connexion, agreeably to the plan of union of 1801.—Wherefore *Resolved*, That our brethren of the General Association of Connecticut be, and they hereby are, respectfully requested to consent that said plan be, from and after the next meeting of that Association, declared to be annulled. And *Resolved*, That the annulling of said plan shall not in any wise interfere with the existence and lawful operation of Churches which have been already formed on this plan."

### 3d. THE CASE OF REV. ALBERT BARNES.

In the spring of the year 1830, the Rev. Albert Barnes, pastor of the Church in Morristown, New Jersey, was elected pastor of the 1st Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, to succeed Dr. J. P. Wilson, resigned. The commissioner of the Congregation appeared before the Presbytery of Philadelphia, on the 30th of April, and asked leave to prosecute the call, in the usual way. Dr. Ashbel Green declared that before he could give consent, he must have some satisfactory explanation. He had read a sermon recently published by Mr. Barnes, entitled "*The Way of Salvation*," and to the views of the doctrines of Original Sin, and of Atonement, he objected; and also to the want of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, in a sermon which professed to show the whole scheme of Salvation. The discussions that followed were, in various forms, protracted through four days. Leave to prosecute the call was finally granted, by a vote of 21 to 12. On the 18th of June, Mr. Barnes was present at an intermediate meeting of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and presented his certificate of good standing, and dismission, and recommendation, from the Presbytery of Elizabethtown. A protracted discussion on his reception, embracing various points of order and opinions, as to the proper method of procedure in the present case, was decided by yeas 30, nays 16; the charges presented against the soundness of faith of the applicant, intended to arrest his entering on the proposed pastoral office, being pronounced out of order, at a meeting of Presbytery called for a special purpose; and a time was appointed, and preparations made for Mr. Barnes' installation. At the appointed time he was inducted to the pastoral office.

The minority complained to the Synod of Philadelphia, of the



proceedings of the Presbytery, particularly in refusing to hear the charges against Mr. Barnes. The Synod directed the Presbytery to hear and decide upon the objections which the minority had to the orthodoxy of a sermon of Mr. Barnes. In obedience to the order of Synod, the Presbytery met on Tuesday, the 30th of November, 1830. After much discussion, a minute condemnatory of the sentiments of the sermon was passed by a small majority; and a committee appointed to converse with Mr. Barnes on the subject matter of the sermon. The whole case was carried up to the General Assembly of 1831, by appeal, by reference, and by complaint. On Thursday, the 26th of May, Mr. Barnes' case came before the Assembly, on the 27th—"the whole proceedings of the Presbytery, in the case complained of, and the printed sermon of Mr. Barnes, entitled 'The Way of Salvation,' which led to these proceedings, were read. In the P. M.—the considerations of the complaint of the minority of the Presbytery of Philadelphia was resumed; and their complaint was read. The parties then agreed to submit the case to the Assembly without argument, when it was *Resolved*, to refer the whole case to a select committee." Dr. Miller, of Princeton, was chairman; and on Monday, 30th, in the afternoon, the committee made report—"that after bestowing upon the case the most deliberate and serious consideration—they would recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:"—In the first the committee say—"While it judges that the sermon by Mr. Barnes, entitled 'The Way of Salvation,' contains a number of unguarded and objectionable passages; yet is of the opinion, that, especially after the explanations which were given by him of those passages, the Presbytery ought to have suffered the whole to pass without further notice." The second suspends further action in the case—and the third recommends a division of the Presbytery. These resolutions adopted by the Assembly, appeared satisfactory to both parties generally:—on the one side, it was thought the rebuke of the erroneous passages in the sermon was sufficient; and on the other that the main bearing of the sermon was sustained, and the reproof fell on unguarded expressions. And such was the harmony, that the minutes say—"The Assembly having finished the business in relation to Mr. Barnes, united in special prayer, returning thanks to God for the harmonious result to which they have come; and imploring the blessing of God on their decision." The division of Presbytery which followed, gave rise to the vexed question of "Elective Affinity," which in succeeding years found its way to the Assembly in various forms.

Mr. Barnes, in the course of his pastoral labors, prepared and published, for the use of Bible Classes and Sunday-schools, a short Commentary on the Gospels in succession, and on the Acts of the Apostles. These were popular, and widely circulated. No particular objection was made to the doctrine of his commentaries, until the volume on the Epistle to the Romans appeared. Great dissatisfaction was speedily expressed from various quarters, and the proposition was earnestly discussed in every direction, whether a book

containing objectionable doctrine should be condemned as unsound, before the author was arraigned for unsoundness; or whether, on the other hand, the author should be judged by the sentiments of his book, and should alone be condemned or acquitted. After much had been said and written on the subject of the sentiments contained in the Commentary on the Romans, Rev. George Junkin, President of the College in Easton, Pennsylvania, under date of March 18th, 1835, sent to the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia a letter, stating his feelings and views generally, on the subject of difference between the opinions of Mr. Barnes, and what he understood as the orthodox meaning of the standards of the Presbyterian Church, and with it a series of charges against Mr. Barnes, as teaching false doctrine; having previously invited him to a friendly discussion on the subject, and adjudication by Presbytery, which invitation had been respectfully declined. The charges were ten: First. What he teaches wrong. "Rev. Albert Barnes is hereby charged with maintaining the following doctrines, contrary to the standards of the Presbyterian Church. That all sin consists in voluntary action; that Adam, before and after his fall, was ignorant of his moral relations to such a degree, that he did not know the consequences of his sin would or should reach any further than to natural death; that unregenerate men are able to keep the commandments, and convert themselves to God; that faith is an act of the mind, and not a principle, and is itself imputed for righteousness. Second. The doctrines he denies, which are taught in the standards of the Church: he denies that God entered into covenant with Adam, constituting him a federal or covenant head, and representative of natural descendants; that the first sin of Adam is imputed to his posterity; that mankind are guilty, *i. e.* liable to punishment, on account of the sin of Adam; that Christ suffered the proper penalty of the law, as the vicarious substitute of his people, and thus took away legally their sins, and purchased pardon; that the righteousness, *i. e.* the active obedience of Christ to the law, is imputed to his people for their justification, so that they are righteous in the eyes of the law, and therefore justified; and Mr. Barnes also teaches, in opposition to the standards, that justification is simple pardon." Mr. Junkin gave specifications from the work on the Romans, and added that Mr. Barnes taught the first, second, third, fourth and tenth, contrary to the Scriptures, and denied the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth, contrary to the word of God.

The Presbytery declined acting on this letter and the charges, in the absence of Mr. Junkin; and an adjourned meeting was commenced, June 30th, for the purpose of disposing of the business. After many preliminary discussions, the case was argued in full, by Mr. Junkin and Mr. Barnes; Mr. Junkin arguing that Mr. Barnes was culpable, for publishing in his book errors on those ten particulars; and Mr. Barnes explaining some things as having a very legitimate meaning, in consonance with the standards; defending

others, as having no departure from sound words; and on the subject of imputation, explaining and showing that he had made some alterations in his book, which removed all mistake or misapprehension. The decision of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia was in favor of Mr. Barnes, eighteen voting him not guilty on any of the charges, and three voting him guilty on part, or all. "The Presbytery therefore judge, that the charges have not been maintained; and they moreover judge that the Christian spirit manifested by the prosecutor, during the progress of the trial, renders it inexpedient that the Presbytery should inflict any censure on him."

From this decision, Mr. Junkin appealed to Synod. In October of the same year, the case came up regularly, and, after much preliminary discussion, the whole subject of error and defence was gone over before Synod. The decision of Synod was against Mr. Barnes; and consequently he was suspended from the office of the ministry.

The case came before the General Assembly in May, 1836, at Pittsburg, by appeal and complaint of Mr. Barnes, and also by appeal and complaint of some others; all of which were taken up together, as requiring but one discussion. The trial was protracted through a large portion of the session, being discussed, more or less, eleven days. The appeal was sustained by 134 to 96; and the decision of the Synod of Philadelphia, suspending him from the office of the gospel ministry, was reversed—145 to 78. The Rev. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, proposed a resolution, the purport of which was, that Mr. Barnes' Notes on the Romans were at variance with the Confession of Faith, on the subjects of original sin, the relation of man to Adam, justification by faith, and the atoning sacrifice and righteousness of the Redeemer; that he had controverted the language of our standards in a reprehensible manner; that, although he had removed from his book, or modified many reprehensible passages, Mr. Barnes be admonished to review the book, to modify still further the statements which have grieved his brethren, and be more careful, in time to come, to study the purity and peace of the church. This resolution was rejected by 122 to 109: three declined voting.

During the progress of Mr. Barnes' case before the different tribunals, the trial of Dr. Beecher before the Presbytery of Cincinnati, on the charges brought by Dr. J. L. Wilson, of Cincinnati, for heresy, slander, and hypocrisy, took place, and the same general ground of doctrine was gone over there in an extended discussion. Reports of these trials were widely circulated and carefully read, and the community was deeply agitated, if not fully informed on the doctrines involved. In the course of these trials all the questions of order, or discipline, or doctrine, that agitated the church, were involved, either as circumstantials or essentials. The spirit of discussion and division, of excitement and jealousy, spread over the whole church with more or less bitterness, and were found in the prayer-meeting, the lecture-room, the pulpit, and the revival. It

begin to be apparent to all that there must be a cessation of hostilities by compromise and concession, or by triumph in debate, or by division. Of the first there was little prospect; of the other two, the latter was more probable, though difficult. Compromise, with thanksgiving to God, in the Assembly, had been tried in vain; decision, after debate, in Synod, had been followed by a counter decision in Assembly, and in that highest judicatory the decision of one year, by the delegates of the church, was followed by a counter decision, by other delegates, in a succeeding Assembly. The discussions seemed to be ended, or continued only in vain repetitions, and peace was looked for in vain except in the submission of one party, or by elective affinity divisions.

#### 4th. THE CAUSE OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

From an early period of her existence the Presbyterian Church was engaged in preaching the gospel to the heathen tribes in America. At times she had cause to rejoice greatly over the measure of success granted to her efforts, which were never equal to the importance of the cause or her own dignity. The Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assembly, particularly the Synod of Virginia, had taken order on the subject, and pious individuals had come cheerfully to the work. There are many names on the list of Indian missionaries that ought not to pass from the memory of the church. Private associations had been formed, embracing churches, and members of churches, of the Presbyterian denomination, in some of its numerous divisions, whose efforts to evangelize the Indian tribes were energetic, but not under the supervision of any judicatory of the Presbyterian Church. The formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by the Congregationalists of New England, was an epoch in the history of the Church of Christ. It was the first organized effort of the American churches to send the gospel to the heathen of the eastern continent. It met with great favor. Some felt their obligations to preach the gospel to every creature, and made donations to the Board that was sending messengers to the land of darkness; others sympathized with what seemed a heroic effort of benevolence for the civilization of the race, and gave money. The operations of the Board were enlarged, and the feelings of the church were more deeply enlisted. The united efforts of Christian people were called for, and given cheerfully, to carry on the annually enlarging labors of that active and prudent Board. Wisdom in council, and energy in action, and success in effort, marked the progress of the foreign missionary enterprise, and won the confidence of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. In a series of years, there was so much to admire, and so little to blame, in the management of the Board, that all contributions from the Presbyterians, or nearly so, made for the spread of the gospel in heathen nations and tribes, were sent to the American Board. The children of the Presbyterian Church that desired the life of a missionary, were sent forth under her direction. The different for-

eign missionary associations were either dissolved or had become its auxiliaries, and the missions among the aborigines generally committed to its supervision.

The spirit of nationality pervaded the Presbyterian Church in all its benevolent efforts. She united heartily in the Bible Society, and hailed every association formed for its aid, and shared with entire confidence the management of its concerns with all denominations that desired to be engaged. She took a leading part in the Colonization Society, and united on the broadest principles with all associations for its support. She did the same with the Tract Society, and the Sunday School. For some years this union of effort added strength to the cause, and was a blessedness to all engaged. The question was proposed, Could there not be a union, at least with the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, in the cause of education for the ministry, and in domestic missions? There were many advocates. There were many objectors. The Assembly never relinquished the oversight of those Christian labors, though she pursued them languidly for some years. The American Education Society, under its admirable secretary, Cornelius, had many warm supporters in the Presbyterian Church; and the Home Missionary Society, under the skilful management of an able Board in New York, aspired to be the channel of domestic missions, as the American Board was of foreign missions. After full discussion, the General Assembly resolved to pursue the education cause and the domestic missionary effort with renewed zeal, and took the proper steps to ensure success. In both these causes her progress has been in some measure becoming the magnitude of the interests involved, and other names besides the departed Breckenridge and M'Dowell are embalmed in the heart of the church for everlasting remembrance.

In the progress of events the enquiry arose, Ought not the Presbyterian Church, with her extensive borders, her strength of numbers, and her abundant resources, to engage in the work of preaching the gospel to every creature, in a manner more fitting her accountability? and the universal answer from every quarter, within and without the church, reproved her sluggishness. The next enquiry was, Could she ever accomplish as much through the American Board, with all its acknowledged excellences, as by an independent organization? This question was debated, with intense earnestness, by the best, the wisest, and the weakest in the church. It became intermingled with the excitements about doctrines, and practice, and revivals, which were agitating the Christian community everywhere. And the discussion about foreign missions was carried on with a temper and spirit sufficiently energetic, but not always becoming the gospel of love.

The Rev. John H. Rice, Professor in Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, a man by the habits of his mind, and his opportunities of observation while agent for the seminary, the best qualified to understand the geographical and doctrinal divisions prevailing, or commencing in the church, felt it necessary to do something for the

peace and unity of the professing family of Christ. Writing to Dr. Wisner, of Boston, under date of November 22d, 1830, he says — “ But the most fearful sign of the present times is the rising of the spirit of controversy and disputation, much like that which broke out in the time of the Reformation. In all the strong parts of both the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches we see the existence of the evil. My last journey made me sick at heart. Both in New York and Philadelphia I was in continual pain and mortification. I regard the human race as at this moment standing on the covered crater of a volcano, in which elemental fires are raging with the intensity of the Tophet ordained of old. What shall we do? Nothing but one strong feeling can put down another. The church is not purified by controversy, but by love. By knowing Christ crucified we know enough to kindle up holy love. I have therefore brought my mind to the conclusion that the thing most needed at this present time is a revival of religion among churches, and especially a larger increase of holiness among ministers.” He thus expresses his desire of accomplishing something at the next Assembly, May, 1831, and desires his friends from Boston to be there not to argue, but to strive to kindle a flame of love. He proposed that something should be done in the cause of missions to get the whole Presbyterian Church engaged. He passed through a suffering winter, and as the time of the Assembly drew near he felt himself approaching the grave. Turning all the energies of his mind, in his position of solemnity and interest, to devise something for the peace and welfare of the Presbyterian Church, as preparatory to preaching the gospel to every creature; and believing that hearty engagedness in that blessed work would do wonders in promoting the peace and extending the borders of the church, he dictated his memorial to the General Assembly on the subject of foreign missions; a paper becoming the closing pages of the history of his life — his last effort of thought and affection for the church he loved, and worthy of a place in any history of the Presbyterian Church. The fate of this memorial was unknown to its author: he had passed to a better world. He knew that it was read before the Assembly, and sent forward for consideration to the American Board; but hovering on the confines of two worlds filled with immortals that he loved, he could not ask its fate.

On the third day of the session, May 21st, 1831, the memorial, having received the approbation of the brethren in Princeton, was read and committed to Rev. Messrs. Armstrong, of North River, Calvert, of West Tennessee, Goodrich, of Orange, J. M'Dowell, of Elizabethtown, and Dr. Agnew, Elder, from Carlisle. On Tuesday, the 31st, a committee was appointed “ to attend the next annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, and confer with that body in respect to measures to be adopted for enlisting the energies of the Presbyterian Church more extensively in the cause of missions to the heathen; and that said committee report the results of this conference, and their views on the

whole subject to the next Assembly." The gentlemen chosen by ballot on nomination were — Rev. Messrs. John M'Dowell, of Elizabethtown, Thomas M'Auley, of Philadelphia, and James Richards, Newark, the principals; and Rev. Messrs. A. Alexander, John Breckenridge and Elisha Swift alternates. When Dr. Rice heard the names of the committee read to him on his sick bed, he said smilingly, that some of the alternates he thought understood his views better than some of the principals.

This memorial, from its source, its author and its weighty thoughts, made an impression upon the Assembly. The person, manner, voice and spirit of its author were wanting to give it the thrilling influence. One expression in the memorial — "*the Presbyterian Church a Missionary Society*," fixed upon in the study of Mr. Nevins, in Baltimore, the last visit made there by Dr. Rice, has, from that Assembly, been the rallying call to the church. The active young brethren of Baltimore Presbytery had resolved their Presbytery into a foreign missionary society. And about the time the memorial was sent to Princeton for consideration, a circular from the Presbytery of Baltimore called the attention of the Presbytery of Lexington to the same subject. The records of the meeting at Fincastle, April 29th, 1831, say — "whereas this Presbytery has received a communication from the Presbytery of Baltimore informing us of their purpose to engage more efficiently in the promotion of foreign missions; and likewise urge a number of weighty considerations to show that the Presbyterian Church generally, and Presbyterians individually, should unite with them in this good work, in which this Presbytery fully concur, *Therefore, Resolved*, That this Presbytery highly approve of the resolutions adopted by the Presbytery of Baltimore. 2d. *Resolved*, That as soon as practicable this Presbytery will engage in foreign missions."

The memorial of Dr. Rice was laid before the Board of Commissioners, that held its annual meeting, in October of that year, in New Haven, Connecticut, by Messrs. M'Dowell, M'Auley and Richards. A committee of conference was appointed by the Board consisting of Rev. Messrs. Jeremiah Day, Lyman Beecher and B. B. Wisner. Their joint report was adopted and sent to the Assembly of 1832. The final action of the Board, as expressed in Dr. Miller's notice, was not known at the South, or generally any where till some years after.

In November of the same year, the ministers of the Synod of Pittsburg organized the *Western Foreign Missionary Society*. The movement seemed to many East of the mountains as hasty and uncalled for. To others it appeared a work of Christian prudence and decision. Leading men in the Church East and West of the mountains favored the formation of the Western Society, and gave liberally to its funds; among the contributors were the Professors of the Theological Seminary at Princeton. The reasons given by the Western brethren for their speedy action were, that they received the great truth, "*The*

*Presbyterian Church a Missionary Society,*" and that the General Assembly had not entered upon the work; that the American Board discouraged, both in principle and in action, a separate organization for the Presbyterian Church; and besides, that Board would not promise "to regard with fraternal feelings," any association formed by the Assembly or any inferior judicatory to carry on the work of Foreign Missions; and the churches of that Synod, and many other churches would not any longer act cheerfully, if at all, through the American Board. The Rev. E. P. Swift entered with great activity upon the duties of Secretary of the new Society; and the churches West of the Alleghany commenced making collections and donations more liberal than those made in the early days of the American Board.

In May 1832, the joint report adopted by the American Board was laid before the Assembly; and after discussion, resolved, "That while the Assembly would express no opinion in relation to the principles contained in the report, they cordially recommend the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the affection and patronage of the churches." This report was widely circulated both in the annual report of the Board, and in other ways; and was generally read. An able document, it presented in clear, strong language the principles of the American Board, and the reasons why they discouraged a separate organization by any ecclesiastical judicatory. The main points of the report were, 1st. That the American Board is, in the opinion of the committee, properly a national institution; 2nd. The board sustains the same relation to the Congregational, Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch Churches; and fairly represents each of these religious denominations; 3d. The proceedings of the board and of the prudential committee have uniformly been in strict accordance with that relation; 4th. There are very high responsibilities, securing the purity and efficiency of the board and its missions. These responsibilities are 1st. The prudential committee is responsible to the board; 2nd. It is also responsible to the public; 3d. The board is under obligation to supply the highest ecclesiastical bodies of the three denominations with copies of its annual report; 4th. Missionaries in connection with presbytery, classis, or association, are not affected in their ecclesiastical relations by coming into connection with this Board; 5th. In raising funds, regard is had to the ecclesiastical habits of the people. Also previous to the union of the United Foreign Missionary Society with the American Board in 1826, an address was sent forth giving reasons why there should be but one institution for foreign missions for the three denominations, Presbyterian, Reformed Dutch and Congregational. They were, 1st. It will save time and labor; 2nd. It will save expense; 3d. There is no necessity for more than one institution; 4th. It will remove the danger of collision; 5th. A single institution will greatly promote Christian affection; 6th. A great saving of toil, expense and life, in the research and explo-



rations indispensable to a successful prosecution of the work ; 7th. In missions as in every important concern, experience is the safest guide, often leading to modifications in methods of procedure, and greatly augmenting the efficiency and success of the enterprise ; 8th. To which may be added that constitution of human nature by which interest and motives and effort and reward correspond with the magnitude and sublimity of the object presented.

In view of these facts the committee of conference, "are fully satisfied that it is wholly inexpedient to attempt the formation of any distinct organization within the three denominations, for conducting foreign missions ; and that it is of the highest importance to their own spiritual prosperity, and to the existence of the Redeemer's kingdom on the earth, that the ecclesiastical bodies and the individual churches in these connections should give to the American Board their cordial, united and vigorous support." And in regard to "measures to be adopted for enlisting the energies of the Presbyterian Church, but two things are wanting to secure the desired results—1st. That the prudential committee of the American Board should take prompt and effectual measures by agencies and in other ways to bring the subject of foreign missions, in its various relations, before the individual congregations and members of the Presbyterian body ; and 2nd, that the General Assembly and subordinate judicatories of the Church, give their distinct and efficient sanction and aid to the measures that shall be adopted for that purpose." In consequence of this report and the recommendation of the Assembly, Rev. B. B. Wisner, Secretary of the Board, in the fall of 1832, visited the Synods of Virginia and North Carolina, and was instrumental in forming the Central Board of Foreign Missions, embracing the two Synods. Rev. Wm. J. Armstrong, successor of Dr. Rice as pastor of the Church in Richmond, was made the corresponding secretary and general agent. By his zealous labors the churches were awaked to their duty with the happiest results. Mr. Armstrong became a secretary of the American Board, and was succeeded by Rev. J. D. Mitchell ; he, retiring to a pastoral charge in a few years, was succeeded by Rev. Wm. Henry Foote, on whose resignation, after seven years' service, the Central Board was dissolved and the churches commenced acting directly through the Assembly's Board.

The Western Board of Foreign Missions pressed on with vigor. An African mission was speedily organized with two missionaries, Messrs. Barr and Pinney. Mr. Barr, while making the necessary preparations for departure, suddenly died in Richmond, Virginia. Mr. Pinney proceeded on the mission, and still lives, having done good service for the Board, and conferred immeasurable benefits on Africa. In 1833, the Lodianna mission embarked. One of the members of that mission, Dr. John C. Lowrie, is now a secretary of the Assembly's Board, having returned from India on account of ill-health, after some years of service in heathen lands. The sympathies of the public were enlisted, and Presbytery after Presbytery

sought connection with the Western Board; and the Synod of Philadelphia united with the Synod of Pittsburg in its management. Its prosperity in collections, and usefulness in labor went on hand in hand, and every annual report gave richer and richer evidences of divine favor, and the necessity of the institution became as apparent as its success. In 1834, the advantage of having the seat of its operations on the seaboard became apparent. And in May, 1835, the General Assembly appointed a Committee to negotiate a transfer of the Western Board to the Assembly. Before the close of the session, the Assembly empowered the Committee to conclude the transfer should the way be clear, and the terms satisfactory; and make report. At the meeting of the Synod of Pittsburg in the fall, the terms were negotiated, and the transfer completed according to act of Assembly. The missionaries were informed of the transfer, and directed to expect their supplies from the Assembly's Board after May, 1836. All necessary preparations were made for removing the seat of the Board; and Mr. Swift resigned his office as secretary, choosing to remain with his congregation. At this time there were about twenty missionaries connected with the Board; and the treasury was entirely unembarrassed.

The anticipations of the friends of the new Board were overthrown at the meeting of the Assembly, in 1836. When the transfer was reported, it was committed to Rev. Messrs. Phillips, Scovil, Skinner, Dunlap, and Mr. Ewing, "who were authorized to review the whole case, and present it to the consideration of the Assembly." The majority reported in favor of accepting the transfer, appointing a Missionary Board, and making New York the centre of operations. The minority reported, that in consideration of the intimate union existing between the American Board and the Presbyterian Church, and to avoid collision — "it is inexpedient that the Assembly should organize a separate Foreign Missionary Association." The yeas and nays were, for majority report, 106; for minority report, 110. This result, connected with the agitations and discussions then afflicting the church, was less surprising than arousing. The Western Board was immediately reorganized; and preparations were made to carry on the work of missions with increased vigor. Walter Lowrie, Esq., Secretary of the United States Senate, the father of one of the missionaries to Louisiana, was elected Secretary of the Board, and on becoming free from the obligations of his office in Washington, entered on his duties in Pittsburg.

Some extracts from a letter from Dr. Miller, of Princeton, are pertinent in this case. The letter is dated, April 15th, 1837, and appeared in the Presbyterian of the 22d of that month, and is in reply to a communication from Rev. John M'Ilhenny, of Lewisburg, Virginia. After saying that he had been charged with inconsistency in maintaining, in 1833, that it was better for the Western Society not to be under the care of the Assembly, and, in 1836, in defending the contrary opinion, he says, "These brethren themselves, (the New School), have had more agency in bringing about the change

of opinion of which they complain than all others combined." In reply to some enquiry respecting matters in which he had taken a part, he says further, "The overture of Dr. Rice has been grievously misrepresented. It is well known that excellent and lamented man was a warm friend to the American Board, and yet it is manifest from the overture itself, that he wished and expected the General Assembly *as such*, in some form, to undertake and conduct *Foreign Missions*. I so understood the paper when it reached Princeton, and so understanding it, gave it my hearty support in the General Assembly of 1831, of which I happened to be a member, and to which it was presented. It was *that overture*, no doubt, which gave rise to the appointment of a Committee on the part of the Assembly, to confer with the American Board, at New Haven in the autumn of the same year. I was present as a member of the Board, when the Joint Committee of the Assembly and the Board laid before the latter a report, expressing the opinion that the General Assembly ought *not* to undertake any separate action in the missionary field. When the question on this report was about to be taken, I arose and remarked, that I could not give an unqualified vote in favor of that report; that I was persuaded there was a large portion of the Presbyterian Church that earnestly wished a Board of Missions of our own church to be formed, and that, in all probability, would ultimately form one. But that I would cheerfully vote for the original report, provided the following addition to it could be made; which I moved as an amendment, viz., 'While this Board accept and approve the foregoing report, as expressing their firm opinion on the subject referred to the Committee of conference:—*Resolved*, That if the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, or any of its subordinate judicatories, shall eventually think proper to form any association for conducting Foreign Missions separately from the American Board—*this Board will regard such associations with fraternal feelings*, and without the least disposition to interfere with its organization or proceedings.' *This amendment, however, was very unceremoniously negatived*, two other members of the Board only, as far as I recollect, viz., Dr. Spring, of New York, and Dr. Carnahan, of Princeton, rising in its favor."

#### 5th. THE ACT AND TESTIMONY.

One other event, caused by the divisions and distractions in the church, gave intensity to the discussions that for about four years convulsed the church, and made its division inevitable, the issuing of the Act and Testimony in May, 1834. A memorial had been presented to the Assembly of 1834, signed in whole, or in part, by about nine Presbyteries, and eight Sessions, eighteen ministers, and ninety elders; "asking of this Assembly to apply such remedies as may be necessary to correct the evils of which they complain." The committee for consideration made report nullifying the positions of the memorial and affirming the contrary, which was

adopted by the Assembly. In consequence of this act of Assembly, which affected many minds in a similar manner, it was thought best to address the churches in a solemn and decisive manner. Mr. Engles proposed the laying the matter before the ministers, and calling upon the friends of truth to rally. Mr. Hodge, of Princeton, drew up the list of errors. Mr. R. J. Breckenridge drew a paper which he named the Act and Testimony, embracing his own views often expressed, and the suggestions of Mr. Engles, and the list of errors presented by Dr. Hodge. No paper since the protest, drawn up nearly a century before, addressed the judgment of men with equal power to fasten attention and lead to decision.

The following extracts contain the substance of the paper — “We adopt this Act and Testimony *first as it regards doctrines*. 1st. We do bear our solemn testimony against the right claimed by many of interpreting the doctrines of our standards in a sense different from the general sense of the church for years past, whilst they still continue in our communion; on the contrary, we aver that they who adopt our standards are bound by candor, and the simplest integrity, to hold them in their obvious accepted sense. 2d. We testify against the unchristian subterfuge to which some have recourse when they avow a general adherence to our standards *as a system*, while they deny doctrines essential to the system, or hold doctrines at complete variance with the system. 3d. We testify against the reprehensible conduct of those in our communion who hold, and preach, and publish Arminian and Pelagian heresies, professing at the same time to embrace our creed, and pretending that these errors do consist therewith. 4th. We testify against the conduct of those who while they profess to approve and adopt our doctrines and order, do nevertheless speak and publish, in terms, or by necessary implication, that which is derogatory to both, and which tends to bring both into disrepute. 5th. We testify against the following as a part of the errors which are held and taught by many persons in our church.”

#### ERRORS.

“1st. Our relation to Adam. — That we have no more to do with the first sin of Adam than with the sins of any other parent. 2d. Native Depravity. — That there is no such thing as original sin; that infants come into the world as perfectly free from the corruption of nature as Adam was when he was created; that by original sin nothing more is meant than the fact that all the posterity of Adam, though born entirely free from moral defilement, will always begin to sin when they begin to exercise moral agency, and that this fact is somehow connected with the fall of Adam. 3d. Imputation. — That the doctrine of imputed sin and imputed righteousness is a novelty, and is nonsense. 4th. Ability. — That the impenitent sinner is by nature, and independently of the aid of the Holy Spirit, in full possession of all the powers necessary to a compliance with the commands of God; and that if he labored under

any kind of inability, natural or moral, which he could not remove himself, he would be excusable for not complying with God's will. 5th. Regeneration.—That man's regeneration is his own act; that it consists merely in the change of our governing purpose, which change we must ourselves produce. 6th. Divine influence.—That God cannot exert such an influence on the minds of men as shall make it certain that they will choose and act in a particular manner without destroying their moral agency; and that in a moral system God could not prevent the existence of sin, or the present amount of sin, however much he might desire it. 7th. Atonement.—That Christ's sufferings were not truly and properly vicarious. Which doctrines and statements are dangerous and heretical, contrary to the gospel of God and inconsistent with our Confession of Faith."

After bearing testimony against disorders in discipline,—and disorders in the government of the Church, it proceeds to *Recommendations to the Churches*. "Dear Christian Brethren, you who love Jesus Christ in sincerity, and in truth, and adhere to the plain doctrines of the cross as taught in the standards prepared by the Westminster Assembly, and constantly held by the true Presbyterian Church, to all of you who love your ancient and pure Constitution, and desire to restore our abused and corrupted Church to her simplicity, purity and truth, we, a portion of yourselves, ministers and elders of your churches, and servants of one common Lord, would propose most respectfully and kindly, and yet most earnestly:—"1st. That we refuse to give countenance to ministers, elders, agents, editors and teachers, or to those who are in any other capacity engaged in religious instructions or effort, who hold the preceding or similar errors. 2d. That we make every lawful effort to subject all such persons, especially if they be ministers, to the just exercise of discipline by the proper tribunals. 3d. That we use all proper means to restore the discipline of the Church, in all the courts, to a sound, just, Christian state. 4th. That we use our endeavors to prevent the introduction of new principles into our system, and to restore our tribunals to their ancient purity. 5th. That we consider the presbyterial existence, or acts of any Presbytery or Synod, formed upon the principles of Elective Affinity, as unconstitutional, and all ministers and churches voluntarily included in such bodies as having virtually departed from the standards of our Church. 6th. We recommend that all ministers and elders, Church sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, who approve of this act and testimony, give their public adherence thereto in such manner as they shall prefer, and communicate their names, and when a Church court, a copy of their adhering act. 7th. That inasmuch as our only hope of improvement and reformation in the affairs of our Church depends on the interposition of Him who is the King in Zion, that we will unceasingly and importunately supplicate the throne of grace for the return of that purity and peace, the absence of which we now sorrowfully deplore. 8th. We do earnestly recommend that on the 2d Thursday of

May, 1835, a Convention be held in the city of Pittsburg, to be composed of two members, a minister and ruling elder from each Presbytery, or from the minority of any Presbytery. who may concur in the sentiments of this act and testimony, to deliberate and consult on the present state of our Church, and to adopt such measures as may be best suited to restore our prostrated standards.

“And now, Brethren, our whole heart is laid open to you and to the world. If the majority of our Church are against us, they will, we suppose, in the end, either see the infatuation of their course, and retrace their steps, or they will at last attempt to cut us off. If the former, we shall bless the God of Jacob; if the latter, we are ready, for the sake of Christ, and in support of the testimony now made, not only to be cut off, but, if need be, to die also. If, on the other hand, the body be in the main sound, as we would fondly hope, we have here, frankly, openly, and candidly, laid before our erring brethren the course we are, by the grace of God, irrevocably determined to pursue. It is our steadfast aim to reform the Church, or to testify against its errors and defections, until testimony will be no longer heard, and we commit the issue into the hands of him who is over all, God blessed forever, Amen.”

This paper produced great excitement, or rather directed existing excitement into a new channel. In some sections of the Church it received numerous signatures. Very few names were given in Virginia. The general feeling in the Synod was, that however true the paper might be in principle, it was not required in the circumstances. It however called all men to thought and reflection.

The Convention met in 1835, and was fully attended: no delegate from Virginia or North Carolina appeared. A strong memorial was prepared for the Assembly, and handed in the 2d day of the session. The committee, of which Dr. Miller was chairman, with Messrs. Hoge, Edgar, Elliot, McIlhenny, Stonetreet, and Banks, reported; and eight resolutions, after long discussion, and some amendments, were adopted by the Assembly:—The 1st, affirming the right of a Presbytery to be entirely satisfied of the soundness of faith of those applying for admission; 2d, affirming the right, and, in some cases, the duty of a judicatory of the Church, to bear testimony against any printed publication, whether the author be living or dead; 3d, affirming that the erection of Presbyteries, or other courts, not on geographical principles, but by diversities of doctrinal belief, is contrary to the constitution; 4th, the Church courts thus formed in and around Philadelphia to be dissolved; 5th, that the first duty of the Presbyterian Church is to sustain her own boards, without prohibiting the action of voluntary boards in her bounds; 6th, that the annulling of the plan of union of 1801 is desirable; 7th, that correspondence with the associations of the Congregational Churches ought to be preserved; and 8th, that all such opinions as are not distinguishable from Pelagian or Arminian, ought to be condemned.

The same Assembly proposed the transfer of the Western Foreign

Missionary Society, and that efforts ought to be made to supply the world with the Bible in twenty years.

The Assembly of 1836, also held in Pittsburg, was of a different complexion from its predecessor, and proceeded to enactments contrary in spirit and letter to the doings of 1835. The decisions of the Synod of Philadelphia, in the case of Mr. Barnes, were reversed, and he was restored to the ministry; the proposition of Dr. Miller to condemn parts of Mr. Barnes's book was rejected; the transfer of the Western Foreign Missionary Society was set aside; and the principle of carrying on missions in a church capacity voted down. Dr. Wilson withdrew his appeal from the decision of the Synod of Cincinnati, believing a trial would be a needless consumption of time.

The minority appointed a committee of correspondence to act till the next Assembly, with powers to call a convention to be held in May, 1837, should a convention be thought desirable. Such convention was called; and the anxious question in Virginia was, *Shall we go into it? Can we keep back any longer from the contest waging? Can neutrality be preserved?*

#### 6th. THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

In some form, this vexed question was before the Assembly and in public prints: an annual firebrand, in form of memorial, or petition, or reference, was thrown into the highest court of the Church. The Southern members could not avoid voting upon it, after hearing much that was offensive. The whole subject was discussed in the various forms and attitudes it might be made to assume — *the right to hold slaves politically — the right to do so religiously* — the advantages and disadvantages, both politically and religiously — the right of slave-holders to church fellowship, as ministers or as private members, and, finally, the necessity of discipline, even to excommunication, of all slave-holders, minors excepted. This exciting subject was mingled with the other causes of irritation, from year to year, till it became exasperating. Neither the attack nor defence could be cool. On the one side was assault, without offer of quarter; and, on the other, a resolute and fiery defence, without compromise. This question alone would have brought the Presbyterian Church to the verge of disruption, as it has done the Methodist Episcopal; and, unless the assailants paused, would have rent it asunder. The Presbyterian Church is but a fraction of the South; and, of that fraction, many are females and minors. The few Christian men, were they convinced of the necessity of such a move as abolition, could do nothing in the body politic. They must let the subject rest, or emigrate.

#### LASTLY, A DIVISION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

A correspondent of the Southern Religious Telegraph, of June 24th, 1836, speaking of the Assembly of which he had been a member, says: "I hope that such another Assembly will never meet but

once again ; and then only with full and delegated powers amicably to separate, in order that each party may prosecute its own views and plans in its own way. On the slavery question, the Assembly did all that they could do as conscientious men. That is not the body of men to settle this matter ; nor need the South ever look for peace and rest from any of its decisions on this point. And now it becomes a grave and serious question, whether the Southern section of our Church will any more, or again, expose its representatives to the scoffs and taunts, and jeers and misrepresentations, and excommunications and maledictions of the abolitionists, both male and female."

To this the Editor added : "We fully concur with our correspondent, that a crisis has come ; and that if there can be no compromise, division must be tried. If the South cannot look for peace and rest in the Assembly, on the slavery question, is it not time for all the Southern Presbyteries to refuse unanimously to send representatives to that body?"

The Presbytery of Concord, North Carolina, at its fall meeting in 1836, expressed itself strongly : "The friends of orthodoxy throughout our country should, with deliberation and firmness, cooperate in every prudent effort to secure what true Presbyterians cannot surrender ; and that to guard against all precipitancy, and afford ample space for the repentance and reformation of erring brethren, it be respectfully recommended to await the decision of another General Assembly. Rather than surrender the truth, or perpetuate the present distracting agitation, we will feel bound to submit to a division of the Church, upon any plan which may be found most conducive to peace and good order."

The Presbytery of South Carolina resolved, "That, in the view of this Presbytery, the Old School and the New have got so wide apart, in sentiment and feeling, that for the future there can be no hope of friendly co-operation united in one body. That for the sake of peace, and the better promoting the interests of Christ's kingdom, the parties ought to separate. But, in case of separation, we will closely adhere to the standards of the Presbyterian Church."

#### *Position of the Virginia Synod.*

At the meeting of Synod at Petersburg, November, 1836, a paper was presented by George A. Baxter, William Hill, S. B. Wilson, William S. Plumer and James M. Brown, appointed for the purpose, drawn up by Dr. Baxter, expressive of the position the Synod then held.

#### ACT OF THE VIRGINIA SYNOD,

*Unanimously adopted in Session at Petersburg, Nov. 7th, 1836.*

"Whilst we enjoy, within the bounds of this Synod, a great measure of peace and unanimity, and soundness in theological views, some other parts of our denomination are divided and distracted to



such a degree as calls upon the church for deep humiliation and humble prayer to Almighty God for the removal of the evils by which we are afflicted. The prominent causes of our disturbance consist in the tendency to error, the spirit of angry controversy with which that tendency has been met, and the great loss of Christian affection and brotherly confidence between the parties which have arisen in the contest. We believe that the causes, which appear most prominent now, are not the original cause of the evils by which we are surrounded. Our church must have departed from God before He gave us over to the unhappy state of things in which we find ourselves involved; and deep humiliation, repentance, and the doing of our first works, must precede the removal of those things by which we are afflicted.

“One thing which presses with peculiar force on the Presbyterian Church, in the South, is the spirit of *abolition*, as lately developed in some parts of the country. This spirit, we believe, is entirely contrary to the word of God. It is well known that the apostles ministered and planted churches in countries in which slavery abounded, and that of a more aggravated form than ours; and yet masters and slaves were members of those churches, and equally under the acknowledged authority of the same spiritual teachers. In this way the inspired apostles had the subject of slavery fully before them; and they gave directions, without any appearance of reserve, for the mutual duties of the relation, leaving the whole subject of slavery to the benign and gradual operation of the gospel. These facts should convince us that the apostolic directions in the New Testament ought to form the rules for the government of our conduct in this matter. If, after this, the master is criminal, it cannot be by sustaining the relation of master, according to the rules given by divine inspiration, but by the violation of those rules. There is, however, one passage of Scripture which not only shows the criminality of abolition doctrines, but also so plainly and fully prescribes our duty in relation to them, that we think it proper to quote it at length. It is in 1st Timothy, 6th chapter, 1-5 verses — ‘Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. *If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself.*’ We think it is as plain as words can make anything, that modern abolition principles and spirit constitute the case of those men who *teach otherwise* than the apostle approves, and from the

class from which he commanded Timothy to *withdraw himself*. The apostle's teaching was, that servants should count their masters worthy of *all honor*, and do service to believing masters, because they are *faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit*. Certainly the modern abolitionist teaches otherwise than Paul taught, and if he cannot be convinced of his error, the only Scriptural remedy is to withdraw from such.

“Another view of the case, which we think important, is this:—When the General Assembly was formed, a large majority, if not all the Churches and Presbyteries out of which it was formed, were in slaveholding states. The attempt to make slaveholding a bar to communion or to fair ministerial standing now, is changing the constitution of our church, and the original terms of communion. This we cannot permit. Therefore, the Synod solemnly affirm that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church have no right to declare that relation sinful, which Christ and his apostles teach to be consistent with the most unquestionable piety; and that any act of the General Assembly which would impeach the Christian character of any man because he is a slaveholder, would be a palpable violation of the just principles on which the union of our church was founded, as well as a daring usurpation of authority, never granted by the Lord Jesus. Lest the sentiments just expressed should be misunderstood, Synod would add that the likelihood of the necessity of any geographical division through the operation of this fanaticism, is not so great as it was some time ago. Yet, on this subject, be the danger small or great, a vigilance corresponding to the exigencies of the times is our manifest duty.

“In the next place, we would observe that certain errors have been lately exhibited, which we think furnish just ground of alarm to the church. We will not undertake to say how much of this error may consist in unusual phraseology, nor how far it may arise from incorrect theological views. The mysticism of words has often been sufficient to raise separatory walls between brethren. Yet whether the error consist principally in words or things, it is not to our churches a matter of indifference. Words are understood to stand for things, and the erroneous phraseology of a writer or speaker is calculated to lead his readers or hearers wrong, and if generally adopted must subvert the faith of the purest churches. The points of error which we think the most dangerous to us, relate to original sin, regeneration, justification by the righteousness of Christ, and the ability of the creature. The doctrine of the Presbyterian Church touching *original sin* has always been, that our first parents, by their first act of disobedience, fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties of soul and body; and they being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all descending from them by ordinary generation; and that from this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual

transgressions. We deeply regret to see a phraseology used on this subject which is calculated to subvert the doctrine of our confession of faith, and, as we believe, of the Sacred Scriptures. Such as, original sin is no sin, but a mere tendency to sin, which in itself is not sinful; the posterity of Adam are in no sense guilty of, or liable for, his first sin; and that men are born innocent and without any moral character, &c. Whatever explanations may be given of such language by those who use it, we cannot but view it as calculated to introduce ruinous error into our church, if used by Presbyterian ministers.

“On the subject of regeneration, Synod must testify against all modes of expression which imply that regeneration consists in a change of the governing purpose by the creature, or in a holy act, or series of acts of the creature, and not in the mighty working of the exceeding greatness of the divine power in new creating the soul, and enabling it to put forth holy exercises — or that regeneration is in any proper sense the work of any creature but of God only.

“We are very much grieved by observing a tendency in many modern writings to introduce something like the Unitarian doctrine of justification; a doctrine which supposes that the death of our Saviour made no proper satisfaction to the claims of the divine law, and that the justice of heaven did not require such satisfaction to be made; but that God was always placable, and willing to justify the sinner by a mere act of sovereign pardon as soon as the sinner would turn to him with penitence and submission. We consider this doctrine as one of the most insidious and dangerous errors which has ever corrupted the Church of Christ. It sometimes assumes the plausible, but deceitful phraseology that Christ has made our atonement; has purchased our redemption, and that we are saved through his merits; while it denies, and is intended to deny the imputation of our Saviour's righteousness as the vicarious propitiation for our sins.

“The *ability of the sinner* is sometimes rashly and erroneously exhibited, as if he were able to convert himself, and make himself a new heart independently of the sovereign, regenerating and converting grace of God. This doctrine, when carried out, goes to the subversion of our whole creed, and as we believe, to the subversion of the whole system of the gospel. Yet on this point we feel called on to say that there is on the other side an error which leads to an extreme equally dangerous and subversive of the Christian faith. We mean the error of those who assert that the sinner has no power of any kind for the performance of duty. This error strips the sinner of his moral agency and accountableness, and introduces the heresy of either Antinomianism or Fatalism. The true doctrine of our confession, and as we believe of the Scriptures, keeps continually in view the moral agency of man — the contingency of second causes — the use of means, and the utter inexcusableness of the creature; whilst at the same time it places all our dependence for salvation, on the sovereign power and grace of God, in the regeneration and justifica-

tion of the sinner. Therefore, whilst Synod do constantly affirm that by the fall the human understanding has been greatly darkened, the faculties of the soul greatly impaired, and through the depravity of the heart the human will is entirely deprived of freedom to that which is good, and is free only to that which is evil, and that continually; yet they do assert that they cannot approve of any language which in its fair interpretation deprives man of his moral agency — denying that his enmity is voluntary, or teaching that it is in any wise excusable.

“Respecting the question, what class of organizations we shall employ for carrying on the great enterprizes of the church in the day in which we live, Synod would state that in the education of young men for the ministry, and in the work of domestic missions, our Presbyteries are now happily united with the Boards of the General Assembly. In the work of foreign missions we are in connection with the Synod of North Carolina, most pleasantly united in the Central Board. All these organizations are ecclesiastical and Presbyterian. In the work of supplying the world with Bibles, evangelical books and tracts, and in some other branches of benevolence, our churches have long co-operated with the national societies instituted for these several objects. Towards these, and every other voluntary association in our country, which has for its object the spread of pure and undefiled religion, the Synod entertains no other than friendly sentiments. The Lord bless them all, and make them all blessings. Synod cannot, however, refrain from expressing their deep conviction that it would be wrong for the more exclusive friends of either mode of organization to refuse to any respectable portion of our Church, facilities which they desire for conducting the foreign missionary enterprize; it being always distinctly understood that such an organization as they desire, should confine its efforts to the bounds of those churches or ecclesiastical bodies which desired co-operation with them; and equally wrong for the friends of either of the particular organizations in any wise to cripple the operations of the other by unkind interferences.

“In the foregoing sentiments we are unanimous. And now we solemnly call on all our members, and the friends of Zion within our bounds, in maintaining the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace, to beware of a liberality which in any wise disregards the distinction between truth and error — to cultivate the spirit of fraternal kindness and confidence — to watch against the spirit of angry controversy — to pray for the peace of Jerusalem — to hold fast the form of sound words — to obey the truth and follow holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.”

GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.,	} Ministers.
WM. HILL, D. D.,	
S. B. WILSON,	
WM. S. PLUMER,	
JAMES M. BROWN.	

*A Convention Called.*

In January, 1837, the Committee of Correspondence, after conferring verbally and by letter with brethren in different parts of the Church, sent forth a call, saying — “That the real friends of the doctrines and constitution of our Church are now satisfied that the present state of things ought not longer to continue; and that the time has come when effectual measures must be taken for putting an end to those contentions which have for years agitated our Church.” The committee then recommended — “That Presbyteries friendly to the doctrines and institutions of our Church instruct their Commissioners to the next General Assembly to meet in Philadelphia on the second Thursday of May ensuing, together with such delegates as may be appointed by minorities of Presbyteries, in order fully and freely to compare views, and to unite upon such constitutional measures of remedying exciting evils as it may be judged expedient to submit to the consideration of the Assembly.”

*The Virginia Presbyteries determine to go into Convention.*

The ministers in Virginia contemplated the appointed Convention, and the succeeding Assembly of 1837, with the anxiety of men caring for the interests of their Lord's kingdom. It seemed to many, if not all of them, that then and there would be the arena of the final inevitable conflict. They appeared to dread the coming contest more than any other portion of the Church. Baxter, who since the death of Rice and Speece, had no peer in the Synod in theological influence or metaphysical talent, trembled at the crisis. Hill, not accustomed to tremble at any danger or conflict, was all anxiety. Personal friends, and cheerful co-actors in all matters hitherto concerning the Virginia Synod — standing shoulder to shoulder in all conflicts that in the remotest degree endangered her integrity or her honor — all alive to her present position and duty — their sympathies were running in different directions at the present crisis. Agreeing on the principles of the Synod's paper they had prepared — agreeing on the subject of revivals and ministerial requirements — they began to diverge on the question, What course shall the Virginia ministers now pursue? The parties agitating the Assembly were so equally divided in numbers, talents, wealth and intelligence, that the Southern vote, hitherto pledged on neither side, would give the desired and decisive majority in the Assembly. Baxter's sympathies were with the Old school, while he disliked much that he read and heard of their spirit and doings; Hill sympathized with the New, while he disapproved much that came to his knowledge. But neither Baxter nor Hill wished the Virginia Synod to follow in the wake of either of the dominant parties; both were resolved on some third course yet to be found out.

Baxter, among the bravest of men, trembled for the ark of God. Separation from those he had counted brethren, entangled by their circumstances, or willingly bound to the party he most disapproved,

was a strange work, to which he turned his thoughts with sorrow. Hill contemplated separation from other brethren with equal dissatisfaction. The associates in sympathy went with these elder brethren in trembling and prayerfulness. The spring of '37 had come before Baxter had decided upon his course. Hill was decided from the issuing of the call for a Convention. Late in the winter, a student of Theology at the Seminary asked Dr. Baxter what he thought of two articles in the *Presbyterian*, giving the reason for a Convention. He had not read them, and could not answer. The question aroused his mind; he read; he pondered; he decided that the most prudent course for the Virginia brethren, and in fact for all the South, was to be represented in the Convention. His reasons satisfied the brethren of West Hanover; and at the spring meeting he was appointed delegate to the Convention and to the Assembly. This example was followed by the other Presbyteries, and delegates were appointed by all. This was thought to be the best way of uniting the Southern church in her future course.

Until the action of the Assembly of 1836, Dr. Baxter had contended that the expressions used by the New School in setting forth their theological opinions, were capable of a construction harmonizing with the confession as understood in Virginia, and ought, according to their repeated demand, to be so interpreted. The resolutions in the case of Mr. Barnes, caused him to abandon that ground; and he was prepared to go with the Old School in their Theology, excepting that he feared there might be a leaning in some brethren to Antinomian tenets. Hill was not effected by the decisions of that Assembly, and felt confident that the Old School were on the high road to Antinomianism.

While all were anticipating some division, or revolutionary movement to put an end to the difficulties in the church, it is not probable any one thought of a division in the manner it actually took place, or of the division of Virginia Synod in any manner. The great mass of Virginia, it was supposed, would go together. A few, perhaps, "might find themselves a peculiar little secession." Some were saying, "If Rice were alive we should all go together; his sweet spirit, with the clearness and strength of Baxter, would pilot us through these difficulties by the blessing of God." The Virginia delegation felt the delicacy of their situation. The peace of the Synod, and of the church at large, the progress of truth, freedom of conscience, were all at stake. How should they maintain them? They hoped, by going into Convention, to agree with the brethren from other parts of the church, upon some decisive movement, that might commend itself to all as the best the condition of the Church permitted.

## CHAPTER XL.

## THE CONVENTION OF 1837.

DR. BAXTER was President of the Convention assembled May 11th, 1837, in the Sixth Presbyterian church, Spruce street, Philadelphia. He filled the chair with dignity and simplicity of manner. Occasionally, in Committee of the Whole, his voice was heard on important subjects. None of the delegates from Virginia or North Carolina, or in fact of any Southern Presbytery, occupied much of the time of the Convention. They were busy in collecting facts from documents produced upon the floor, and from the statements of those who spoke from their own personal knowledge. The mercantile world, at that time, was agitated by a storm whose deep tossings wrecked multitudes.

The Convention was employed some days in receiving documents and statements of facts, and opinions about the course to be pursued. Mr. Smyth, of Charleston Union Presbytery, proposed that the Convention take no action on the subject of slavery. Mr. Plumer, of East Hanover Presbytery, read a paper containing seventeen propositions to enforce the principle — that slavery being a political institution, its existence was not a proper subject of ecclesiastical interference, either as to its duration or extent; and, therefore, discussion in Convention could produce no good. Dr. Baxter, in Committee of the Whole, expressed opinions favorable to the dissolution of the Plan of Union; and of citing ecclesiastical bodies thought to be unsound to answer at the bar of the Assembly, should the Old School be in the majority. But should the Old School be in the minority, he proposed secession by Presbyteries and Synods; and the formation of another General Assembly as soon as practicable.

On Saturday, the 13th, a Committee was appointed, consisting of Rev. Messrs. Wilson, of Cincinnati, Witherspoon, of South Carolina, Foote, of Winchester, Musgrave, of Baltimore, Potts, of New York, Engles, of Philadelphia — with elders, Ewing, of Redstone, S. C. Anderson, of West Hanover, and Boyd, of New York, to receive documents and papers, and prepare business for the Convention. This Committee held frequent meetings for consultation and preparation of resolutions for the consideration of the Convention. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, making some evening visits in Philadelphia, stepped in at Mr. Boardman's, and found the Committee engaged; apologising, he was retiring; the Committee insisted on his remaining, and aiding them in their consultation. Finally, the list of errors to be proposed for condemnation was committed to him for his careful revision and correction. This work he performed to the entire satisfaction of the Committee; and the list, as returned by him, after a day or two was presented to the Convention, and made part of the memorial to the Assembly. Dr. Cuyler and Mr. Junkin

coming in, were invited to take a part in the deliberations. Dr. Baxter moved cautiously in Committee as in Convention, and succeeded in taking positions satisfactory to himself and the delegates from the Southern Presbyteries.

On the afternoon of Monday, the 15th, the Business Committee began laying before the Convention a series of resolutions and propositions, in preparation for a memorial to the Assembly.

*Resolved*, That the next General Assembly should express their decided condemnation of the following errors, which are alleged to have obtained currency in the Presbyterian Church."

#### *Errors in Doctrine.*

It was the wish of the Committee, that the synopsis of Errors in Doctrine should be the first on the list. But that document not having received all the corrections expected, the Committee, without mentioning that it was still in the hands of Dr. Miller, requested that it might be passed over for the time; and when adopted it might hold the place assigned by the Committee. This request was granted; and on Wednesday afternoon, the list was adopted item by item, and put in its proper place.

"1st, That God would have been glad to prevent the existence of sin in our world, but was not able without destroying the moral agency of man, or from aught that appears in the Bible to the contrary, sin is incidental to any wise moral system. 2d, That election to eternal life is founded on a foresight of faith and obedience. 3d, That we have no more to do with the first sin of Adam than with the sin of any other parent. 4th, That infants come into the world as free from moral defilement as was Adam when he was created. 5th, That infants sustain the same relation to the moral government of God as brute animals, and their sufferings and death are to be accounted for on the same principles as those of brutes, and not by any means to be considered as penal. 6th, That there is no other original sin than the fact that all the posterity of Adam, though by nature innocent, or possessed of no moral character, will always begin to sin when they begin to exercise moral agency; or that original sin does not include a sinful bias of the human mind, and a just exposure to penal suffering; and that there is no evidence in Scripture that infants in order to salvation do need redemption by the blood of Christ and regeneration of the Holy Ghost. 7th, That the doctrine of imputation, whether of Adam's sin or of Christ's righteousness, has no foundation in the word of God, and is both unjust and absurd. 8th, That the sufferings and death of Christ were not truly vicarious and penal, but symbolical, governmental, and instructive only. 9th, That the impenitent sinner is by nature, and independently of renewing influence or almighty energy of the Holy Spirit, in full possession of all the ability necessary to a full compliance with all the commands of God. 10th, That Christ never intercedes for any but those who are actually united to him by faith;



or that Christ does not intercede for the elect until after their regeneration. 11th, That saving faith is the mere belief of the word of God, and not a grace of the Holy Spirit. 12th, That regeneration is the act of the sinner himself, and that it consists in a change of his governing purpose, which he himself must produce, and which is the result, not of any direct influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart, but chiefly of a persuasive exhibition of the truth analogous to the influence which one man exerts over the mind of another; or that regeneration is not an instantaneous act, but a progressive work. 13th, That God has done all that he can for the salvation of all men, and that man himself must do the rest. 14th, That God cannot exert such influence on the minds of men, as shall make it certain that they will choose and act in a certain manner without impairing their moral agency. 15th, That the righteousness of Christ is not the sole ground of the sinner's acceptance with God; and that in no sense does the righteousness of Christ become ours. 16th, That the reason why some differ from others in regard to their reception of the gospel is, that they make themselves to differ.

“It is impossible to contemplate these errors, without perceiving that they strike at the foundation of the system of the gospel of grace; and that from the days of Pelagius and Cassian to the present hour, their reception has uniformly marked the character of a church apostatizing from the ‘faith once delivered to the saints,’ and sinking into deplorable corruption. To bear a public and open testimony against them, and as far as possible to banish them from ‘the household of faith,’ is a duty which the Presbyterian Church owes to her master in Heaven, and without which it is impossible to fulfil the great purpose for which she was founded by her great head and Lord. And the Convention is conscious, that in pronouncing these errors unscriptural, radical, and highly dangerous, it is actuated by no feeling of party zeal, but by a firm and growing persuasion, that such errors cannot fail in their ultimate effect to subvert the foundation of Christian hope, and to destroy the souls of men. The watchmen on the walls of Zion would be traitors to the trust reposed in them, were they not to cry aloud, and proclaim a solemn warning against opinions so corrupt and delusive.

“*Errors in Church Order.*”

“Among the departures from sound Presbyterian order against which we feel called on to testify as marking the times, are the following:— 1st. The formation of Presbyteries without defined and reasonable limits, or Presbyteries covering the same territory; and especially such a formation founded on doctrinal repulsions or affinities, thus introducing schism into the very vitals of the body. 2d. The refusal of Presbyteries, when requested by any of their members, to examine all applicants for admission into them, as to their soundness in the faith, or touching any other matter connected with a fair Presbyterial standing, thus concealing, and conniving at error, in the very

stronghold of truth. 3d. The licensing of persons to preach the gospel, and the ordaining to the office of the ministry not only of such accept of our standards merely for substance of doctrine, and others who are unfit, and ought to be excluded for want of qualification,—but of many even who openly deny fundamental principles of truth, and preach and publish radical errors as already set forth. 4th. The formation of a great multitude and variety of creeds, which are often incompatible, false, and contradictory of each other, and our Confession of Faith, and of the Bible; but which, even if true or needless, seeing that the public and authorized standards of the Church are fully sufficient for the purposes for which such formularies were introduced; viz. : as public testimonies of our faith and practice, as aids to the teaching of the people, truth, and righteousness, and as instruments, ascertaining and preserving the unity of the Spirit, and the bond of peace; provided that the adoption of this resolution shall not interfere with the use of a brief abstract of the doctrines of our Confession of Faith in the public reception of private members of the Church. 5th. The needless ordination of a multitude of men to the office of evangelist, and the consequent tendency to a general neglect of the pastoral office; to frequent and hurtful changes of the pastoral relations; to the multiplication of spurious excitements, and to the spread of heresy and fanaticism; thus weakening and bringing into contempt the ordinary and stated agents and means for the conversion of sinners, and the edification of the body of Christ. 6th. The disuse of the office of ruling elder in portions of the Church, and the consequent growth of practices and principles entirely foreign to our system; thus depriving the pastors of needful assistants in discipline, the people of proper guides in Christ, and the churches of suitable representatives in ecclesiastical tribunals. 7th. The electing and ordaining ruling elders with the express understanding that they are to serve but for a limited time. 8th. A progressive change in the system of Presbyterian representatives in the General Assembly, which has been persisted in by those holding the ordinary majorities, and carried out in detail by those disposed to take undue advantages of existing opportunities, until the actual representation seldom exhibits the true state of the Church, and many questions of the deepest interest have been decided contrary to the fairly ascertained wishes of the majority of the Church and people of our communion, thus virtually subverting the essential principles of freedom, justice, and equality, on which our whole system rests. 9th. The unlimited and irresponsible power assumed by several associations of men, under various names, to exercise authority and influence, direct and indirect, over Presbyteries, as to their field of labor, place of residence, and mode of action in the difficult circumstances of our Church, thus actually throwing the control of affairs in large portions of our Church, and sometimes in the General Assembly itself, out of the hands of the Presbyteries into those of single individuals, or small communities located at a distance. 10th. The unconstitutional decisions and violent proceedings of several General Assem-

blies, and especially those of 1832, '3, '4, and '6, directly or indirectly subverting some of the fundamental principles of Presbyterian government, in effect discountenancing discipline, if not rendering it impossible, and plainly conniving at, and favoring, if not virtually affirming as true, the whole current of false doctrine which has been for years setting into our Church, thus making the Church itself a principal actor in its dissolution and ruin.

*“Errors in Discipline.”*

“With the woful departures from sound doctrine which we have already pointed out, and the grievous declensions in church order hitherto stated, has advanced step by step the ruin of all sound discipline in large portions of our Church, until in some places our very name is becoming a public scandal, and the proceedings of persons and churches connected with some of our Presbyteries are hardly to be defended from the asseveration of being blasphemous. Among other evils, of which this convention and the Church have full proofs, we specify the following:—1st. The impossibility of obtaining a plain and sufficient sentence against gross errors, either in *thesi*, or when found in books printed under the names of Presbyterian ministers, or when such ministers have been directly and personally charged. 2nd. The public countenance thus given to error, and the complete security in which our own members have preached and published in newspapers, pamphlets, periodicals, and books, things utterly subversive of our system of truth and order, while none thought it possible (except in a few, and they almost fruitless attempts) that discipline could be exercised, and therefore none attempted it. 3d. The disorderly and unreasonable meetings of the people, in which unauthorized and incompetent persons conducted worship in a manner shocking to public decency; in which females often led in prayer, and sometimes in public instruction; the hasty admission to Church privileges, and the failure to exercise any wholesome discipline over those who subsequently fell into sin, even of a public and scandalous kind; and of these and other disorders, grieving and alienating the pious members of our churches, and so filling many of them with ignorant and unconverted persons, as gradually to destroy all visible distinctions between the Church and the world. 4th. While many of our ministers have propagated error with great zeal, and disturbed the Church with irregular and disorderly conduct, some have entirely given up the stated preaching of the gospel, others have turned aside to secular pursuits, and others still, while nominally engaged in some post of Christian effort, have embarked in the wild and extravagant speculations which have so remarkably signalized the times, thus tending to secularize and disorganize the very ministry of reconciliation.”

In addition to these, on Tuesday afternoon was presented a series of miscellaneous resolutions. “1st. Resolved, That the plan of union now existing between the Presbyterian and Congregational churches ought immediately to be abrogated. 2nd. Resolved, That

it be enjoined on Presbyteries to examine all ministers applying for admission into the Presbyterian Church from other denominations, on the subjects of Theology and Church Government, and to require from them an explicit adoption of the Confession of Faith and Church Government. 3d. Resolved, That the operations of the American Home Missionary and the American Education Societies, with their branches, be discontinued, and as far as possible prevented, within the ecclesiastical limits of the Presbyterian Church. 4th. That the next General Assembly should cite for trial, before its bar, Synods which are accused by common fame of holding or tolerating any of the above-mentioned errors, or of adopting any practices opposed to Presbyterian government; and that they should enjoin on Synods to cite before their bar for trial, Presbyteries under their care which may be placed in the same or similar circumstances; and that they enjoin upon Presbyteries to arraign and try any of their members who may be supposed to hold any of the fore-mentioned errors. 5th. Resolved, That no Church which is not organized according to the Constitution, should any longer be considered a part of the Presbyterian Church."

On the first and third of the miscellaneous resolutions, there was some discussion; it being the opinion of some that additions should be made to the first resolution, and abatements from the last. In consequence of the debate, Mr. Plumer presented the following, which was adopted. "Resolved, That as these are times of high and dangerous excitability in the public mind, when imprudent and partizan men may do great injury, especially when they have facilities for operating on a large field, the Convention is of opinion that the General Assembly ought to make known to our national associations, not previously noticed in the votes of this convention, that the Presbyterian Church expects of them peculiar caution in the selection of their travelling agents, and, that it ought to be regarded as peculiarly unkind, in any of them to give to the correspondence or general bearing of these institutions, a bias against the strictest order and soundest principle, in our beloved branch of the Church of God." Some few other resolutions were passed, not designed to form a part or accompaniment of the memorial.

On Tuesday evening, the committee of which the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge was chairman, was charged with preparing a memorial to be presented to the Assembly, embracing the action of the Convention. On Thursday morning he presented the memorial. With a becoming introduction, he embodies, in the language used by the Convention, the resolutions pointing out the errors to be condemned; and the five miscellaneous resolutions, modified in language, but unchanged in spirit. It ends thus — "And now we submit to the highest tribunal of our church, to all our brethren beloved of the Lord, and to the generation in which our lot is cast, a testimony which we find ourselves unable to weaken or abridge, and keep a good conscience toward God and man. We have performed a duty to which the providence of God has shut us up. We have done it

in reliance on his grace, and in view of his judgment bar. Whatever the issue may be, we rejoice in the sense of having performed a great and imperative obligation, manifestly required at our hands, and all whose issues ought to promote the purity, the peace, and the unity of the Church of God. The whole responsibility of future results is from this moment thrown, first upon the General Assembly now in session, and afterwards upon the whole church. The Assembly will, of course, pursue such a line of conduct as will appear to acquit it before earth and heaven. The doctrines of the Presbyterian Church, as now organized, are in its hands, and our Saviour will require a strict account concerning it. The great body of our church must needs re-judge the whole action of the Assembly, and on her judgment we repose with a sound assurance, second only to that which binds our hearts and souls in filial confidence to her glorious Lord. For ourselves, the hardest portion of our work is past. Hearts which the past has not broken have little need to fear what the future can bring forth. Spirits which have not died within us, in the trials through which we have been led, may confidently resign themselves to His guidance whose words have rung ceaselessly upon our hearts — 'This is the way, walk ye in it;' and whose cheering voice comes to us from above — 'Fear not, it is I.'"

The form of the memorial was completed by the Convention on Thursday morning, in time for the meeting of the Assembly. By comparison, it will appear that the famous Act and Testimony of 1834 was the platform on which the memorial was elaborately erected; and that it embraces the various subjects of discussion, and of the various trials before Synods and the Assembly for a series of years, on account of which the whole church had become first interested, then excited, then deeply involved in embarrassing discussion, and now upon the verge of a total rupture. The memorial exhibits the clearness of Baxter, the caution and kindness of Miller, the earnestness of Wilson and Junkin, and the comprehension and energy of Breckenridge. The propositions and demands had the entire approbation of the Convention, and the memorial was presented with unity of purpose to bring to an end, if possible, at the approaching meeting of Assembly, the prevalence of error and distraction in the church. No ultimatum was proposed to the Assembly. Some urged a proposition of that kind, to prevent needless discussion and fix the attention. The majority thought it unbecoming to appear in that attitude. With them Dr. Baxter entirely agreed, though his ultimatum was settled in his own mind, and his proposed procedure had been made known to the Convention. It was also agreed that the Convention should not dissolve at the opening of the Assembly, but should adjourn from time to time, and meet, if necessary, at the call of the President, and thus be in a position to propose ultimate measures, should such be demanded by the proceedings of the Assembly on the memorial. Dr. Baxter, and the Southern delegation generally, were prepared to abide by the memorial in the Assembly, and to meet the consequences of it

among their constituents, to whom, for want of facts and documents, some of its provisions would appear strong, if not severe and harsh. Should the memorial be rejected by the Assembly, they would consequently be cast out with it. Should the Assembly act upon its suggestions and follow the course proposed, then their consciences would be relieved and their hearts rejoice.

As usual in Conventions, many subjects were proposed for consideration, on which there was no final action necessary. There were some fiery speeches, but no heated discussions. The Southern delegation were remarkably temperate, both in the matter and the manner of their propositions and discussions. Their coolness and deliberation excited some prejudices. "I am afraid of Baxter," said an ardent member of the Convention from north of Mason & Dixon's line, in an under tone, one afternoon, during a short interval in the proceedings, "and I am afraid of all these Southern men; they don't seem to take hold of the business with any spirit." Looking around, the respondent replied — "And so am I; but speak low; there sits one of them. I am afraid of their hesitation. I am afraid their help wont be of any advantage to us." The moderation of the memorial, on many subjects, was undoubtedly owing to the necessity of having the Southern vote, both in Convention and in the Assembly. Towards the close of the sessions some one inquired of Dr. Wilson, of Cincinnati, if he was not going to bring up the subject of slavery. He hesitated in reply. The inquirer proceeded to say, that something of the kind was expected of him from his previous declarations and expressed opinions. He replied — "I believe I shall let the Southern brethren manage their own concerns in their own way; they probably will take care of them the best." While the memorial was under consideration, he expressed to those around him his entire satisfaction with it as it was; commended the coolness, business habits, and self-possession of his Southern brethren. How the Northern Synods would have terminated the contest, if left alone in the struggle, perhaps no one can ever conjecture. That they would have contended earnestly for the faith is undoubted. But the form in which the memorial came before the Assembly was fashioned by a coalescence between the North and the South, that jarred only on one subject, that of slavery, and yielded to each other things of form and in matters of mere procedure. The enquiry was not who shall be leader, but, in these troublesome times, on what can we agree? and are the principles on which we will unite the fundamentals of the gospel and the Confession of Faith?

## CHAPTER XLI.

## THE ASSEMBLY OF 1837

ON Thursday, the 18th of May, 1837, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, commenced in the Central church of Philadelphia its annual meeting, made memorable by the subjects of discussion, the principles avowed by the majority, and the consequences of the measures adopted. It was expected by all that understood the state of parties in the Presbyterian Church, that this Assembly should bring to an end some agitating discussions, and determine, for a series of years to come, the course of procedure on some important subjects. How far these expectations were realized by the action of the Assembly, is left to the decision of those who may be fully informed on the subjects under discussion, and are acquainted with the springs of action. It must be conceded by all that the Assembly was not lacking in vigor, decision, or frank, open boldness; and that the revolution accomplished was equal to the exigencies of the case. The terms on which the disputes were settled, were not doubtful in their enunciation or effect. The position and actions of Dr. Baxter in that Assembly, must form a part of the history which is to guide succeeding generations in their opinion of a much talked-of body of men, and their energetic measures. If the Assembly was not equal to the times, it was not for want of earnest intention.

The Assembly exhibited a great variety of talent, argument, and goodness. There were members of great mental power, some of acute discrimination, some skilled in logical argument, some of popular eloquence, and others of patient investigation. In some of the discussions, splendid sophistry bewildered, in others, a variety of blended talent charmed, with its beauty and grandeur. The majority, that must be judges after the debate, sat listeners. The platform of doctrine, agreed upon in the Convention, had been anticipated, in its general principles, by those that called the meeting. The conclusion of the discussions and action in the Assembly, left the church at large in a position no one had imagined, though all were endeavoring to anticipate the end. The Presbyterian Church was represented as fairly and as fully as its organization would at the time permit. Some Synods having their bounds divided into small Presbyteries, had a larger number of representatives than other Synods containing a larger portion of the church, but divided into larger Presbyteries.

Sensible of the importance of a majority on the first vote, the members elect were almost universally in their seats at the appointed hour, and listened in deep anxiety to John Witherspoon, D. D., discoursing from 1 Cor. 1st chapter, 10th and 11th verses — "Now I

beseech you brethren by the mercies of the Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same things, and that there be no divisions among you ; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment. For it hath been declared to me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the household of Chloe, that there are contentions among you." All felt there were contentions, and knew there were divisions ; and the one mind in which they were agreed was a stern purpose, by some act of Assembly to make, if possible, an end of certain discussions and dissensions. The peace expected and desired was the peace of a decided majority. The Commissioners, as they sat in that large assembly, all knew that there were different constructions put upon the Confession of Faith, differences in church order, differences both in opinion and practice in church extension, and differences in conducting missionary efforts. The contrary decisions of previous successive Assemblies made all desire that the Assembly of '37 should end in honorable division or secession. For submission in any minority none now dared hope. More than once had there been, in years past, after some compromising vote, devout thanks given by the Assembly to Almighty God, for the peace dawning upon the church. But these hopeful signs speedily passed away ; and the contests were more bitter. Strict Presbyterianism and a modified Presbyterianism must coalesce cheerfully, or separate entirely. No arguments would produce the first—the hope of all was in the last. The contest was which should be in the ascendant. The Assembly was constituted in the usual way. Recess till 4 o'clock, P. M. for making the roll. After recess the Moderator was chosen. The Old-school candidate, Dr. Elliott, received 137 votes ; the New-school, Mr. Dickerson 106. For Temporary Clerk the vote was 140 to 100. The Old-school felt assured that the final vote was in their power. The final decision, however, depended on unanimity of purpose and action. Division and defeat have been the disgrace of many a hopeful majority, and the powerful aids of many a firm minority. The two parties understood their position, and the preservation of their own unity was never lost sight of through all the discussions of the protracted sessions of the Assembly.

On Friday afternoon, the memorial of the Convention was, after some discussion, referred to the Committee of Bills and Overtures, consisting of Rev. Messrs. John Witherspoon, Archibald Alexander, Nathan S. S. Beman, Thomas Cleland, Nicholas Murray, Andrew Todd and William Latta, with Elders David Fullerton, Isaac Coe, Thomas Keddo, and T. P. Smith. On Saturday morning, the committee reported, and, after some discussion, the memorial was read to the Assembly and a large crowd of spectators. It was then referred to a special committee, Rev. Messrs. A. Alexander, W. S. Plumer, Ashbel Green, G. A. Baxter, A. W. Leland, and Elders Walter Lowrie and James Lenox. On Monday morning, the 22d, an overture from the Presbytery of New Brunswick, for the abrogation of the Plan of Union — one from the Presbytery of Albany, on the state of the church — and one from the Presbytery of Lancaster, on



the same general subject, were read and referred to the same committee. The chairman of the committee reported, in part, on the memorial, and said: "The general subjects of the memorial to the Assembly, viz: religious doctrine, church order and discipline, and reform on these subjects, are lawful matters of memorial to the Assembly; and, whatever may be thought of the details, none can read the documents without feeling it comes from men who are respectful, earnest and solemn, and apprehensive of danger to the cause of truth. As one of the principal objects of the memorialists is to point out certain errors more or less prevalent in our church, and to bear testimony against them, your committee are of opinion, that, as one great object of the institution of the church was to be a depository and guardian of the truth, and as by the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, it is made the duty of the General Assembly to testify against error — therefore, *Resolved*, That the testimony of the memorialists concerning doctrine, be adopted as the testimony of this General Assembly."

The list of errors as presented by the memorialists, with some few verbal alterations, was then offered to the Assembly. The errors in the list were fifteen in number. Some members of Assembly thought that others should be added; and the Rev. John Mines proposed four others. Dr. Beman thought the list was too long; he had never before heard of some of them. Mr. Jessup proposed making the resolution and list the order of the day for the next morning, Tuesday, to give time for deliberation, and proposing amendments. Mr. Plumer objected to postponement. He said: "If this body will unite in their testimony against these, our troubles will be disposed of: for this is going to the foundation. Let us agree here, and we can easily settle other matters, provided the Presbyteries will second our action." Dr. Baxter said: "These were plain points of doctrine, with which every Presbyterian should be familiar; and he could not see how any one was qualified to preach, who could not express an opinion on them." Dr. Alexander thought there might be postponement. After a number of speeches on each side, the consideration of the resolution and the list of errors was postponed till nine o'clock on Tuesday morning. This postponement had the effect of changing the whole course of debate and of action, and led to unanticipated results.

In the afternoon of Monday, the 22d, the first portion of the second resolution presented by the special committee on the memorial was taken up: "That in regard to the relations existing between the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, the committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, viz.: 1st. That between these two branches of the American Church there ought, in the judgment of this Assembly, to be maintained sentiments of mutual respect and esteem, and for that purpose no reasonable effort should be omitted to preserve a perfectly good understanding between these branches of the church of Christ." This being adopted, the next was taken up: "2d. That it is expedient to continue the plan of

friendly intercourse between this Church and the Congregational Churches of New England, as it now exists." Mr. Breckenridge proposed to insert the words "at present," to read "that it is expedient at present." After some observations from Mr. Murray and Mr. Hitchcock, of Massachusetts, Mr. Breckenridge withdrew the amendment, and the resolution was adopted. The third resolution was then taken up, viz. : "3d. But, as the Plan of Union adopted for the new settlements in 1801, was originally an unconstitutional act on the part of the Assembly, these important standing rules having never been submitted to the Presbytery, and as they were totally destitute of authority, as proceeding from the General Association of Connecticut, which is invested with no power to legislate in such cases, especially to enact laws to regulate churches not within her limits, and as much confusion and irregularity have arisen from this unnatural and unconstitutional system of union — *Therefore, it is resolved, That the act of Assembly of 1801, entitled a Plan of Union, be and the same is hereby abrogated.*"

Dr. Green said he was in the Assembly when the union was formed, and gave a short history of the Plan; that it was well designed, had done all the good it ever would, was not working well, and did not answer the desired end. On Tuesday morning, the 23d, the order of the day, to consider the memorial, being postponed, Dr. Green was called upon to explain more fully the Plan of Union and its influence. Having done so, he pointed out the evils arising from it, particularly that it brought men into the judicatories of the Presbyterian Church who had never received its doctrines, or subscribed to its form of government, or discipline of the church. Committee men were permitted to act as elders, and took their seats in Presbyteries and Synods and Assembly; and men, that had never adopted the Confession of Faith, voted on subjects of doctrine and order and discipline of the Presbyterian Church; and it was easy to see that fundamental questions might be decided by men ignorant of the principles of the church, or at least not adopting them.

Dr. Alexander said he was a member of the Assembly of 1801, though a young one. The Union was adopted as a temporary arrangement. At that time there were no suspicions of danger, no suspicions respecting persons, for all were agreed on doctrinal points. Dr. Edwards, a Presbyterian, though brought up a Congregationalist, proposed it, from his great solicitude for the welfare and the increase of the Church in the State of New York. But the plan was working illy, and ought no longer to be tolerated. As to the Churches formed on this plan, he supposed time would be given them to determine to which body they would adhere; whether they would adopt fully the Confession of Faith, and be Presbyterians, or would prefer the Congregational plan, and form associations.

Mr. Junkin argued, from the past, the danger to the Churches from the existence of the Plan of Union. It was not making Presbyterian Churches; the Churches formed did not adopt the Confession of the Presbyterian Church, nor, in the present state of things,

was there any probability they ever would; and yet they possessed in our highest judicatories, to whom were referred matters of vital interest, the same privileges and powers as those who were truly Presbyterians. They exercised these powers to the damage of the Presbyterian Church; and judging from the vote they gave on Dr. Miller's resolution last year, if ever our Book is put aside, and our system crushed, it will be by the agency of those Churches; their vote will make the majority that does the work.

A number of commissioners to the Assembly from districts where the Plan of Union had been in operation, having spoken in its favor, Dr. M'Auley said he had been a missionary as early as 1799; and gave a history of the new settlements as he saw them. He thought the influence of the Plan of Union had been good; and would not call it unwise or unnatural, for it had sprung from the necessities of the times. He would not defend the Union on the ground of the Constitution; but he could not vote for the resolution. If time were given for the Churches to change their forms, say three years, he would not be so much opposed.

Mr. Elepha White said he considered the resolution as virtually a division of the Presbyterian Church, and designed as such. He conceded that the plan was not constitutional; but he opposed the expediency of the abrogation, and dreaded the results. If the question were for a committee of division of the Presbyterian Church, his heart and hand would go with it.

Mr. Plumer spoke for the abrogation, and urged its inutility for good, and its effectiveness for evil. Dr. Peters spoke against the abrogation as unjust, and unkind, and unnecessary. Mr. Plumer answered the objections to the resolutions; and Dr. Peters replied. The debate was continued through Tuesday morning; and in the afternoon the question was taken, for the resolution 143; against it 110.

On Wednesday afternoon, the 24th of May, the Assembly proceeded to the resolution, postponed from Monday to Tuesday, and then to Wednesday, viz.: the resolution respecting the doctrinal errors brought to the notice of the Assembly by the memorial, and then by the committee. The motion to amend by adding certain other errors was discussed for some time. A motion was made to indefinitely postpone the amendment; and while this was under discussion the Assembly adjourned.

On Thursday, 25th, a motion to resume the unfinished business of Wednesday, viz.: the postponement of the amendment to the resolution of the committee, was decided in the negative. The moderator had decided that the motion to take up must be without debate; an appeal from his decision was, by the house, decided in favor of the chair. The majority of the Assembly determined in this stage of the business not to discuss this part of the memorial. It had been the expectation that the force of the discussion would be on the resolution respecting the errors; and these being disposed of, a platform would be presented for future action. It had been supposed that

in the condemnation of these doctrines, marked as errors, or in the approbation of them, a construction of the Confession of Faith, of permanent authority, would be given. This course had been desired by the memorialists until this day. At this time they very unanimously voted to postpone decision and discussion. The reasons for this procedure were, that many errors would be proposed for adoption, as part of the list to be condemned, about which there could be no doubt that they were errors, but of which the Church was not complaining in any part of her borders; and when the list was completed, if it ever was, and a decision of Assembly given, it would appear to be a decision against things that did not exist, and nothing would be settled by the memorial or the resolution. That it was the design of those opposed to the memorial to take this course, in hopes of rendering the list condemned, altogether inefficient, and also with the hopes of dividing the memorialists on some matters of opinion not connected necessarily with the memorial, but tending to division, was evident to the memorialists at the time; and openly avowed by the opposition before the adjournment of the Assembly. And until there should be time for consultation how to avoid the evils impending, the memorialists preferred waiving the decision respecting the errors to a future day. The consequence of these repeated postponements, as will be seen, was entirely different from the anticipations of either the memorialists, or their opposers. Other subjects came up for discussion; the current of events and actions took an unexpected course; and the final and decisive action of the Assembly was taken on subjects not anticipated by any one at the time of postponement.

After it was decided on Thursday, the 25th, not to take up or resume the discussion on the amendment to the resolution on the list of errors, Mr. Plumer presented the following resolutions, "1st, That the proper steps be now taken, to cite, to the bar of the next Assembly, such inferior judicatories as are charged by common fame with irregularities. 2nd. That a special committee be now appointed to ascertain what inferior judicatories are thus charged by common fame, prepare charges and specifications against them, and to digest a suitable plan of procedure in the matters; and that said committee be requested to report as soon as practicable. 3d. That as citation on the foregoing plan is the commencement of a process involving the right of membership in the Assembly; therefore, resolved, that agreeably to a principle laid down, Chapter 5th, Sect. 9th. of the Form of Government, the members of said judicatories be excluded from a seat in the next Assembly, until their case be decided.

In support of these Mr. Plumer read Book of Discipline, Chapter 5th, Sect. 9th; Form of Government, Chapter, 12th, Sect. 5th; Book of Discipline, Chapter 7th, Sect. 1st, sub-sections 5 and 6. From these he argued that when common fame alleged the existence of grievance in inferior judicatories, the Assembly had the right of citation and trial; and until this was done, the persons charged might be denied their seats in the Assembly. Mr. Jessup opposed

the resolutions as unconstitutional; that the right to arraign belongs to the judicatory next above the body charged; Presbyteries may cite Sessions, Synods may cite Presbyteries, and the Assembly Synods; and that the right of issuing all appeals from Presbyteries is in the Synod. Mr. Breckenridge replied, that it was conceded that Synods might be arraigned and of course disciplined, and on whom could the effect fall but all the lower judicatories, more particularly infected. The Assembly would appoint committees to visit every Presbytery and arraign the unsound members, and on appeal bring them to this bar. That there were great difficulties in the way of carrying out the process was true. But the straight was the safe way. Mr. Elepha White did not concede to the Assembly the right to cite a Synod. The Assembly has power to judge of ministers only in case of appeals regularly brought up. These resolutions were leading to consolidation in the General Assembly, depriving Synods and Presbyteries of their reserved rights.

On Friday, 26th, Dr. Beman spoke at length against the constitutionality of the resolutions; and on the impossibility of executing them according to the book of discipline, if the attempt were made; and moreover that there would be strong resistance by the Presbyteries and churches. Dr. Baxter thought these resolutions necessary as a subsequent action; and that the Assembly had full powers according to Chapter 12th, of Form of Government, Sect. 5th, viz.: "to the General Assembly also belongs the power of deciding in all controversies respecting doctrines and discipline; of reproving, warning, or bearing testimony against error in doctrine, or immorality in practice in any Church, Presbytery or Synod, of suppressing schismatical contentions and disputations." When the action of the Synod of Kentucky, in cutting off a Presbytery was put before the Assembly, the decision was against the Synod by four votes; on the second presentation, the Assembly sanctioned the Synod. When common fame originates a process the Assembly may authorize the excision of the whole Synod. Presbyterians are not Congregationalists, and if the two are compelled to live under the same forms, they will certainly be in confusion. And is there not now war? Both parties, with separate organizations, would be more efficient and would have mutual attachments, that do not now exist. Mr. Dickerson objected to the resolutions, on account of the want of definiteness in the terms; that the facts were not fully before the Assembly; that the plan of operation was unconstitutional; that the strongest discipline was proposed before the preliminary steps were taken; and that odium was cast on one half the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Plumer replied at large to Dr. Beman, Mr. Dickerson and Mr. Jessup, maintaining his positions from the constitution, and the necessity there was for some action as proved by documents in hand. In the afternoon, Dr. M'Auley and Dr. Peters spoke against the resolutions. The vote stood, ayes 128, nays 122. On Saturday morning the committee to carry into effect these resolutions, were named, viz.: Cuyler, Breckenridge, Baxter, Baird and

**M'Kennan.** As soon as the debate was closed on Friday, Mr. Breckenridge gave notice that he should bring in a resolution *for the voluntary division of the Church.*

The debate for and against citation was the most exciting of the forensic efforts made in all the sessions of the Assembly. In it were specimens of logical reasoning of all grades, from the purest abstract reasoning to the sophistical. There was declamation cogent, and light and wordy; "the retort courteous and the reply valiant;" earnest appeal and rapid consecutive reasoning from facts; mental strength in making statements, and mental power in weaving a tissue of argument and fact. All the speakers were handsome specimens of their peculiar manner and style. Of the opposing parties in the debate, without disparagement of the different speakers, the palm of superiority was yielded to Dr. Beman in the opposition, and Mr. Plumer, the mover of the resolutions; each excelling in his characteristic style. Mr. Plumer, in his opening speech on the resolutions, stated simply the necessity of the citation, the authorities, and the outlines of the evils to be removed, with no effort but to be heard, and understood clearly. Dr. Beman attacked the resolutions. He bore himself gracefully as an orator; his elocution was charming; his appeals strong; his sarcasm severe. He rose as one conscious of power and certain of victory. He chose his position near the pulpit, on the moderator's right, so that he faced the house easily without turning from the moderator uncourteously. To an Old-School man whose seat was near, he says, "Oh move away, I shall blow you all away." He was listened to with great attention. His declamation was often splendid. It was said he drew tears from the audience in the gallery. He argued the unconstitutionality of the citations; the want of necessity for such a procedure if it were constitutional; and the havoc the proceeding would do; and the impossibility of carrying them into effect. He was much complimented for his speech by admirers of fine speaking; and by those that sympathised with him. On the impossibility of carrying the resolutions into effect, he was very able. The array of difficulties alarmed many of the Old-School who believed in the constitutionality of citation, and the great necessity of reform. The difficulty, if not utter impossibility set forth by Dr. Beman, inclined many to think citation a useless expense of labor, and time and feeling. Those that thought citation unnecessary, and those that for a time thought it useless, made at the conclusion of Dr. Beman's speech, the majority of the house.

In this state of the debate Mr. Plumer took the floor. Those who knew him well, saw that he was oppressed. His friends were moved, lest his anxiety should destroy his composure. His first few sentences were not particularly interesting. Like the skiff putting off into the eddies of the river, heading one way and then another, till by a dexterous stroke of the paddle it shoots to the main current, and then sweeps down the stream. The whole house was off its guard. Suddenly he struck the current, and was carrying us all

along with him before we could be aware; and the flow of the stream went on broader and deeper. His great effort was to do away the effect of Dr. Beman's speech upon that part of the house that were wavering. He first sought out all the weak spots in his adversary's armor, and hurled his darts with appalling directness into the open joints of his harness. His declamation was powerful. His language was varied; sometimes terse, sometimes flowing, sometimes quaint almost to obscurity, and sometimes florid almost to superfluity. Intermingled all along were anecdote and sarcasm, till the weaker points of his opponent seemed to have swallowed up the stronger. He then repeated the constitutional argument, and the causes of the action, and from the greatness of the difficulties in the way, showed the absolute necessity of a great reform. He produced a profound impression, that a great evil was to be boldly met, and speedily met, and no better means yet appeared than citation. His speech changed the fate of the question.

The sense of the Assembly on the list of errors was supposed to be clearly expressed by the vote on these resolutions. The majority thought that the churches and ministers holding such errors ought to be brought to the bar of the Assembly, and that there were such in the bounds of the Presbyterian Church. The minority was composed of those who thought there were no such errors in the church, or that some at least on the list were not really errors, or that this was not the best way to reach the errors in existence.

On Saturday morning, the 27th, Mr. Breckenridge, in consequence of a proposition made by Dr. Peters, brought forward his resolution for an amicable division of the church, which, amended and adopted, was — "That a committee of ten members, of whom an equal number shall be from the majority and minority of the vote on the resolutions to cite inferior judicatories, be appointed on the state of the church." Rev. Messrs. Breckenridge, Alexander, Cuyler, and Witherspoon, with Mr. Ewing, were appointed for the majority; and Rev. Messrs. M'Auley, Beman, Peters, and Dickerson, with Mr. Jessup, on the minority. The committee was, on each side, entirely agreeable, being named by a committee from the majority and minority, each choosing those they desired. It was understood that the object of this committee was to promote amicable division of the church. This was expressed in the original motion of Mr. Breckenridge, according to his notice on Friday. The form adopted appeared most parliamentary.

On Monday, 29th, the report of the committee on the right of Presbyteries to examine ministers applying for admission, was amended and adopted, viz.: — "That the constitutional right of every Presbytery to examine all seeking connexion with them was settled by the Assembly of 1835. (See minutes of 1837, p. 27.) And this Assembly now render it imperative on Presbyteries to examine all who make application for admission into their bodies, at least on experimental religion, didactic and polemic theology, and church government."

On Tuesday, May 30th, Mr. Breckenridge, from the committee on the state of the church, reported that the committee could not agree, and asked to be discharged. Both parts of the committee then made their reports of propositions. From these it appeared that both parts had agreed upon propositions and terms as follows: 1st. The propriety of a voluntary separation of the parties of the church, and their separate organization. 2d. As to the names to be held by the two bodies: one to be called, The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; and the other, The General Assembly of the American Presbyterian Church. 3d. That the records of the church remain with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and that an attested copy, made by the present stated clerk, at the joint expense of the two bodies, be delivered to the Moderator of the American Presbyterian Church. 4th. That the corporate funds of the church for the Theological Seminary at Princeton remain the property of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America; and other funds to be equally divided between the two bodies. But the parts of committee disagreed about the time of making this division, and the manner of making it. The committee of the majority insisted, that the Commissioners in the present Assembly elect the body to which they will adhere, and that the division be made at once; it being understood that any Presbytery may reserve the choice of its Commissioner, and that large minorities of Presbyteries, or a number of small ones united, may form new Presbyteries, and these shall be attached to the Assembly of their choice. The committee of the minority insisted that the plan of division and organization be submitted to the Presbyteries; and if the majority were for division, then the Commissioners to take their seats as directed by their Presbyteries. An immediate amicable division not being practicable, the whole matter was laid on the table, yeas 138, nays 107.

While the discussions on the citation were going on, the mind of Dr. Baxter was painfully impressed with the facts and illustrations brought forward by Dr. Beman, and others, to show the difficulty of executing any such discipline. They had said, Suppose you cite Sessions, they will be defended by their Presbyteries; suppose you cite Presbyteries, they will be defended by their Synods; for the Synods, Presbyteries, and Churches, are harmonious in belief and practice; that the evils complained of were justified by the original condition of things, by consequent habit, and the strong hope that, in a few years, by the operation of the causes at work in the West, the majority of the Presbyterian Church would be of their way of thinking; that the East looked for it as well as the West. The documents showed him what the state of things was in some places; the speakers had said there was great harmony in opinion and action. He was astounded and distressed. He felt the extent of the observation of a certain theological professor, "that the progress of certain notions in the West would soon revolutionize the Presbyterian Church," and of the expression of another, "that the last kick of



Presbyterianism had been made." He, with others, were oppressed by these reflections. The condition of things was worse, by the showing of friends, than had been supposed by those generally who voted for citation. Dining with a young friend one day, he says — "What think you of the principle, that *an unconstitutional law involves the unconstitutionality of all done under it.*" His friend replied that the question was new, and he was not prepared to answer without more reflection. Dr. Baxter then enlarged upon it, and showed its application to the matter in hand. His young friend proposed that he form a proposition in writing, with some thoughts, and submit them to the consideration of the older members of Assembly. Pen and paper were brought, and the Doctor wrote a few lines, and agreed to propose the subject to his acquaintances; and his young friend promised to do the same. And the proposition was brought up in private circles and fully considered.

On the night of Monday, the 29th, the night before the report of the Committee on the State of the Church, or division of the Church, the Convention held a session. No previous meeting exhibited equal depth of feeling or strength of interest. Propositions were made without speeches or arguments, or exhortations. The votes were taken after some time of silent consideration. It was "*Resolved*, that in order to prevent confusion, all subjects presented by the majority for the consideration of the Assembly, should be first agreed upon in the Convention; that the propositions agreed upon should be presented by some one known to all; and five persons were named, one of whom should offer the resolutions agreed upon, that nullification followed unconstitutionality, and that the application of the principle should be made first with the Western Reserve Synod; and, finally, unless the Committee on the State of the Church should on the next morning make some proposition for division that should prove acceptable, a motion should be made to disconnect the Western Reserve Synod from the Assembly.

On Tuesday morning, May 30th, after the report of Committee on the state of the Church was made, and the whole matter laid on the table, Mr. Plumer rose and offered the following resolution — "That by the operation of the abrogation of the Plan of Union of 1801, the Synod of the Western Reserve is, and is hereby declared to be no longer a part of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America." Having made the proposition he yielded the floor to Dr. Baxter, who said, "the resolution was not propounded in unkindness, but as the only way left to effect a separation pronounced by all desirable. No principle was better established than this, that when an unconstitutional law was abrogated, all that had grown up under that law was swept away with it. While a law stands the claims under it are valid; but when it is pronounced unconstitutional everything dependent on it falls. The Yazoo claims in Georgia illustrate the principle." He then applied the principle to the Western Reserve Synod. Dr. Peters and others frequently interrupted him in his argument by calls for "*order*," a call Dr. Baxter

never before heard made in any judicatory while he was speaking. After hearing it repeatedly, he said, "If gentlemen will call on me so often, I shall be under the necessity of calling on them to write out a speech for me." He then proceeded to show from facts and documents before the Assembly, and the speeches of those opposed to citation, that the state of things in the Church was such that a separation could not be effected too soon.

Mr. Jessup followed, denying the power of the Assembly to cut off the Western Reserve, or declare her out of the connexion, and strongly deprecated the measure as unconstitutional, and unnecessary if it were. Dr. M'Auley followed, strongly deprecating the measure, and spoke with deep feeling, and at times with much pathos. He thought the evils complained of might be remedied some other way more agreeable to her views of right and prudence; that this act was an attempt at dissolving churches, and unclothing ministers blessed of God. Mr. Plumer replied, "that as in the abrogation of the Plan of Union, the churches were not dissolved, so under the present resolution the church capacity of these churches was not interfered with, or the office of the ministry; it was a declaration that they were not a part of the Presbyterian Church, and the declaration was grounded on the fact that they had not conformed themselves to the doctrines, or forms, or discipline of that Church. If there were any true Presbyterian churches in that region, they would come out and unite on the true principle, and the others would follow their own predilections.

Mr. Cleveland followed; his earnest desire was for peace. He proposed the consideration by the Assembly of the propositions before the Committee of ten on the state of the Church; that perhaps some amicable division might take place. The day being spent, Mr. Cleveland gave way to adjournment. On Wednesday morning, May 31st, he resumed his speech, and having restated his opinions and wishes, moved to postpone the resolution offered by Mr. Plumer, and take up the question of separation in a constitutional and amicable way. Mr. Junkin followed, and opposed any such postponement, and advocated speedy separation. He said there was satisfactory evidence, though not strictly legal evidence, that the overwhelming majority of the churches in that Synod were not Presbyterians. He was repeatedly interrupted with offers to prove that the state of things was better than he had stated. Mr. Junkin gave way to hear. Some Commissioners from that Synod came forward to give information. The question was put to each one of these before he gave the information in extenso—"Have you publicly received the Confession of Faith." Each one refused to answer that or any other question respecting themselves, as they were not on trial. Mr. Junkin proceeded. It was stated that it had been actually discussed among the ministers of the Western Reserve—Whether they should not leave the Presbyterian connexion, and form a Congregational Association. Mr. Junkin argued that the churches and ministers were not Presbyterian in doctrine, or form, or desire,

or intention, and therefore the sooner they were by themselves the better. Dr. Peters spoke at length against the principle of the resolution; he quoted an assertion of Dr. Witherspoon respecting himself, which he considered derogatory; Dr. Witherspoon arose, acknowledged the assertion and his error, and honorably retracted. In the course of his speech, Dr. Peters admitted that he had objected to the Assembly's carrying on Foreign and Domestic Missions, and that he thought the American Home Missionary Society, (of which he was secretary), was enough for domestic missions, and the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, for foreign missions.

On Thursday, June 1st, Mr. Jessup said, Dr. Baxter had put his written argument into his hands with a request for him to answer it. He stated his argument against it, and contended that if it were applied to the question in hand, it dissolved the churches. Mr. Ewing followed, and was arguing the question of constitutionality in the calm, forensic manner of his profession; being repeatedly interrupted by the declaration that things were better than his argument supposed; when Mr. Breckenridge arose and once more asked of Mr. Kingsbury, a Ruling Elder from the Western Reserve, and a Commissioner in the Assembly — "How you ever adopted the Confession of Faith?" He refused to answer "that question." Mr. Ewing continued, and explained at large the Yazoo claims, and the manner of their settlement; the unconstitutionality of the law, on which these claims were founded, being declared, the claims were set aside. He argued from the Form of Government the right of the Assembly to act on the principle proposed in the resolution under discussion. Mr. S. C. Anderson followed with a constitutional argument in favor of the resolution. He presented the whole subject, the principles and the application; and illustrated them from the process of civil law and natural law, and the principles and government of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Ewing spoke with the coolness and precision of the Pennsylvania lawyer; Mr. Anderson with the vehemence and apparent carelessness about words of the Virginia bar; both specimens of their kind. At the close of Mr. Anderson's speech there was a general call for the previous question — and then the main question was put, yeas 132, nays 105; and the Western Reserve Synod was declared not to be a part of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

In the afternoon of Friday, June 2d, a resolution was passed advisory to the discontinuance of the operations of the American Education Society, and the American Home Missionary Society in the bounds of the Presbyterian Church. The intention was to permit the Presbyteries to carry on the education cause and the missionary cause under the supervision of the Assembly.

On Saturday morning, June 3d, Mr. Breckenridge proposed the following resolutions, viz.: "1st. That in consequence of the abrogation by this Assembly, of the Plan of Union of 1801, between it and the General Association of Connecticut, as utterly unconstitu-

tional, and therefore null and void from the beginning, the Synods of Utica, Geneva, and Genesee, which were formed and attached to this body under and in execution of said Plan of Union, be, and are hereby declared to be out of the ecclesiastical connexion of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, and they are not in form or in fact an integral portion of said church." Resolutions 2, 3, and 4, followed. By motion of Mr. Jessup this resolution was brought up by itself to the consideration of Assembly; and after some debate he proposed as a substitute, a citation of the Synods to appear at the next Assembly and answer—"What they have done or failed to do," "and generally to answer any charges that may or can be alleged against them," &c.

On Monday, the 5th of June, the debate on postponement was continued till the afternoon. The arguments on both sides were substantially those on the question of the Western Reserve, and turned on the constitutionality, the necessity and prudence of the proposed cause of action. The previous question was called for, and the postponement and further debate cut off. The resolution was carried—yeas 115, nays 88.

The remaining resolutions of Mr. Breckenridge were proposed in order and carried, viz.: 2d. That the solicitude of this Assembly on the whole subject, and its urgency for the immediate decision of it, are greatly increased by reason of the gross disorders which are ascertained to have prevailed in those Synods (as well as that of the Western Reserve, against which a declarative resolution, similar to the first of these, has been passed during our present sessions); it being made clear to us, that even the Plan of Union itself was never consistently carried into effect by those professing to act under it. 3d. That the General Assembly has no intention, by these resolutions, or by that passed in the case of the Synod of the Western Reserve, to affect in any way the ministerial standing of any members of either of said Synods; nor to disturb the pastoral relation in any church; nor to interfere with the duties or relations of private Christians in their respective congregations; but only to declare and determine according to the truth and necessity of the case, by virtue of the full authority existing in it for the purpose, the relation of all said Synods, and all their constituent parts to this body, and to the Presbyterian Church in the United States. 4th. The fourth makes provision for such churches and ministers in the four Synods as are Presbyterian in doctrine and order. These were passed by yeas 113, nays 60.

Tuesday, June 6th, Dr. Alexander proposed to add to the rules of Assembly—1st, forbidding Commissioners to be reported from Presbyteries whose names are not duly reported by Synod and recognized by the Assembly; and 2d, refusing seats to any Commissioners from Presbyteries for unduly increasing representation, and requiring the Assembly to dissolve the Presbyteries. They were both carried.

Wednesday morning, June 7th. The subject of Foreign Missions was taken up. *Resolved*, "That the General Assembly will superintend and conduct, by its own proper authority, the works of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, by a Board appointed for that purpose, and directly amenable to the Assembly." This subject caused no debate in this stage of the business of the Assembly. Probably there was no subject on which previous Assemblies had ever acted, so deeply interesting to the Southern Church as this had been. They had been distant spectators of the excitements of other Synods and Presbyteries on doctrine and church order, and could hardly understand how Presbyteries, or ministers, or churches could claim to be Presbyterians without adopting the Confession of Faith, the platform of agreement, and distinction from all other churches; or how there could be so much discussion about doctrine by churches or ministers who claimed to be Presbyterians, unless they loved discussion and disputation for disputation's sake; or why, if the parties did not believe in the doctrines and forms professed, they desired to remain in the Presbyterian Church, unless the things about which they discussed and acted so vehemently, were nevertheless considered, after all, as logomachies, things for discussion, and mere verbal differences. They had carefully kept aloof from all commingling in the debate. The conviction that there was something real in dispute, and strange as it was real, began to fasten on them; and that the Southern churches would be compelled to reavow the Confession of Faith as their platform, and perhaps separate from those most excited by these matters of disputation. But the action of the commissioners assembled in General Assembly of 1836, in setting aside the agreement made between the Western Board of Foreign Missions and the committee of Assembly, and promulgating the principle that the Presbyterian Church, as a Church, ought not to carry on Foreign Missions or Domestic Missions on a scale equal to her limits, completely aroused many that had hitherto felt it their duty to remain quiet, to avow that the Presbyterian Church has a right to carry on missions; that she is herself a Missionary Society by the very nature of her constitution and essence of her existence; and no power shall forbid her to do so, if she feel it her duty so to do.

Churches and ministers who had been contented to send their tokens of Christian interest to the heathen through the American Board, and would have been content for a long time to come with that single channel, now resolved it was time there was another channel opened, though it was more stupendous in accomplishment than uniting the oceans by a pathway across America. Accordingly a Southern Presbytery, that had held aloof from all intermingling in the agitations in the Assembly, resolved, in the spring of 1837, to send a delegate to the Convention, and that the delegate to Convention should be commissioner to the Assembly. And what do you wish your delegate and commissioner to do in the Convention and Assembly? asked the commissioner. An elder member replied, "We

expect you to vote for a Board of Foreign Missions under the direction of the Assembly. We are all here connected with the American Board, and we may continue to be so. But the right and duty of the Presbyterian Church as a Church to carry on the work of Missions, Foreign and Domestic, and be a channel to those who wish to send the gospel to others, must be maintained at all hazards. On other subjects that come up, vote and act according to your own conscience." To this all assented. And unless the Assembly had established this Board, the efforts for purification would have been all in vain. There were the same reasons against all her Boards as against this; and this finally lost, all would have been lost. This gained, all were gained. After the decision of Assembly on other subjects discussion was unnecessary on this.

The commissioners of the Western Reserve, in preparation for a law-suit, having given notice to the treasurer and trustees of the General Assembly, not to regard the orders of the Assembly of 1837—on motion of Mr. Breckenridge, *Resolved*—"That this Assembly, in virtue of the powers vested in it by the act incorporating its trustees, do hereby in writing direct their trustees to continue to pay as heretofore, and to have no manner of respect to the notice mentioned above, nor to any similar notice that may come to their knowledge." The Assembly pledged itself to sustain the trustees in performing their duty. This was considered the first step towards a law-suit about the funds.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, 7th June, the Assembly took up the unfinished business of May 25th, the indefinite postponement of Mr. Mines' motion to amend the resolution on doctrinal errors, made May 22d, and postponed from time to time. By the previous question, taken without debate, the proposition to postpone, with Mr. Mines' motion for amendment, were both cut off. The resolution made May 22d, was carried without debate, ayes 109, nays, and non liquet, 17. The list of errors, with a few verbal alterations, is the same as presented by the Convention. The alterations are—in the 1st error, "God would have prevented," instead of "God would have been glad to prevent." In the 5th, after the 12th word, which is "God," insert "in this world." In the 6th, leave out "or" after the first semicolon. In the 7th, read "the guilt of Adam's sin, or of the righteousness of Christ." In the 10th, leave out the first clause. In the 11th, read "That saving faith is not an effort of the special operations of the Holy Spirit, but a mere rational belief in the truth, or assent to the word of God." In the 14th, read "particular," for "certain."

Had this resolution passed on the day it was proposed, or on the next day, with a strong majority—and there is little doubt a very large majority, particularly if we may judge from Mr. Duffield's protest, were prepared to condemn them—the whole course of affairs in the Assembly would have been changed. The plan of Union would have been abrogated; the Western Reserve Synod would have been cited; and a Board of Foreign Missions formed; and there the majority

would have paused, in all probability, as the memorialists expected. But the postponement was made on account of facts brought to light, and a conviction arising from the debate as carried on by the opponents, that the Assembly would be compelled to try another course. That other course was previously unthought of, and in its immediate and remote effects revolutionary. What the state of the Presbyterian Church would have been now, had the proposed course been pursued, is matter of speculation. Division would have been delayed probably; but when it would have come, and how it would come, no one can conjecture.

On motion of Mr. Plumer, Synods, Presbyteries and Sessions, were enjoined to exercise Christian discipline as the means of restoring and preserving purity in the Church. On motion of Mr. Breckenridge, the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia was dissolved, and the component parts reannexed to the Presbyteries from which they were taken.

A number of protests against the acts of Assembly were presented and admitted to record. June 7th. The protest of the commissioners from the Western Reserve Synod, against the act declaring that Synod not a part of the Presbyterian Church; the answer by Messrs. Plumer, Ewing and Woodhull; the whole argument on both sides in a condensed form. On the same day a protest against the abrogation of the Plan of Union; answer by Messrs. Junkin, Green and Anderson; a summary of the arguments used by both parties. On the same day a protest from the commissioners from the Synods of Utica, Geneva and Genessee, against the act declaring them no longer a part of the Presbyterian Church; answer by Messrs. Witherspoon, Murray and Simpson; a concise statement of the whole argument. On Thursday, 8th. The protest of Dr. Beman and others against the act of citation, and the act respecting the Synod of Western Reserve; answer by Messrs. Breckenridge, Annin and Todd; the argument on both sides stated with ability. On the same day, a protest by Mr. Duffield and others against the resolution on erroneous doctrines; Mr. Plumer moved it be recorded without answer, and copies be sent to the Presbyteries to which the protestors belong, with injunction that enquiry be made into the soundness of the faith of those who have made the avowals in the protest. Mr. Duffield, presented a protest against the dissolution of the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia. Mr. Plumer proposed a short answer, which was adopted—that the principle of elective affinity on which it was founded, has been declared unconstitutional; and having been formed by Assembly could certainly be dissolved by it. A protest against the action relating to the American Home Missionary Society and American Education Society; the answer by Messrs. Alexander, Green and Potts; the argument ably stated on both sides. A protest from Dr. Beman against the action respecting the Synods of Utica, Geneva and Genessee; Mr. Plumer proposed for answer a reference to the answer to preceding memorials on the same subject.

These protests and answers embrace the whole subject of the controverted action of the Assembly of 1837, and are presented in the minutes of the meeting for that year. To these the Assembly added a pastoral letter prepared by Messrs. Alexander, Baxter and Leland. This gives the reasons for abrogating the Plan of Union, and for declaring the four Synods no longer a part of the Presbyterian Church, and for the orders necessarily connected with these acts, in the plain, direct language, and consecutive reasoning, characteristic of the writers, two of whom Virginia claimed as her sons. A circular letter was prepared by Messrs. Breckenridge, Latta and Plumer, addressed to all other churches, presenting the Presbyterian Church in the midst of her troubles, in a graphic manner, and her efforts to shake off the superincumbent weight, in language becoming the committee and the Church. These various papers give imperishable value to the pamphlet containing the printed minutes of the Assembly of 1837.

On the evening of Thursday, 8th of June, the Assembly was dissolved. The members returned to their homes, to meet their fellow presbyters and the churches, and give an account of their doings, and to receive their condemnation, or grateful approbation. The commissioners from Virginia returned to excitements unprecedented in the history of the Synod. They went conscious that many things would appear as having been done hastily and prematurely; that the public mind was prepared for the course designed by the memorialists, — decision on the list of errors of doctrine, citation of Synods supposed in error, and abrogation of the Plan of Union — and a division amicably agreed upon, or one separating North and South; — but not prepared for the division that had been made.

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## CHAPTER XLII.

### THE DIVISION OF THE SYNOD OF VIRGINIA.

THE action of the Assembly respecting the four Synods, the Western Reserve, Utica, Genesee, and Geneva, by which they were declared not to be a part of the Presbyterian Church, was an absorbing subject in Virginia. Was this action right, or was it wrong? Was it an executive, or judicial, or tyrannical act? What were the grounds of procedure? Were they in the ordinary course of Presbyterian government, or were they revolutionary? And finally, would the churches in Virginia sustain the act of the Assembly? Every sort of discussion was carried on during the summer — the calm and the fiery, the cool and the passionate, the dignified and the common-place, the argumentative and the declamatory; with every



grade of Christian deportment, from the pure, and elevated, and gentlemanly, and kind, down to the coarse and vulgar and hard; and in every form of communication, verbal, and by the press; in assemblies, large and small; and by pamphlets and newspapers, and monthly and quarterly periodicals.

Dr. Baxter, on his return to the Seminary, found the gentlemen, composing with him the faculty of instruction, Messrs. Goodrich and Taylor, professors, and Mr. Ballentine, assistant teacher, not prepared to approve of his course in the Assembly. The President of the College in the immediate vicinity openly declared himself in opposition to the doings of the Assembly in the general, and of Dr. Baxter in particular. The pastor of the church embracing the College and the Seminary, Mr. Staunton, sustained the action of the Assembly, and defended the course of Dr. Baxter. The relations of these brethren had previously been of the most harmonious kind; and the opposition, so far as known, was free from personality, and unmixed with jealousy. The Southern Religious Telegraph, edited by Mr. Converse, took decided ground against the action of the Assembly, and commenced the discussion before the delegates returned to their homes. Its columns, however, were open to the defence of the Assembly and its acts, and the Commissioners and their course. Dr. Baxter was requested by the students of the Seminary to deliver in the hall a lecture explanatory of his course. This lecture appeared in the Telegraph. Comments and replies followed. Dr. Carroll chose to express his opinions in pamphlet form. Professors Goodrich and Taylor became decided in their opposition. Dr. Baxter looked round for his associates in the ministry, whose hearts had beat with him in his youth; and of the few spared by death, Houston, and M'Ilhenney, and Calhoon, and Mitchel, one after another came to his aid, cheering him with the friendship of age. One only was wanting, Dr. Hill. He took his pen, early and vigorously, against the acts of Assembly in reference to the four Synods. His convictions of wrong done by the Assembly were deep, and he embarked in the opposition with the energy of his youth. He considered the constitution of the church invaded, and he stood for its defence; and for his construction of it he spoke and wrote unremittingly. From his age, influence, activity with the pen, readiness for popular address, he became, if not absolutely the leader of the opposition to the acts of Assembly, in Virginia, at least the foremost amongst equals, the presiding presbyter. He prepared some historical criticisms and essays for the weekly papers, which were widely circulated. In this kind of writing he early took the lead of those opposed to the action of the Assembly of 1837; his memory reached back to the splendid era of the two Smiths and Graham in their prime, and was enriched with traditions respecting Davies and Robinson.

On the last day of summer the Watchman of the South made its appearance, the Rev. William S. Plumer, the proprietor and editor, Richmond. It became, according to its design, the vehicle of the

thoughts and purposes of those who sustained the acts of the Assembly, individually and generally. The ability of the articles in attack and defence of the Assembly, that appeared in the Virginia papers, was not surpassed in any section of the church. The Watchman became a leading paper, and in the course of the first year of its existence the only Presbyterian paper published in Virginia. Mr. Converse removed his press to Philadelphia, to become the organ of opposition to the acts of the Assembly of 1837 on a larger scale than could be attempted in Richmond.

At the fall meeting of the Presbyteries the acts of Assembly became the fruitful subject of discussion by the members assembled. In Winchester Presbytery the action of the Assembly was sustained by a small majority. In Lexington the unanimity was almost complete. In the other Presbyteries the minorities were large. The Synod held its annual meeting in October, in Lexington. The attendance was large. The subject was discussed with great ability. The majority to sustain the Assembly was decisive. The minority was numerous and able. Division in sentiment in the Virginia Synod, to any extent producing excitement, and threatening alienation, had never before been known. A division of Synod into two bodies, to be connected with antagonistic bodies, was not yet seriously thought of. By far the greater part, if not the whole, fully believed that the integrity of the Synod would be preserved completely, notwithstanding the commotions that agitated her bosom. Some had fears lest there might be secessions to other denominations. But a division on the principles of elective affinity was never mentioned. The majority expected the minority to coalesce; and the minority expected the majority to relax somewhat, and that the Assembly of 1838 would abate the severity of the decisions of 1837. The winter was passed in discordance. The two parties seemed to be gradually diverging in sentiment and feeling.

At the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Union Theological Seminary in April, 1838, the determined purpose of the two parties in the church became manifest, beyond further dispute. In the ordinary course of business, the report of the Faculty of Instructors, Messrs. Baxter, Goodrich, Taylor and Ballentine, came under consideration. In that report was this sentence: "We think we ought to urge upon the attention of the Board the state of the funds, and the small number of students who are now in the seminary, or who are preparing for the ministry, within the bounds of the Synods." It was the opinion of the Board, that much of the difficulty alluded to, both in respect of students and of funds, was to be attributed to the fact that neither of the parties, into which the church was now divided, had sufficient confidence in the instructions of the seminary, as conducted by the faculty. It was understood that the present students were generally prepared to leave the seminary; and it was also the general opinion, that new ones would not come, until the course of instruction on certain subjects was better understood. The reading of the resolutions of the Synod of North

Carolina, at her regular meeting at Shiloh, Granville County, September, 1837, was called for.

“WHEREAS the Synod of North Carolina has, by a large majority, voted to sustain the measures which were adopted by the last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, believing them to be happily calculated to restore purity and peace to our churches: *Resolved*, 1st. That in order to secure the confidence of this Synod, and its cordial co-operation in building up and sustaining the Union Theological Seminary, it is very desirable and important, that the sentiments of the professors in the seminary should, in relation to the measures aforesaid, harmonize with those of this Synod and its Presbyteries, in sustaining the action of the Assembly. 2d. But, should any of the professors, on examination of this subject, arrive at the conclusion that they cannot consistently, with their views of truth and duty, concur with the Assembly in the measures of reform which were adopted, Synod will not deem it necessary or expedient for such professors, on that account, to dissolve their connexion with said seminary, provided they can, with a good conscience, refrain from all attempts to exert over our churches, and over the minds of their theological pupils, an influence tending to contravene the decisions of the General Assembly and of this Synod.” The Synod of Virginia, sustaining the Assembly, had passed no resolutions respecting the seminary.

After the reading of the resolutions of the Synod of North Carolina, it was resolved, “That this Board cordially approve of the above resolutions of the Synod of North Carolina; and hereby adopt them, as expressing their own sentiments.” The professors were present during the deliberations of the Board, and were personally inquired of by the chairman of the meeting, whether they would comply with the expressed will of the Synod of North Carolina, now adopted by the Board. Mr. Goodrich said, “he could not hold his sentiments in silence, but must disseminate them.” Mr. Taylor said, “the resolutions of the Synod of North Carolina had induced him to express through the press his sentiments, that neither they nor his positions might be doubtful; and that he thought the churches would not sustain the course of the Synods.” After some desultory conversation, the two professors declined acquiescing in, or harmonizing with, the expressed sentiments of the Board and one Synod. After conversation on the propriety of resignation, Mr. Goodrich said, that, in present circumstances, he could not feel at liberty to resign, unless he were requested to do so by the Board. Mr. Taylor united in this determination. After some further conversation, Mr. Goodrich declared that his resignation could not depend upon the departure of the students, in the present circumstances, even if all departed, but only on the request of the Board. Both professors declared, that, in the present state of the church, they were pursuing the course which appeared to them the line of duty. After deliberation, a motion was made and adopted: “That inasmuch as the Rev. Hiram P. Goodrich and Stephen Taylor, pro-

fessors in the Union Theological Seminary, do hold opinions opposed to the action of the General Assembly, in disowning the four Synods; and that, notwithstanding the expression of the Synod of North Carolina, they consider themselves bound to express said opinions, and extend the influence of said opinions in our churches, and are determined so to do: *Therefore, Resolved*, That this Board do solemnly declare it as their judgment, that the said professors, holding and propagating said opinions, in opposition to the acts and doings of the General Assembly, ought forthwith to resign." In consequence of this resolution, the professors tendered each his resignation, which was accepted, and the treasurer was directed to pay each, in addition to the salary due, three months' salary from the first of May; and the professors were invited to retain, for the accommodation of their families, the houses they then occupied, till they could make suitable arrangements elsewhere. Mr. Ballentine, after full and free conversation, was employed as assistant teacher, at nine hundred dollars per annum, for the succeeding year. It was understood, that, if Mr. Ballentine felt himself, at any time, bound to pursue a course not consistent with the resolutions of North Carolina and of the Board of Directors, and different from the one he had pursued, he would feel it his duty first to retire from the seminary. Neither of the professors were personally obnoxious to the Board; and their course of procedure, in relation to the acts of Assembly, was the cause, and not the occasion of their resignation.

Dr. Hill admitted the thought of final separation from his brethren with great reluctance. He was indulging the hope of modification of the action of the Assembly, or the formation of a Southern organization. A Commissioner to the Assembly of 1838, he was active in procuring a meeting of those Commissioners opposed to the acts of 1837, in the lecture-room of the First Presbyterian church, on the evening previous to the meeting of the Assembly. At the same time a meeting of those favorable to the doings of the last Assembly, was held for consultation. Those that met with Dr. Hill, proposed three resolutions respecting the present crisis, the first expresses "a hope that there are no insurmountable obstacles in the way of averting the calamities of a violent dismemberment. 2d, That we are ready to co-operate in any efforts for pacification which are constitutional, and which shall recognise the regular standing, and secure the rights of the entire church, including those portions which the acts of the General Assembly were intended to exclude." The third named a Committee of three, Hon. William Hall, Rev. Dr. Hill, and Dr. Fisher, to convey these resolutions to those Commissioners who were favorable to the action of the Assembly of '37, then in session in the city, "for the purpose of ascertaining some terms of agreement." To these resolutions, the Commissioners addressed, replied by a Committee, Dr. Baxter, Professor M'Lean, and William Maxwell, Esq.—"*Resolved*, unanimously, that the Convention regard the said overtures of the meeting, however intended, as founded upon

a basis which is wholly inadmissible, and as calculated only to disturb that peace of our church which a calm adherence to those constitutional, just and necessary acts of the last General Assembly can, by the blessing of divine Providence, alone establish and secure." Thus ended all hope of pacification grounded on a repeal of the past obnoxious acts.

Drs. Baxter and Hill discovered their diverging tendencies at the inauguration; they had fully expressed their difference in the columns of the Telegraph, and at the Synod in Lexington, in the fall of '37; and now they met in Philadelphia, Dr. Hill denouncing the course of Dr. Baxter, and demanding a retraction; and Dr. Baxter affirming the propriety of his previous course, and rejecting all proposals looking towards retraction. It was not a wordy meeting. They knew each other. They parted never more to meet in council or negotiation on earth. Dr. Hill now lost all hopes that the Assembly about to meet, would retreat from the position taken the previous year, and he prepared himself for a step he had not desired to take. On the next day the assembled delegates, when in the act of constituting the Assembly, separated and formed two Assemblies, which were known for a length of time technically by the names of *Old and New School*. Dr. Hill went with those who formed the New School Assembly, now called by the chosen name of Constitutional Assembly. Dr. Baxter remained with those that formed the Assembly called the Old School.

A Southern organization was a subject of conversation and correspondence. Dr. Hill desired one that should embrace all the South. How far he would have been willing to go, in withdrawing from all the North, is inferential rather than documentary. Dr. Baxter thought that, in present circumstances, division would be increased by such a movement, and three Assemblies would be formed instead of two; and that it was not, by any means, evident that the Southern body formed geographically would be free from the disagreement about doctrines, and the benevolent operations of the church, which had dissevered the Assembly of the whole Church; and that the vexed question of slavery could be more satisfactorily and easily disposed of by and among the Old School north, if they held connection with the Old School south, than if they stood alone. These two brethren never doubted each other's sincerity of conviction or of purpose; they distrusted each the other's soundness of principle, and the correctness of his conclusions. The expectation of a Southern organization was not abandoned till the fall of 1838; it then gave way to the fixed purpose, that if there were more than one General Assembly, there should be but two, each embracing the North and the South. Both of these brethren greatly desired that the Synod of Virginia, or at least the majority of it, should unite on the principles they advocated; and in defending and promulgating their principles and views, each pursued his course with diligence, activity, and ability; Dr. Hill with more enthusiasm, and Dr. Baxter with

more caution and coolness; both with intense earnestness in efforts, perfectly characteristic of the men.

The work of division in the churches commenced in the Presbytery of the District of Columbia. The majority being opposed to the action of '37, their delegates took their seats in 1838, in that Assembly known as the New School. The minority applying to the Synod in Staunton for advice, were requested "to declare distinctly before the next meeting of the General Assembly, whether they do or do not adhere to the said Assembly on the basis of the acts of Assemblies of '37 and '38; that is to say, adhere to the Assembly and churches under its care, as they now stand separated from the disowned Synods, and the party who seceded from the last Assembly. The Presbytery at its next meeting, April 2d, 1839, in Alexandria, resolved to disregard the order of Assembly and the Synod, to send delegates to the Assembly of 1839, (known as the Old School); whereupon Rev. Messrs. Laurie, Harrison, and Bosworth, with an elder from the first church of Alexandria, retired from the Presbytery in an orderly manner, and were constituted as the Presbytery of the district, and held their connexion with the Old School.

The Presbytery of Abington held a called meeting at Wythe Court House, on July 7th, 1838. A Committee on the state of the Church brought forward resolutions declaring the Assembly holding its sessions in Mr. Barnes's church, was the true Assembly; also, disapproving the course of the Commissioner, Mr. Hoge, who took his seat in the Assembly over which Dr. Plumer presided. These resolutions were rejected, and the report of the minority approving the course of the Commissioner adopted. The Moderator and Temporary Clerk, though opposed to the action of the Presbytery, continued in their places till the business of the meeting was closed, signed the records, and delivered them to the Stated Clerk. The minority then respectfully informed the Presbytery, they expected never to meet with them again, and took their leave.

The Presbytery of Lexington held a called meeting on the 28th day of December, 1838, in Harrisonburg, to consider and decide upon the condition of the church of Cook's Creek and Harrisonburg, and their pastor, James W. Phillips, lately installed. Upon being organized in the Court House, the Presbytery received a communication from Mr. Phillips, renouncing the jurisdiction of Lexington Presbytery and the Synod of Virginia, on account of their adherence to the Assembly of 1837, and the Old School Assembly of 1838. A communication of a similar nature was received from the session of the church of Cook's Creek and Harrisonburg. The Presbytery adopted resolutions fitting the emergency. Mr. Phillips' name was erased from the roll. The elders and members not seceding were organized as the regular church, and provision was made for their instruction. No other pastor or church seceded from Lexington Presbytery.

The Presbytery of Winchester held its spring sessions April, 1839, in Charlestown, Jefferson County, about three weeks after the deci-

sion of Judge Rodgers, in the suit involving the right to the name, records, and property of the Presbyterian Church, pronounced March 26th, in favor of the New School. Immediately after the organization, the records are as follows, viz. — “The Rev. J. J. Royall offered the following preamble and resolution — Whereas, two bodies were organized on the third Thursday of May, 1838, in the city of Philadelphia, each claiming to be the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States; and, whereas, the body over which Dr. Fisher presided has been declared by the competent civil authority to be the constitutional Assembly; therefore, *Resolved*, That the Presbytery of Winchester do recognise and adhere to said body as the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Which resolution being seconded, the Rev. J. J. Royall moved the previous question, which was taken by yeas and nays; ayes 14, nays, 15. Rev. Mr. Hargrave obtained leave of absence from the sessions of Presbytery till to-morrow morning. The Rev. William Henry Foote appeared and took his seat. The preamble and resolution of Mr. Royall were discussed and decided by ayes and naves — ministers, John Lodor, J. J. Royall, A. W. Kilpatrick, and Silas Billings; elders, William M’Coy, Robert Slemmons, Dr. Voorhees, William G. Glassell, John Gilkerson, James Allen, William Hinning, J. T. Barrett, and Ishmael Vanhorn, 13; nays, ministers, S. B. Wilson, D. D., Wm. H. Foote, S. Tuston, T. B. Balch, P. Harrison, R. B. White, Wm. M. Atkinson, and T. W. Simpson; elders, W. H. White, George Tabb, Thomas Hyatt, A. Cooper, David Gibson, Z. Sheetz, Robert Turner, and Moses Hoge, 16. Whereupon, the Rev. John Lodor arose, and addressing the Moderator, said, that ‘by the unanimous request of the New School party, he now announced to Presbytery that they could now no longer engage in its deliberations, and that they would now retire in a respectful manner to the Court House, which has been prepared for their use;’ and, therefore, bidding the Presbytery an affectionate farewell, he left the house, attended by the following ministers, Messrs. Royall, Kilpatrick, and Billings; elders, Slemmons, Voorhees, Glassell, Gilkerson, Henning, Barrett, and Vanhorn, 11. Messrs. Allen and M’Coy obtained leave of absence from the further sessions of Presbytery. On Saturday, Rev. Messrs. William Williamson, William N. Scott, and L. F. Wilson, Moderator, and David Vanmeter, elder, obtained leave to record their votes on the resolution of Thursday. The numbers stood thus, for Royall’s resolution 14, against it, 20.” Mr. Hargrave, on his return from visiting his sick child, took his seat with the brethren organized in the Court House. The Presbytery that remained in the church, held the records, and claimed the funds, and the name, as being the majority, whilst the others were seceders. The Presbytery organized in the Court House, took the name of Winchester. The churches represented by the delegates, were enrolled in the Presbytery of which their delegates were a part. Five ordained ministers, Messrs. Royall, Kilpatrick, Hargrave, Lodor, and Billings, with six

churches, and parts of two others which were speedily formed into separate churches, formed the New School Presbytery; ten ordained ministers, Messrs. Williamson, Wilson, Balch, Scott, Foote, Tuston, Atkinson, Harrison, Simpson, and White; and 24 churches continued the Presbytery of Winchester, known as Old School.

The Presbytery of East Hanover met in Richmond, April, 1839, on the same day the Presbytery of Winchester met in Charlestown, and with similar purpose and effect as far as the agitating questions were concerned; the brethren separated. The greatest excitement felt in Virginia, on the subject of the Assembly of '37, and '38, was probably in Richmond. Mr. Plumer, pastor of the First Church, successor of Mr. Armstrong and Dr. Rice, took a decided part in the convention of '37, and next to Dr. Baxter, was the most influential Southern member in the Assembly of '37, and was Moderator of the Old School Assembly of '38. On his return from the Assembly of '37 he was met with evident marks of strong disapprobation by a portion of his charge that were opposed both to the acts of Assembly in regard to the four Synods, and the part he took in procuring those acts. The members opposed to him and his cause proposed that he resign his charge. This proposition he declined. The dissatisfaction not abating, a portion of his church withdrew and formed a new church. The church on Shockoe hill, under the care of Mr. Pollock, was not harmonious in opinion respecting the action of the Assembly; and the minority withdrew and united with the First Church. In a little time those that withdrew from the First Church united with that on Shockoe hill. In Petersburg the majority held with the Assembly, and the minority formed a new church. In Hanover the greater part were against the Assembly, and the minority sought their connexion elsewhere. A minute narrative of these divisions would exhibit the good and the ill, the strength and the weakness of civil society in a contest for religious things involving conscience. It would, however, be voluminous, and might involve personal feelings, and give undesigned wounds; and therefore will never be made till the judgment of the great day. The pastor of the First Church in Richmond passed through a fire as vehement as his previous course in the Assembly had been conspicuous. "Tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed."

At this spring meeting the Presbytery passed resolutions declaring adherence to the Assembly of '37 and their acts, and to that Assembly of '38 that was organized with Dr. Plumer, moderator, and condemning the principles of the law-suit. Sundry members put in a paper stating in very respectful terms their opinion respecting the constitutionality of the doings of the Assembly of 1837, and the relation of the Presbytery to the two Assemblies; the Presbytery received the paper, and put it on record as the expression of Presbyters exercising their constitutional right, and thereby in no wise forfeiting their standing or amenability to the Presbytery. The



brethren presenting the paper then asked a dismissal for themselves and the churches represented by them, to form a separate Presbytery, to adhere to that Assembly they recognized as the true Assembly. Whereupon it was, *Resolved*, "That while it is matter of regret that the deep and abiding division of opinion renders a separation necessary, nevertheless the Presbytery agrees to the departure of the brethren, and that their connexion with the Presbytery do cease, their character and standing unimpeached." Rev. Messrs. A. D. Pollock, Henry Smith and Alexander Mebane, with Elders Samuel Reeve, Carter Braxton and George Hutchinson, withdrew. The churches represented by these brethren were the United Church on Shockoe hill, Third Church, Richmond, and Salem and Pole Green. The Presbytery organized soon after took the name of Hanover. To this new Presbytery some that had been connected with West Hanover attached themselves. With the exception of the churches that were in the bounds of Abington Presbytery, the ministers and churches in Virginia that adhered to the Assembly of '38, of which Dr. Fisher was moderator, were all connected with the Presbyteries of Winchester and Hanover.

Of the Presbytery of West Hanover, those opposed to the acts of the Assembly of '37, and not prepared to continue in connexion with the Presbytery, withdrew as opportunity and convenience prompted, and connected themselves with other Presbyteries, without that formal withdrawal or announcement which took place in the other Presbyteries.

In these separations of Presbyterian connexions, courtesy and kindness prevailed. In the condition in which the ministers and churches found themselves after the heated discussions and painful trial of feelings consequent upon a difference of opinion concerning the action of Assembly in relation to the four Synods, separation was a peace measure. As soon as it became evident that continued strife or separation were the only alternatives left, the angry feelings yielded, passion began to subside; and men choosing their own ground, freely yielded to others the right of choice; and the muddy streams of charity flowed more and more pure. The unfor-giving spirit in the strife for mastery yielded to Christian courtesy and respect for sister denominations when the separation was completed. There were only three cases in which the courtesy of Presbytery seemed to be withheld; and in two of these it was unavoidable. The pastor of Cook's Creek and Harrisonburg lost the sympathy of Lexington Presbytery because he permitted himself to be installed pastor of that church by the Presbytery a very short time before he renounced its authority, and long after the obnoxious act of Assembly took place. The editor of the Southern Religious Telegraph, in asking for his regular papers of dismissal from East Hanover Presbytery, and the President of Hampden Sidney, in asking his from West Hanover, asked that they should be directed to the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia. The Assembly of '37 having dissolved that Presbytery, and directed its members to be enrolled elsewhere, the

Virginia Presbyteries were unwilling to recognise it as having any existence. The Presbytery of East Hanover dissolved the connexion of the applicant, and erased his name from their roll. The Presbytery of West Hanover refused to commend Dr. Carroll to the Third Presbytery, whose existence they did not recognise, but declared a willingness "to certify, and do hereby certify, that Dr. Carroll was a member in good standing in our connexion to the time of his making this application," which was September, 1838. In all cases the separation involved personal inconvenience rather than personal dislike.

To carry on the Seminary the Electors assembled on the 25th of September, and made choice of S. L. Graham D. D. as professor of Biblical Literature, and N. H. Harding, as professor of Church History and Church Government. Both were members of the North Carolina Synod. Mr. Harding declined the offered chair. Mr. Graham speedily entered upon the duties of his office. Mr. Ballentine gave entire satisfaction to the Board, and the students, in his course of teaching; and the universal desire was for his continuance in office. But as the year for which he was engaged passed, some fears arose in his own mind lest continuance in the Seminary should give cause of suspicion of the motives of his course, and thinking he should be more useful in another situation, he gave notice of his intention to leave his position, and with mutual kind feelings his connection with the Board was dissolved. Mr. F. S. Sampson of Goochland County, was appointed to succeed him as assistant teacher. This gentleman, from being teacher, became professor of Oriental Literature. His success as a teacher, was as splendid as his bearing as a man was modest. A ripe scholar and beloved member of the faculty of instruction in the Seminary, the Church mourned over his sudden departure in the spring of 1854.

Those Presbyteries formed by the New-School brethren were united in a Synod which took the name of Synod of Virginia. To Dr. Hill there was a charm in the name; to him the "rose by another name would not smell as sweet." With the name he claimed the true succession. And on that claim he acted when he refused to return to the Stated Clerk of the Synod of Virginia, Old-School, the old records of Hanover Presbytery, which he had borrowed from the Stated Clerk in the library of Dr. Rice in Prince Edward. He argued, and maintained through life, that the minority of Presbyteries separating from the majority on account of acts considered by them unconstitutional, in becoming Presbyteries were the true representatives of the Presbyteries before the alleged act; and that the Synod formed by these was the true Synod; and therefore the records belonged of right to the Stated Clerk of the new-school Synod, which he considered as the constitutional one. He acted according to his argument and gave the records to the Stated Clerk of that Synod, after a protracted correspondence with the Stated Clerk of the other Synod claiming to be the true inheritor of the name and records. Dr. Hill had loaned the records to a member

of the Old-School Synod to aid in preparing the Sketches of Virginia. They were in his hands while the correspondence was proceeding. On being returned to Dr. Hill, according to special promise, he delivered them to the Stated Clerk of the New-School Synod, as the proper person to receive them. That Synod justified his course, and on the ground he had professed to act. This proceeding of Dr. Hill was more criticised than any part of his actions respecting the doings of the Assembly of '37, or in promoting the separation in the Virginia Church. His opponents contended that while the Synod and Presbyteries remained in their adherence to the Confession of Faith and Book of Discipline and Form of Government, as the Virginia Presbyteries and Synod did, no minorities, however large, seceding on account of difference of opinion respecting judicial and executive acts, claimed by the majority to be in accordance with the standards, could claim the possession of papers and property that had been lawfully in possession of the whole body. They might negotiate according to circumstances, and ought to have their proper proportion of common funds. As to names, every religious body might take what name it pleased. These records had been committed to him to assist in preparing the historical work, in the preparation of which his Presbytery and the Synod had encouraged him; and on written condition that he would return them in due time to the Stated Clerk of Synod. This written obligation was asked and given merely as a memorandum, that in case of sickness or death, or change of place, or office, the records might be found; and was attached to the cover of the book of records then in use. This occurred before the acts of '37, or any division or separation in the Virginia Synod was thought of, or would have been considered practicable. The complaint against Dr. Hill was, that after the separation of the ministers and churches, and the formation of the separating brethren into a new Synod, when the Stated Clerk of the Synod, from which, numerically, a small minority had separated, demanded the records according to the memorandum, he refused to deliver them to him from whom he had received them, but gave them into the possession of the clerk of that Synod of which he was a member, who never before had had them in possession. The particular value of those volumes consisted in their being the production of successive Stated Clerks. The Presbytery of West Hanover have a copy of the whole records by Mr. Lacy, their Stated Clerk, in beautiful manuscript.

Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, published the first number of his Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church, in the spring of 1839. He had been, the previous summer, requested by some influential friends, to prepare the "the documentary history—of the formation of the first Presbytery,—of the Adopting Act,—of the Great Schism,—of the Union of the two Synods,—and of the formation of our present Constitution." It was supposed a large pamphlet would contain all the necessary facts. The materials collected demanded a greater space, and appeared in two successive octavo volumes. In the first num-

ber he noticed and controverted some statements and reasonings of Dr. Hill, which had appeared in the Southern Religious Telegraph, in relation to the same subjects. The documents and statements of Dr. Hodge show that the Presbyterian Churches in America were organized on the essential principles of the Scotch Presbyterian Church; and that the influence exercised by emigrants from Holland and France was not inimical to this form of Presbyterianism—and that in New England there was in its early days both a tendency to Presbyterianism and many Presbyterian;—that the Adopting Act was a receiving of all the principles, and forms, and doctrines essential to the Presbyterian Church as a Presbyterian Church; that it was so understood by the Synod making it, the members of which are supposed to know the Presbyterianism of the mother countries, and the majority of ministers and churches being of the Scotch origin and model.

Dr. Hill paused in the preparation of his volume of history embracing particularly the origin and progress of Presbyterianism in Virginia, which of necessity embraced the origin and progress of the Presbyterian Church in America; and as speedily as practicable prepared a volume of History, reviewing and controverting the statements and opinions of Dr. Hodge, and sent it forth under the title of *A History of the Rise, Progress, Genius and Character of American Presbyterianism, together with a Review of The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, by Charles Hodge, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, at Princeton, New Jersey.* The object of the volume was to show that the Presbyterian Church in America was not formed strictly on the Scotch model of Presbyterianism, but on others of less rigidity; and that an important part of the first Presbytery was Congregational in sentiment; and that the Adopting Act was, in intention and form, a softening down of the rugged Presbyterianism of Scotland, urged upon the American Churches.

In their researches both traced the origin of the first Presbytery in America to Francis Makemie, and his coadjutors, and Mr. Andrews. Both argue that Mr. Makemie was the member of that Presbytery earliest on the ground, and that he organized the first churches in the Presbytery. Both found documents to show that he was preaching in Maryland and Virginia as early as the year 1690. The time of his actual coming to America their researches did not discover. His activity, zeal, and success are stated by both—though much the most amply by Dr. Hill. Dr. Hodge supposes him to have been from Ireland, and a Presbyterian after the Scotch model; and that his coadjutors were from the same country, and of the same opinion in religious things. Dr. Hill comes to the conclusion, p. 98:—1st. “Rev. Francis Makemie was led to come to America by the United Brethren of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists of London, at or about the time they formed the celebrated Plan of Union in 1689 or 1690. 2d. The negotiation or engagement entered into by Mr. Makemie and these brethren had long been laid aside,

but was revived again when Makemie went over to England. 3d. The Rev. Messrs. Makemie, Hampton, and McNish, the first Presbyterian ministers that came to America, being sent out from the United Ministers of London. We may learn what kind of Presbyterianism they brought over with them, and planted in the mother Presbytery which was organised principally through their agency. —These were all Union Presbyterians."

This union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists he thought pervaded all the American Churches, with few exceptions; and that the struggle was to make the Presbyterians of America more rigid than the first Presbytery was. The Doctor reserved his views of the Schism for a succeeding number; this on account of his infirmities he never prepared. The work of history from which he was diverted was never completed. Some sketches of ministers received his corrections, and have been used as documents and authority in the Sketches of Virginia, for the notices taken of Smith, Legrand, Turner, and Allen, and some data respecting himself.

The volumes of Dr. Hodge and Dr. Hill were read with great interest, and were highly esteemed by the respective parties in the Church. Later researches have, however, brought to light some facts respecting Makemie, that modify the conclusions of Dr. Hill. Dr. Reed, in his History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, tells us that Mr. Makemie was licensed by the Presbytery of Logan, in Ireland, in the year 1681. That applications had been made to that body by Col. Johnson, of Barbadoes, and Col. Stevens, from Maryland, for a minister; and that in consequence of these applications, Makemie was ordained an Evangelist, and removed to America. From some printed productions of Makemie, preserved in the Library of Worcester, Massachusetts, he was in this country some six or eight years before the Union was formed, and was acquainted with the ministers in Boston. From the volume of records of the Presbyterian Church it appears that the Union in London agreed to assist in paying the expenses of the passage of Messrs. McNish and Hampton, and of their support in this country for two years. That was the only assistance ever derived from the Union, Mr. Makemie having come over some six years before the Union was formed. The Congregational elements in the first Presbytery were from another quarter, emigration from New England, and that Makemie and his associates were strict Presbyterians, yet men of charity and kindness.

Dr. Hill and Dr. Baxter naturally desired their old acquaintances of the ministers and in the churches, and in fact the whole Synod of Virginia, to agree with them in opinion and action. Dr. Hill urged the parallel between the division of 1741 to 1758, and the present division; that the principal matters in contention in the first schism were revivals, and experimental religion, on one side, and formality and dry orthodoxy on the other; and that the same things were in contention now, with the love of power cast into the scale. To these things Dr. Baxter replied, that in the schism of 1741 the

doctrines esteemed fundamental were not in dispute. Mr. Tennent held, as appears from his own writings, in a volume of sermons, firmly to the doctrines avowed by the old side — the imputation of Adam's sin for condemnation, and of Christ's righteousness for salvation. But that fundamental doctrines were in dispute now. The dispute now about revivals, was not whether there were pure revivals, but what were the means to promote pure revivals, what doctrines should be preached, and what agencies used. The old side cherished revivals, and believed that the principal doctrines of Calvinism were the proper doctrines to promote them, as Mr. Tennent believed and preached, as we have in print. And that it was against spurious revivals, and the doctrines that produced them, the Old School were now contending so earnestly. That the churches in the valley, that were so strongly Old School, held to the doctrines and love of revivals their ancestors brought from the ministry of Whitfield, and Blair, and Davies, and the Tennents.

This separation in Virginia, in its progress, and much more in the conclusion, gave pain to the older ministers and members. They had passed their youth and early manhood in cordiality and mutual esteem, characteristic of the Synod; and now in their age, men and women, ministers and elders were becoming estranged without any charge of moral delinquency. Should they divide on the constitutional question respecting the four Synods? Over the younger members, the earnestness of discussion, the vigorous attack and firm defence of positions and opinions, and the warmth of theological debate, exercised the usual bewildering influence. Those believing that there was a radical difference, extending to the very vitals of religion, justified the separation of the Old School from the New, even if the Virginia Synod was divided from sympathy. Dr. Baxter mourned that any of his brethren could not agree with him on the important matters agitated in 1837. But with his views of freedom of conscience, he preferred open separation to secret discontent; and that by division it would perhaps sooner be determined which side held to the Confession of Faith in its appropriate meaning; which held the faith of the Tennents, and Blairs, and Davies; which were most active from the influence of their own principles; which most charitable in the exercise of their faith; and finally, whether the separation of the four Synods was from sectarianism or love of the truth.

#### WILLIAM M. ATKINSON, D. D.

There were some embittering circumstances attending the division of the Winchester Presbytery. That there were no more was probably owing to the influence of one, now with his Lord, who came into the Presbytery in the midst of the excitement, and used all his great capabilities in making less, to the true Church of God, the distresses of a division which all believed to be, at the time, necessary for the public peace. An intimate friend thus wrote of him, to the Watchman and Observer, while mourning his departure:—

"BROTHER GILDERSLEEVE: — You have announced in your paper the death of Rev. William Mayo Atkinson, D. D. It is a fact that cannot be contradicted. On Saturday night, March 3d, 1849, one of the kindest hearts that ever beat in the Ancient Dominion ceased its motions. Death stepped noiselessly; he left no track and cast no shadow; and we were not alarmed. We saw him shivering in the deep waters before we could realize that his sickness might be unto death. Some few that loved him according to his worth were with him. Other some, that loved him no less, could not be called to his bedside, so hastily was the work of death performed, when we became convinced that he must die.

"That he contemplated a fatal issue of his disease, long before his friends and family admitted the suspicion, is undoubted. It is now about a year since he paid me a short visit, on his return from a long journey on the business of his agency. He appeared exhausted. It was evident he must have rest. His exposures had been great, and his labors, as he summarily recounted them, excessive. The seeds of his disease, as it now appears, were then sown. I did not then think so. In the course of our conversation, he referred with emotion unutterable to the prospect of a speedy dissolution. From what circumstances that impression arose I did not learn. He was not melancholy; but my heart ached as I heard his impassioned reference to death. It was the first time I had ever heard him speak of his own death.

"Rest at home for the few weeks he had appropriated did not restore him. He prolonged it, and with evident advantage. In the summer he suffered a severe sickness, brought on more immediately by exposure to a light rain, while fulfilling in Hampshire the appointments of brother Jennings, who had gone to fill his for the Board of Education in North Carolina. He had often been exposed to storms of rain without harm; but his reduced strength was not equal to a gentle shower. His disorder seemed to be in his lungs, and for a time was violent. He rallied from this attack, and we all were hoping that his vigor would return. The disease had not, however, left the system; it had only changed its form. During the fall and early winter, he suffered repeated attacks, as from a cold. Being providentially detained a Sabbath in Winchester, in December, I heard him preach in Mr. Lacy's pulpit. He gave utterance to deep feelings on the brevity of human life and the futility of human plans and expectations, and turned the heart to God, the unexhausted fountain of goodness and life.

"From an attack in January he thought himself recovering, with hope of soundness. But the attack in February took from him all hope, and from the physician all expectation of prolonged days. He forthwith set his house in order. It was a solemn thing for him to die. It was affecting. It was afflicting. By nature and by education he was fitted to enjoy, with the greatest zest, the socialities of life. The intercourse of the honorable and the good gave him unmixed pleasure. The world was full of beauty to him — full of

enjoyments. He found pleasure everywhere. The path of duty always presented to him flowers. He saw the beauty and glory of God in earth and in the heavens. He had been blessed with a vigorous constitution, and almost uninterrupted health. To him the sweet light of heaven contrasted, strongly and sadly, with the cold, dark, silent, cheerless grave. He loved the members of his family. He delighted in them. They enlarged his heart and purified his affections. It was bitter to leave his wife, and his eight children — six with their education yet to be acquired in part or whole — two quite young — one an infant. He loved the church of God, in which he was laboring, and for which he broke his constitution, and for which he would have labored indefinitely. He loved his fellow-men; he desired their salvation; and was willing to make great sacrifices to ensure future blessedness to any of his race. All these things made it affliction to die. But when he saw it was his Lord's will that he should now depart, he bowed in submission and addressed himself for the last act of life. He had committed himself to Christ to save him from the guilt of his nature, and the sins of his life. And now, in these solemn hours, when he looked for death, and few dared hope for life, he rested on him. 'Christ, the Cross, and the Covenant,' fell from his lips as he looked back upon his life, as he contemplated the present, and looked forward to the future. Christ was his refuge, his hope, his trust, and the covenant his consolation. They formed the ground on which he trusted for himself, his wife, his children — his little children — his infant son.

"When a message I could no longer mistake, for I had resisted the belief that he would die, came and told me that he was evidently near his departure, I left my appointments, and rode down on Saturday to visit him. I wished to hear a few words from his lips. I reached his dwelling about sunset. He was living, sensible, speechless. When told I was in the room he gave me his nod of recognition. At about a quarter after ten his pulse suddenly ceased to move, and the struggle was over.

"He was born in April, 1796, and had not yet filled up his fifty-third year. By the father, he was of Quaker descent; by the mother, he was connected with some of the ancient families of Virginia. He was the eldest of ten children, who were left orphans while young. He and they were all adopted by an uncle, who had no children, educated by him, and became his heirs. The whole family was reared to usefulness and comfort and respectability, and is a proof that uncles may be kind to orphans. He pursued the study of the law, and entered on its practice in Petersburg and the surrounding counties. His first marriage was with Miss Rebecca Marsden, of Norfolk, July, 1821.

"In the year 1829, during a revival of religion, in the congregation of the Rev. B. H. Rice, pastor of the Presbyterian church, Petersburg, he made profession of religion, and united with the people of God. Soon after he was called by the voice of the church to the office of elder. On the 10th of June, 1833, he was licensed by the Presby-



tary of Hanover to preach the gospel. The religious destitutions of his native State called him from the Bar, and a prosperous business, to spend time, and money, and health, as a minister of Jesus Christ. Soon after his license, he enlisted in the cause of the Bible Society, and traversed Virginia, and some sections of the South, and was eminently successful in raising funds for the supply of our country with the Bible. His social habits and gentlemanly manners, and earnest pleading in the cause of the Bible, made him welcome wherever he went. 'Twas hard to hate him. 'Twas easy to love him; and to love him much. After accomplishing the object of his agency, he supplied, for a few years, vacancies in Chesterfield County, and in the vicinity of Petersburg. Having received an invitation to Winchester, he commenced his labors as pastor of the Presbyterian congregation, in that place, in January, 1839. In August, 1844, his wife died, and was the first carried, by a sympathising community, to Mount Hebron, on the beautiful eastern hill.

"His second marriage was with a grand-daughter of Judge Robert White, long a resident in Winchester. In the spring of 1846, believing that it would be for his greater usefulness, and for the advantage of the church in Winchester, he resigned his pastoral charge, and accepted an agency for the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church.

"His labors to rouse attention to the education of ministers, and to call young men into the work of the gospel, were indefatigable. His exertion was beyond his strength. He fell a martyr to his sense of duty, and honorable exertion. He was an agent men loved to have come to their houses and congregations. His influence was always good. His services could not be estimated by money. His laborious usefulness outweighed any earthly recompense. One of the most resolute of men, he was one of the most gentle. Firm in his own opinions, and almost pertinacious in argument; he knew how to let other people hold their opinions. He seemed to study how far wrong an opponent in religious matters might be, and yet be saved; and his kindness would meet him there. In his resolute defence of truth, he would yield nothing. In his kindness we sometimes thought he would give up every thing. In the blending of these two qualities, he was one of the best of pastors and agents, and an invaluable friend. He would see your wrong doing, would palliate, would forgive it, and you loved him the more for all. Had he lived in Germany, in the time of the reformation, we should expect to have found him, with Melancthon, softening the vehemence of Luther, and defending the truth. Had he lived in England, we should have looked for him among those firm, amiable, old Protestant martyrs, 'of blessed memory.' Had he lived in Scotland we should have searched for him in that company over whose head floated the banner with his own dying words — "Christ, the Cross and the Covenant."

"With us, we knew what he was. He showed as little of the selfishness and depravity of human nature as any man that ever

lived. He was a gentleman and a Christian; and died as he lived. I shall miss him,—and who will not?—everywhere. In the social circle, in the councils of the church, in vain shall we look for his kind, benevolent face, and listen for his friendly voice. In memory and affection he will be with us till we ourselves pass away.”

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## CHAPTER XLIII.

GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D. — CLOSING SCENE OF HIS LIFE.

THE closing scene of Dr. Baxter's life, is given by a member of the family :

“Lexington, September 28th, 1853.

“My father's health was apparently good, during the winter preceding his last illness, though he was rather more feeble than usual. It was his custom, to leave his study at dark, and spend the remainder of the evening in the society of his family, conversing on various subjects with those around him. He was uniformly cheerful, and often recurred to the scenes of his childhood and youth. To these social hours, we owe nearly all we know of his early life. His labors were continued almost to the day of his death, which was 24th April, 1841. For six weeks before this time, he was confined to the house with a cold, but seemed to be recovering, and never once omitted hearing his classes recite, until the close of the session, the tenth of April.

“During his indisposition, he greatly enjoyed the company of his friends, numbers of whom visited him daily. His thoughts and conversation were generally given to the church; and the subject of unfulfilled prophecy claimed a large share of his attention. Upon this, he conversed with his friends, Dr. Maxwell and Mr. Ballentine, until his usual bed-time, the night before his death, discussing, with deep interest, the prospects of the church and the world, as revealed in the Scriptures.

“At nine o'clock, he retired to rest, as well as he had been for some weeks, and slept well through the night. He arose at his ordinary hour, which was always an early one. In a few minutes, my mother was startled by his falling, and, calling for assistance, had him laid on the bed. He only spoke once or twice, and that to request some change of air. He suffered intensely for fifteen minutes, but the pain ceased, he looked round with great tenderness on his family, when suddenly he raised his eyes, his expression changed to one of rapture, and he fell asleep in Jesus, without a groan.

“The disease which terminated his life was apoplexy of the lungs. Though his recovery was looked upon as almost certain, by those around him, and he did not himself apprehend immediate danger,

he had, in several conversations, endeavored to prepare his family for his removal, which he believed was not far distant, and to which he looked forward with the views natural to one who had for at least thirty years enjoyed the full assurance of hope.

“Very sincerely, your friend,

L. P. B.”

The public were not prepared for the news of his death, by any of those previous notices of sickness, or the rumors that forbode calamity. The public papers gave the first announcement of his sickness, in making known his death. Dr. Rice lay lingering a long time, looking daily for his departure. Dr. Baxter, giving no alarming symptoms to his family, passed away in a few moments. The one pronounced the word “*triumphant*,” as he departed; the other smiled, and fell asleep in rapture.

The Rev. Dr. Hendren, who had been a pupil of his, and an associate in Presbytery, says, in a letter: “As a preacher, he held a high rank in the estimation of all competent judges. His preaching was remarkable for the clearness and distinctness with which he always presented the subject before the minds of his hearers. His feelings were tender, and he was often much affected, in the delivery of his sermons. Several revivals, of considerable extent and duration, took place amongst the people of his charge, during the time of his ministry. A religious awakening had taken place in Bedford County, under the ministry of Messrs. Turner and Mitchell. Dr. Baxter, and I think one or two other ministers of the Valley, went over to that county, and took with them a number of young persons, several of whom, though very careless before, returned home deeply impressed with a sense of their lost estate, and their need of salvation. I went over at that time, at Dr. Baxter’s request. After his return, an awakening soon appeared in his own, and in some of the neighboring congregations, which continued to spread, until nearly all the congregations in Rockbridge and Augusta were more or less in a state of excitement and revival, and many were added to the communion of the church, a respectable portion of which showed by the fruits which afterwards appeared, that they had become new creatures in Christ Jesus. There were some instances of defection and backsliding, over which ministers and Christians were called to mourn; but such instances were as few as perhaps might be expected, in so extensive an awakening. About ten years before his death, Dr. Baxter was appointed Professor of Theology in the Union Theological Séminary, Prince Edward. This was an office congenial to his mind, for which he was admirably qualified. The clearness and distinctness of his own views, on any subject to which he applied his mind, or studied with care, enabled him to present it with great force and distinctness to the minds of others. He was a wise and judicious member of his Presbytery and other church courts. In general, his speeches were neither very long, nor very frequent; but, what he said was always to the point, and generally threw light upon the subject. He possessed strong and ardent feel-

ings by nature, but they were evidently much under the control of divine grace, so that few could bear injurious or disrespectful treatment with more patience and meekness of temper. He had the power of exercising forbearance towards opponents in debate, when their freedoms with what he had advanced, were perhaps wholly unwarranted by the truth of the case. His opinions of others were charitable and indulgent. I never knew him to be a rigid critic of the pulpit performances of his brethren. He seemed to possess much of that charity which suffereth long, and is kind."

The Rev. J. H. Boccock was called upon to address the Society of Alumni of Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward, Virginia, at the annual commencement, June 18th, 1848. In the progress of that address before the assembled alumni and the friends of the institution, in the hall of the seminary, adorned with the portraits of the first and second Professors of Theology, Rice and Baxter, the speaker, a pupil of Baxter in his theological course, having spoken of Dr. Rice from traditional knowledge, proceeds to say respecting the institution of which he had been a pupil, and the two presidents, in his peculiar terse and graphic sentences :

"Again, it seems impossible not to believe that the hope of providing sound religious instruction for our domestic heathen, the colored race, had something to do with the founding of this institution. The men of old Hanover Presbytery had on that subject a benevolence a thousand times deeper and purer and wiser than that of the Tappans and Garrisons of this day. Rice saw very early that both the Northern people of this Union, and the ministers of religion here at home, must let the subject entirely alone in its civil bearings, or else a very great damage would occur in public opinion to the South, and a very great injury be inflicted on the negro race. *Maxwell's Rice*, p. 312. In a letter dated as early as April, 1827, he states with some clearness, the scriptural attitude of the church on the subject, now generally held by the Southern Christians. It is notorious that in terms which afterwards, when they were fulfilled, were remembered as 'something like prophetic strains,' he deprecated the effects upon their minds of ignorant instruction from their own 'crisp-haired prophets.' There was the Seminary at Andover, in which he felt a deep interest, with Dr. Woods at its head, in whom he had confidence, and to whom he had a strong personal attachment. There was also our own Presbyterian Seminary at Princeton, towards which it was one of the afflictions of his first years here that he should be charged with, or suspected of a feeling of rivalry ; and at the head of it a most distinguished and venerated native of this State. But still he and his co-workers watched the current of events on that subject closely enough to see that the ripe field of labor among Southern servants was rapidly closing to any missionaries from Northern States, and must be otherwise provided for, or else left lying in waste and ruin.

"These are the chief topics connected with the times of the first president, which seem appropriate here. Those who knew him as

their teacher doubtless remember how often short pithy sayings fell from his lips, well worthy of a place among the maxims of Rochefoucault, or the golden verses of Pythagoras; how deeply he had felt at heart what he regarded the true interests of his native land — how he cherished and grappled to his bosom, as with hooks of steel, those who were Zion's friends and his — and how he struggled and prayed with a spirit too vivid to be held long in the frail house of an earthly tabernacle, that the kingdom of Christ might advance in the world. To you, his pupils and his friends — and all his pupils were his friends — who are yet among us, some of you with heads whitening with the frosts of gathering years, and who are our connecting links with him — to you we give the cordial salutation of the younger to the elder brethren; we shall yet hope to meet you often here as brethren alumni. We trust that your white plumes shall always be honored and revered by us. We shall be apt to follow wherever we see them wave through the heat and burden of your day on earth. If we abide in the warfare longer than yourselves, we will weep with no feigned tears to be parted from you — and it shall satisfy our ambition to hope to rejoin you in higher assemblies in the day of rest, in clear view of the faces of all the just made perfect, and of the 'throne and equipage of God's Almightyness.'

"But to others of us who came later here, there arises the vision of another face and form — a brow in whose massy proportions nature had carved nobility — a countenance in which with the native beamings of a giant intellect, Divine Grace had blended a sacred tenderness, which adored and trembled, and loved and wept, like some holy and sweet spirited infant. We remember him in the pulpit — how the blood flushed his face, and the tears suffused his eyes, when his own or another's tongue depicted the awful retributions which await unbelieving sinners. As some one passing Dr. Payson's church after his decease, pointed over to it and said, 'There *Payson prayed*,' so as we pass the neighboring church, the words paraphrase themselves to our thoughts, and we feel, '*There Baxter wept*.' We remember when sometimes he came to the prayer-room, late by a minute, and found us singing:

'To hear the sorrows thou hast felt,  
Dear Lord adamant would melt,'

or some such hymn of contrition, how the sentiment, especially if it savored deeply of the cross of Christ, would at once thrill into his heart, and send forth its witnesses, the crimson and the tears, even before he reached his seat. We remember, too, on occasions when his spirit was fairly awakened, how we watched the light which came from his many-sided mind, in the enthusiasm of its epic power of grandeur; and saw him as some Hercules, walking in the realms of reason and logic, hurl down pinnacle and battlement, and wall and foundation of some fortress of untruth, by successive blows, without any visible throes of exertion; or sweep away the foundation of some castle of folly at a single trenchant stroke; and then

proceed with the meekness of a child, to build in its place, a clear shining structure of truth, from which only the image of the Divine Saviour might be reflected; or we followed him as guide, into some region of thought which had seemed a dim and doubtful labyrinth before, and saw by the light which he carried, how it assumed the order and clearness of a Grecian city built for a day-light dwelling-place. And in those times of fiery trial, when brethren were unhappily alienated from brethren, and party contests rose around the very altar connected with the very glories of the temple, we watched him with a confidence rendered half prophetic by a recollection of the past, as he went through ordeal after ordeal; and we had already foretasted the result when he came out as gold of the seventh refining. Every one who ever enjoyed his instructions, probably remembers what visions he would sometimes present of the awful solemnities of eternity, and the glory of the exalted Saviour, and then take pains to hide himself behind the humblest question or remark of his humblest pupil. And we must all reflect with regret how the creations and achievements of his mighty mind—I take leave to say on this occasion, as mighty a mind as I can well conceive of, in the possession of a mere mortal—are in the main utterly lost to the Church, from his rooted aversion on all occasions to any show of self.

“On the times of the second president, only a single remark will be offered. It is, that under him the seminary was called on, as a denominational school, to make its election between fountains of wild bewildering waters on the one hand, and the ancient crystal wells of truth on the other; between a spirit of fancied improvement, which was indeed one of startling innovation on the one hand and the ancient and tried order of the Lord’s house on the other. And it is believed that almost every subsequent week and month has been demonstrating that he, and the worthy guardians of the institution who stood shoulder to shoulder with him, made their election wisely and well. There may have been things to regret in those days, because the storm was wild and loud and long; and perfection is not an attribute of mortals even in times of quiet. But now that it is overpast, it is too plain to be doubted that there have come to us from it righteousness, and peace, and order, an example not deserving to be soon forgotten, of the heroic love of truth; an instance in which the spirit of God lifted up his flaming and zealous standard according to the ancient promise of his word; and a new proof added to the many which were already found in the history of spiritual affairs in this world, that his hand will not desert those to whom anything is better than deranged order and corrupted truth.

“In the memory of others of you, brethren, there are on this occasion, living forms and faces around which your reverence and affections gather—faces of those who yet live to rekindle the memories of former days with their present kind greetings; and who need no spokesman but what they themselves were and are. May it not be until long future meetings of Alumni, that they shall be missed from

their places here. But when, in their turn, those meetings shall come, we already have the proof that their sons shall cherish their memories with no common filial regard, and their gray hairs shall go down with deep reverence and honor to the grave. And the remark which shall be made by the looker-back on their times, we have some ground already to hope it will be, and may it be, that in those days, many accomplished and faithful laborers went into the waving harvest field, and gathered great multitudes of precious sheaves into the storehouse of eternal love. And as a *remark* founded on the whole of this retrospect, I presume no farther than just to suggest, as the end and aim of our efforts, that the Seminary may retain the features which have been given it—as a foundation of, 1, *enlightened* religion; 2, of *spiritual* religion; 3, of a religion caring for and adapting itself to the *laboring class* of the land—and of a liberal and peaceful, but of a *steady and soundly orthodox* religion. We shall not meet here in vain, if we meet to consult what we can do that these wise designs and high leadings of God's Providence may be fulfilled. Let us inquire whether any part of the plan which we can appropriately touch, needs our hand—whether, for example, we cannot devise to put some new treasures from time to time among the silent teachers on the shelves of its library. Some new volumes of those voiceless speakers, which the great Puritan poet and statesman said, are not 'absolutely dead things, but are the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect which bred them, the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life'—or whether we can help in any other way, that God's name may be a praise in the land.

"And for ourselves, dear brethren, let us rejoice in the opportunities which may be presented, to brighten the links which tend to bind us to each other—that we are the sons of the same *Alma Mater*—that we have been put into the same ministry of reconciliation—that we are members of the same church, whose bulwarks, strong with salvation, and shining in the light and sovereignty of God, are fairer in our eyes than the glowing marble of the Grecian city of Minerva; and lastly—a link, which if it be sound, is locked fast to the throne of God,—that we are fellow Christians—heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ and all his saints, to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away."

Dr. Baxter published a pamphlet on the subject of slavery. He takes the position he and his friend Speece defended in the case of Bourne, which was twice before the Assembly. His facts and arguments are unanswerable. On that subject his pamphlet should be a tract for circulation. In his semicentenary sermon he recounts some of the beautiful facts of the revival in the Presbyterian Church, in which he and his compeers made profession of their faith and hope. There are in manuscript, three lectures on pastoral theology; one on the decrees, and an essay on original sin. Of his lectures on metaphysics, only the questions showing the outlines of his course, remain. He has left enough of his thoughts, committed to paper, to

form an octavo of interest. Those who have heard him preach would call to mind his dignified person, and in reading the concise, short sentences, with scarce a long one, would hear the intonations of his voice, and feel a power in the sermons that other readers would be a stranger to, while they found much to admire. Without the least feeling of rivalry or jealousy of his brethren in the ministry, no man perhaps was more excited by an able sermon than Dr. Baxter. Gospel truth, sound reasoning, and deep feeling, stirred up his soul from the lowest fountains. Said one of his pupils, now an eminent minister—"Dr. Baxter was the most unfair preacher to preach with I ever knew, without his intending it in the least. I have heard a great many good sermons in his pulpit from others; but no matter how good a sermon was preached for him in the morning, if he heard it, he would preach a better one at night, and not know it. The fire would begin to burn,—become visible in his flushed cheeks, and audible in the peculiar clearing of his throat, and find its vivid expression in the evening service. He would talk of his brother's sermon, and never seem to think of his own." He was like Dr. Rice in discouraging severe criticism of brethren, and refusing to hear slander. He would listen to nothing he might not believe, and in believing find some profit to mind or heart. Fiction had no charms for him who feasted on the grandeur and novelty of truth. Unsuspicious from his own love of truth, he was indignant when others threw around him the charms of sophistry, more particularly if he thought they were not full believers in their own errors and misstatements.

On the death of General Harrison, while some in his presence were passing their conjectures about the good or evil to follow, he observed that in his early life he had often been greatly distressed at political events that foreboded great evil to the church of Christ. But he had long ago found that those events that presaged the greatest calamities, had, in the providence of God, been made to subserve great interests. And then he turned to that favorite subject of meditation and conversation in the latter part of his life, those unfulfilled prophecies that speak of the glory of the Church in the latter days. While professor of theology, about one hundred and fifty young men, in the course of preparation for the ministry, came under his instructions.

"Bellevue, Sept. 30th, 1851.

"REV. WM. HENRY FOOTE, D. D.,

"*Dear Brother.*—Several days since yours of the 19th was received. From the time of my settlement here until their death, I was intimately acquainted with Drs. Baxter and Speece. Dr. Baxter and myself were located so near each other, that we often met; and in addition to our frequent meeting on other occasions, we interchanged our services in communion seasons. Dr. Speece sometimes assisted me on communion occasions, and often visited me at other times. Their kindness to me was great, and ended only with their lives. They were both great men, and yet differed much from each



other; they were excellent preachers, and yet differed much in their manner of preaching. Dr. Baxter was always solemn, often very impressive, and sometimes eloquent, I think beyond any man I ever heard. Dr. Speece was always instructive, always interesting, sometimes solemn and impressive, but never eloquent in the ordinary acceptation of the word. Dr. Baxter was always remarkable for his clear, correct, well arranged discourses. This was also the case with Dr. Speece, and yet his method was not on the whole so conspicuous as was that of Dr. Baxter. The sentences of Dr. Baxter were usually short: his words well selected to express his ideas, well arranged in his sentences. You never had any doubt of his meaning. He expressed his ideas with the clearness of a sunbeam. Happy in the choice and collocation of his words, his sentences were never complicated.

“His words were always dignified, yet he often mispronounced sadly. Dr. Speece was one of the most complete masters of the English language I ever knew, remarkable for the correctness of his pronunciation. In the selection of his words he was remarkably happy, choosing those that expressed clearly his ideas. You would often think, now it is impossible that our language can express the idea he intended better than he has done it, and yet he would often use uncommon words, or rather words that were undignified for the pulpit, and rather low; and yet even when he did this, you would be very apt to say, he could have used no other word so expressive as the one he did. He would often use expressions that you could not forget, and, often in conversation as well as in the pulpit, use uncommon words, as “befooled, bedabbled.” Both Drs. Baxter and Speece were very humble men. I never could find out that Dr. Baxter thought he was a great man; he had the meekness and simplicity of a little child. When I first came here I used to be very much afraid of him, and disliked exceedingly to preach where he was; but I soon found he was a man of so much kindness of feeling, that I got to preach in his presence without the slightest embarrassment. I knew well whatever criticism he might be disposed to make, he would keep it to himself, and make the most out of all that was good. I make the remark in reference to Dr. Speece. I recollect, however, one or two occasions when I thought I saw that Dr. Speece was somewhat conscious of his own powers, and yet even in this there was some qualifying remark indicative of modesty.

“In one thing in their preaching, Baxter and Speece were alike, they never preached themselves. I suppose no one ever heard either of them preach, when the idea ever entered his mind, that they wished to set themselves off, or play the great man. They preached Christ and him crucified. They both kept up the attention of their hearers. Dr. Baxter had great power over the feelings of his audience, was often in tears himself; Dr. Speece did not have much power in this way; he was solemn at times, but I think I never saw him shed a tear, or even have his eye moistened, and yet sometimes his audience was wonderfully melted under his preaching. Were

you present at Prince Edward the time of Synod? when he spoke of searching out for the thief on the cross, and enquiring if he was not a greater debtor to mercy than he — the whole crowded audience was melted. They were both very strong and decided Presbyterians, sound Calvinists; but neither of them high Calvinists, or what used to be called supra-lapsarians. In the great points, they were remarkable for their great similarity of views; in some minor matters they differed. Dr. Speece, for instance, never fully fell into the common sentiment, as to the necessity and utility of Theological Seminaries. He has talked to me on the subject, and spoke modestly, but in doubt. They were both remarkable for their punctuality in their attendance on Presbytery, seemed to take great satisfaction in meeting with their brethren on those occasions, and to enjoy those meetings wonderfully. Those meetings were delightful; no one ever thought of leaving until Monday, unless there was some clear providential call. In Presbytery they were attentive to business, but never forward or assuming; neither of them given to speech making. When they did speak it was to the purpose, and they were listened to. They treated their brethren, even the youngest, with great kindness, deference and respect. They were rarely divided in their opinion, and I can scarcely recollect any division on a subject of much importance. The Presbytery was very apt to go with them in their opinions. They both had great powers in debate; and there was something of the same difference between them in debate as in their preaching. And yet I think it rather remarkable that to the best of my recollection, in speaking in Presbytery, Dr. Speece did not indulge himself in drollery, as he sometimes did in the pulpit. They were treated with great respect and deference by nearly all the members of Presbytery; and if in one or two instances this was not the case, they never appeared to notice it in the least. They were men of humility and meekness, and both knew that such was their standing in the public estimation that they could afford to bear a great deal.

“Dr. Speece was fond of books and a great reader. In general literature I think I have never known his equal. He once told me that he never permitted a book to remain in his library that would not bear to be read three times. Dr. Baxter was by no means so extensively read in general and light literature as Dr. Speece; he read much, but was rather a thinker than a reader.

“Sincerely and affectionately,

“JAMES MORRISON.”

## CHAPTER XLIV.

## RECOLLECTIONS; — SACRAMENT AT MONMOUTH.

THE Rev. Dr. Leyburn, of Philadelphia, being a native of Lexington, Virginia, and his father having been an elder in Dr. Baxter's Church, enjoyed favorable opportunities in his youth for seeing something of the great men, of whom sketches have already been given. At the request of the author, he has furnished the following recollections.

“Philadelphia, August 30th, 1855.

“REV. DR. FOOTE,

“*My Dear Sir:*—You ask for my recollections of some of the great men of the Virginia Presbyterian Church, and particularly Turner, Mitchell, Speece, and Baxter. I have no doubt your ample researches have already enriched the pages of your forthcoming volume, with full illustrations of the characters and lives of these honored worthies; and my narrow limits and scanty time, will permit only the most cursory notice.

“James Turner passed from the stage of life so long ago, that my memory retains but little in regard to him; I remember often to have seen him in my visits to Bedford County, in my childhood, and to have heard him preach in the old Peak Meeting-House. He never impressed me with the awe I had usually felt towards ministers of the gospel; there was something so genial, warm-hearted, and social in his manners, that he naturally won the esteem and confidence of all classes and conditions, even on the most casual acquaintance. All that I can recall as to his preaching at the Peak Meeting-House is, that he seemed to me somewhat odd, and that he shed tears, and was much in earnest. I was present at the meeting of the Synod of Virginia, in Lynchburg, when he preached on the occasion, since so often spoken of; but I was then too little interested in religious matters, to receive and treasure up any intelligent impression of what he said. Sometimes a smile was raised at his downright and odd expressions, but oftener the cheeks of his auditors ran down with tears. Even this had almost passed from my memory, and the only thing which I can very distinctly recall, is the fact that the ministers and pious people talked a great deal about the sermon afterwards, and seemed to have thought it very remarkable.

“REV. JAMES MITCHEL.

“Of Mr. Mitchel, I saw much more than of Turner, as the former outlived by many years his eloquent colleague. The first time I ever saw Mr. Mitchel was at a meeting of Synod in Lexington. He was delicately formed, and diminutive in stature, wore the

old-fashioned fair-topped boots; and particularly attracted my childish attention by a habit he had, of *chewing* all the while; arising I believe, from his having lost his teeth. I often heard him preach at the Peak Meeting-House. He was not, as you know, an eloquent man, but he was a sound and faithful expounder of the Scriptures, and remarkable for his indefatigable industry in his Master's work. It used to be said of him, that he had never declined to preach, when asked, in any instance in his whole life. Even when he seemed to be in extreme old age, he still continued to ride on horseback to fulfil appointments wherever the people would hear the gospel; and I have often heard apprehensions expressed lest something should befall him, when venturing on these excursions, frequently many miles from his home. Towards the close of his life, a venerable sister of his, as eminent for her extraordinary and almost romantic affection for her brother, as for her deep and fervent piety, accompanied him, probably for the double purpose of enjoying more of his society during the short remnant of their days, and to be near in case any evil should befall him. Few ministers have ever so diligently for a long time served their Master, as did James Mitchel.

“DR. SPEECE.

“Dr. Speece was frequently in Lexington, my native place, during my boyhood. None who ever saw him could easily forget his personal appearance. His frame was almost gigantic; his coat was cut in defiance of all tailors' rules as to fitting — the only thing aimed at apparently in its construction, having been that it should hang securely on his shoulders, and cover as much of his person as possible. It was of vast width and length, with monstrous gaping pockets, and must have consumed an extraordinary amount of cloth. Imagine such a figure surmounted with a thick, brown wig, and speaking weighty sentences in an extremely heavy, coarse voice, and you have Dr. Speece.

“He was, as you know, an old bachelor, and had some odd ways about him. One of his habits, I remember, when sitting in the meetings of the Virginia Synod, and often before a crowded church, was, to seize his wig on the top between his thumb and finger, and take it off and shake it, probably with a view to ventilating and cooling his head. When attending meetings of Synod and Presbytery in Lexington, he was not unfrequently at my father's house. On one of these occasions, when sitting at the dinner table, having been helped to tomatoes, his favorite vegetable, he said, in his slow, heavy voice, ‘If tomatoes grew on trees, I should think they were the forbidden fruit.’

“Dr. Speece's omniverousness, as regards books, was notorious. He had the reputation of devouring whatever he could lay his hands on, and also of having a strong taste for light literature. The latter he may have resorted to, to some extent, by way of relieving the solitude of his bachelor life. In common with most Virginia ministers, he was an extempore preacher; and there have lived few men

whom a manuscript less became. Beyond all others whom I have ever seen make the attempt, he was most superlatively awkward when he undertook to use a written discourse in the pulpit. I was once at a meeting of Lexington Presbytery when he was to preach a sermon on some important topic, by previous appointment. A large congregation had been drawn together, expecting that the great man would make an extra effort; but they were probably disappointed, as the effect of the discourse was greatly neutralized by his taking his manuscript up in his hand, and reading from his 'copy-book,' as he called it, in the most monotonous and almost ludicrous fashion.

"The last time I remember to have seen Dr. Speece, was at a meeting of the Synod of Virginia, at the College church, in Prince Edward. He took part in administering the Lord's Supper to a very large body of communicants—the entire building, above and below, being occupied by them. He was then in advanced years, and declining health, and was much affected. He said it was probably the last time he would ever meet with his brethren of the Synod he loved so much. After reading the hymn beginning—'Twas on that dark and doleful night,' he paused and said—'My brethren, I'm an old-fashioned man, and love old-fashioned tunes. I would like to have this sung to *Windham*,' laying emphasis on the 'ham,' according to his mode of pronunciation. *Windham* was accordingly sung, and right heartily; and the old Doctor seemed much edified. When addressing the table he alluded to the tenderness and compassion of our Saviour to the dying thief, and to the virtue of his blood in cleansing away the guilt of such a sinner. 'But my brethren,' said he, 'we must not forget that our guilt may be greater than that of this poor outcast. I have sometimes thought that if I am so happy as to get to heaven, one of the first things I will do, after telling my Saviour the debt of love I owe him, will be to hunt for the dying thief, and compare my case with his, and see which of the two is the greater debtor to redeeming mercy.' His appearance on that occasion, and the solemn and tremulous tones of his voice, will long be remembered by all who were present.

"DR. BAXTER.

"What can I say of Dr. Baxter in a letter such as this? He was my pastor, and the pastor of my fathers before me. I was baptized by him, sat during my childhood and early youth under his ministry, was received by him to the membership of the church, and sat at his feet in the school of the prophets in Prince Edward. I was also a student of Washington College for a time, during his Presidency. In the latter department, Dr. Baxter was probably less himself than anywhere else. His guilelessness and want of knowledge of human nature in its minor developments, did not suit for the position of a teacher and disciplinarian over a company of bad boys and unruly young men. He was too unsuspecting and indulgent for such work. In the Theological Seminary, however, where he occupied the chair of Theology, he was eminently happy.

All the great topics he was called upon to handle, had been themes of reflection during almost all his life. They were imbedded, too, in his heart as well as in his understanding. In the discussions of the lecture-room, even when others might have been taken up with the mere intellectual aspects of the subject, his tear-filled eyes would give evidence that the truths he was examining had penetrated further than the regions of the understanding. He was sometimes, however, full of humor. This was particularly manifested when he could get a student into a logical dilemma. In order to this, he would begin with questions remote from his ultimate purpose, and having elicited from the unsuspecting pupil one answer after another, would finally bring him, very much to his surprise, right up into a corner. This feat was always accompanied by our venerable professor's shaking his great sides with good-natured laughter.

"You have, doubtless, incorporated in your volume, a full and just estimate of Dr. Baxter as a preacher. In this highest work of the ministry, was his chief delight. He loved to proclaim the messages of glad tidings to his fellow-men; and in doing it was eminently evangelical. He preached Christ Jesus, and him crucified; and he did it with infinite sincerity and tenderness. I have never known any minister of the gospel who so often shed tears in the pulpit. It was very common for his voice to falter, and become tremulous from the swelling tide of his strong emotions, especially when speaking of the suffering of Christ, or when warning sinners to flee from the wrath to come. By the way, he was peculiar in his pronouncement of a few words, for instance, he always called 'wrath' *wroth*. There was a sublime and majestic roll in his sentences, when he was in his best preaching mood, that brought out his well-digested thoughts with great power and effect. He was, uniformly, an extempore preacher, but was accustomed to put his sermons into language, often audibly, before he came into the pulpit. I have frequently overheard him, as he was walking from his house to the College and back, engaged in this audible preparation. In common with all truly great men, he was a model of the unassuming. Modesty was one of his prominent characteristics. I never saw the slightest indication in Dr. Baxter, that he had the remotest idea, that he was anything more than an ordinary man. He was willing to learn from a child. He was a sincere lover of revivals of religion, and had the happiness to witness some of great power in his congregation at Lexington. His sermons were never long. I think I have seldom, if ever, heard him exceed three-quarters of an hour. It used to be told of him, when he first removed to Prince Edward, where the congregation of the College church, on account of their being much scattered, were not accustomed to hear but one sermon on the Sabbath, that the session of the church formally waited on him, and requested that he would give them longer sermons. They had to come so far, and make one discourse last so long, that they wished to have good measure.

"In personal appearance, Dr. Baxter was fleshy and plethoric.

His head was a model; I have scarcely ever seen a more massive one on human shoulders. It seemed the appropriate dome for great thoughts. One limb being slightly shorter than the other, he had a scarcely perceptible limp in his gait. His peculiar manner of clearing his throat was familiar to every body, and often heralded his approach before he came within view.

“As your printer is waiting, I must bring to a close these extremely inadequate tracings of men whose names are worthy of everlasting remembrance. I have written *currente calamo*, and if I have not furnished what was desired, I have at least given you this slight additional evidence, that I am,

“Your friend and brother in Christ,

“JOHN LEYBURN.”

## A COUNTRY SACRAMENT DAY.

The following is also from the pen of Dr. Leyburn, having appeared in a series of sketches in the *Presbyterian*. The name, as is intimated, is fictitious; the place alluded to having been New Monmouth, in the neighbourhood of Lexington, at one time a joint pastoral charge with the Lexington church. Dr. Baxter is the person spoken of as having preached the morning sermon. In addition to the interest of the sketch, as an illustration of the country sacraments, the particular occasion here described, was one probably never surpassed in interest in any of the churches of the Valley.

## “Weymouth Sacrament Days.

“‘Emblem and earnest of eternal rest,  
A festival with fruits celestial crowned,  
A jubilee releasing him from earth,  
This day delights and animates the saint.  
It gives new vigor to the languid pulse,  
Of life divine.’

“Three miles from our village was an old church, which I shall call Weymouth, though that was not its name—a favorite and memorable resort of the villagers on special occasions. Built of blue limestone, blackened by the pencil of time, with a steep stair-way to the gallery outside on the front, crowning the summit of a beautiful knoll, and peering out from a dense grove of majestic old oaks, it was the very *beau ideal* of an ancient rural house of God. For many years it was under the same pastoral charge with our village congregation; and after this connection was severed, it was customary for our minister to assist the pastor on ‘Sacrament days,’ and for many of his people to resort thither. Great was the joy amongst us young folks, when one of these days arrived; much the bustle and stir in the village—horses saddled and ready for mounting at various front doors; groups of children in their best Sunday clothes, bright as a new pin, eager for the time to set off; and baskets laden with the wherewithal for cold dinners. Most of the older people went on horseback, but the younger ones were afoot; and as the

sacraments were usually in the spring and autumn, it was a beautiful walk over the hills, through the well-tilled fields, and amid the noble forests. Some of those bright autumn Sabbaths have left their pictures clear and strong in my memory; the delicious inspiring October air, the very atmosphere seeming to sparkle as with diamonds; the deep blue of the fathomless heavens, with fleets of white clouds floating lazily on its ocean bosom, and here and there one aground upon a mountain top: the grand old mountains in particular colored livery of black, green, red, and yellow; the forests waving their lofty pennants of crimson and gold, with now and then a chestnut-tree holding out its ripened nuts, and tempting little folks to break the Sabbath by gathering a pocket-full; yellow fields, thick with stubble, from which had been garnered spacious barn-fulls of wheat, rye, and oats, or covered with crowded stalks of Indian corn, rustling their dry leaves in the breezes, and showing a proud array of massive teeth from out the parted lips of broken husks; melancholy cows, or pondrous oxen, feeding in pastures of clover, with sheep-bells tinkling from the flock on the distant hill; birds carolling their morning hymns, and children's voices prattling with the exuberance of the young life within them, more intense from the excitement of the day. Bright, beautiful, glorious, long to be remembered Sabbaths!

The scene as we gained the summit of the last hill, bringing us in view of the Church, was most inspiring. From every country road, old men and matrons, young men and maidens, in long processions, two abreast, came pouring in on horseback, emerging from the thick forests, and clattering across the limpid brook that murmured through the intervening vale; hundreds of impatient steeds tied under the trees of the grove, neighing salutations to new-comers; groups sitting upon rude benches, or on the moss-covered rocks, or clustered around the sparkling spring; the sound of sacred song floating from the old Church doors, mellowed and harmonized by the distance; friends meeting and greeting, and the crowd growing too great to be contained within doors. In the "Session House" adjoining the Church in the rear, the ministers and elders assembled at an early hour to exchange fraternal salutations, to spend a season in prayer, examine candidates for communion, and make arrangements for the day. Here baskets and napkins filled with provision, were deposited till the "interval" between the public services, the stated time for taking refreshments; and here rustic mothers, who could not leave their babes at home, brought their infant charges, and sometimes remained during the sermons, listening with eager ears to the minister's words, as they fell through the open door over head, adjoining the pulpit.

The interior of the meeting-house wore an antique and time-worn aspect. The pulpit, unlike our primeval octagon box in the old Church at home, was long, and capable of accommodating a goodly number of ministers, and the sounding-board over head, suspended by a rusty iron rod, sufficiently extended to have shut them all in,



had it come down from its fastenings ; the pews were extravagantly tall, and the aisles depressed, so that when persons were in the latter, nothing but their heads and shoulders could be seen — the benches and backs, as you sat in them, being the perfection of discomfort, and to the young folks the most serious draw-back to the favorite Weymouth sacrament days. Not a speck of paint had ever touched pulpit, pew, or gallery ; the yellow pine, grown tawny by the lapse of years, stood up in its native nudity. But when village, farmhouse, and mountain glen had poured their quotas into the old sanctuary, until every nook and crevice was filled, below and above stairs, leaving crowds at the doors and on the benches without, it was a congregation which might have fired the heart of any minister.

One sacrament day at Weymouth, which occurred in my childhood, will be remembered as long as one of those blackened stones stands upon another — as long, indeed, as lasts that sanctuary not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For some time previous there had been an extraordinary degree of religious interest in the village and surrounding country. Many had been inquiring the way of salvation, and not a few had found the pearl of great price. Prayer-meetings and special services had been held night after night. Religion was the great theme of conversation in the streets and in domestic circles. Hardly was there a house where one or more of its inmates had not been wrought upon by the Spirit's power. Spiritual songs, lively and stirring, or plaintive and heart-touching, were sung with zest and soul, and a pamphlet, containing a selection of them, was published for this special use. A dire and fatal epidemic which had prevailed, carrying off numbers to their graves, and filling almost every home in the village with sorrow, had brought death and eternity near, and prepared the way for the impressions of the gracious work. Not a few of the subjects of the revival were awaiting the Weymouth sacrament, publicly to profess their new-born love. The session-house and the adjoining grove, on the morning of that memorable day, presented a scene over which angels might have rejoiced. Here is a fond-hearted mother, giving words of counsel to a daughter convulsed with grief because of the burden of sin ; here is a venerable father, with a favorite son beside him under that great old oak, to whom he is making solemn appeals, not to let this favored season and this affecting day pass without making his peace with God ; and here on the rude bench against the wall, sits our venerable pastor, with weeping eyes, listening to the delightful narrative of what God had just been doing for one of his flock, for whom he had so often prayed. Not a careless face was seen in all the throng which to-day has been drawn together in unusual numbers, by the tidings of the revival.

Our minister preached the morning sermon. He was always evangelical, solemn, and impressive, and at times there was a sublime and majestic roll in his utterances, which marked him the great man all acknowledged him to be. But to-day there is a power, a vivid spreading out of eternal things — a directness and earnestness alto-

gether peculiar. At times his voice would falter, as he almost choked with the swelling emotion. A divine afflatus had breathed upon his heart, and from its profound depths he spoke as a dying man to dying men. To this day that discourse is remembered by many who heard it, as one of the most remarkable efforts of a man whose ordinary sermons would have honored any pulpit. The scenes in which he had recently mingled, and the stories of broken hearts, troubled consciences, and heavenly hopes, which had been poured into his ear, had unsealed the great fountains of his soul.

The sermon well prepared the way for the communion; and when the invitation was given to the young converts to assemble around the table spread before the pulpit in the cross aisle, there was a spectacle which moved every heart, and drew tears of joy from many an eye. Fathers, mothers, ministers, Christian friends at last saw the answer to their prayers. Those who had been dedicated to God in infancy, and re-dedicated a thousand times since in the closet, at the family altar, and at this very sacramental table, had now, after tedious years of waiting, which had almost sickened the heart with hope deferred, come forward to avouch Jesus as their new Lord and Master. The village beauty, the ere-while careless and wild young man, the sturdy bronze-faced mountain farmer, and the old veteran with the weight of years upon him, together left their several pews, and made their way through the crowded aisles for the first time to sit at this affecting festival. The scene was too much for some of them. Hearts *would* overflow, tears would fall, and, in the midst of the minister's address, as he spoke to them in touching terms, well suited to their present case, reminding them of what they had been by nature, of what grace had done for them in snatching them as brands from the burning, and of the debt of gratitude and love they owed to Him who had shed his blood to save them, one young man sobbed aloud, overcome by his emotions. This touched a sympathetic cord in all hearts, and the old meeting-house became a Bochim—a place of tears—sweet tears of penitence, and a peace passing all understanding. The unconverted, who sat wondering spectators, felt the power of the eloquent appeal; they were cut to the heart, and resolved that they too must seek the Lord; and many a pious saint, feeling that his cup of joy was full, was ready to say with old Simeon, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

One of the ministers, either on this or a similar occasion, at the same period, held up the sacramental cup, and asked, in language that went to every unconverted heart, "Can you, will you longer reject and trample on this precious blood, poured from the wounds of a dying Saviour?" "I call God and this great assembly to witness," said he, "that it is offered you afresh this day. Again dare to spurn it from your lips, and the record will be written against you on high, which, in the terrible day of God's coming judgment, will flame out to your astonishment and dismay in letters of fire." Not a few, who felt the power of that appeal, were soon after drink-

mg of that cup, in memory of Him who had washed them from their sins, and given them a hope, through grace, of drinking it with him hereafter in his heavenly kingdom.

The many hours of the services, protracted by the numerous successive tables of communicants, and the afternoon sermon, passed swiftly on, no one heeding the lapse of time, until at last, when the great festival was ended, and the crowds turned into the various roads and by-ways to their several homes, the long shadows of approaching evening were already spreading their sable mantle over mountain, field, and forest.

In all the history of old Weymouth meeting-house, that Sabbath and that sacrament day stand alone. Time and eternity must conspire to do honour to a scene so hallowed by the presence and power of God's gracious Spirit. Years have passed since that memorable day. Some of those who shared its blessings have long since become ministers of the gospel, and valued officers and members in the household of faith. Some soon tired of the service upon which they had prematurely professed to enter, and turned back to the world, their last state being worse than the first; and others have died in the glorious hopes of the gospel, and are now in the company of the just made perfect, around the throne on high, blessing God and the Lamb for that old sacrament day at Weymouth.

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## CHAPTER XLV.

REV. CLEMENT READ.

WITHOUT the least intimation that the influence of Rev. Clement Read, as a minister of the gospel, was derived from any source but the grace of God, and the divine blessing on individual efforts, a short statement of family connexions will be given, on the authority of his son, embracing facts full of instruction for the philosophic observer of the progression of the human race, and evidences of the fulfilment of the promises of the gospel.

Colonel Clement Read, the grandfather of the preacher, was born in Virginia, in the year 1707, and was early bereft of his father. John Robinson, of Spottsylvania, became his guardian. This gentleman was appointed Trustee of William and Mary College, in 1729. He was President of the Council, and, on the departure of Governor Gooch for England, in 1749, became governor, and in a few days died. The education of young Read was superintended by Mr. Robinson, and completed at William and Mary College, Commissary Blair being president. In the year 1730, Mr. Read was married to Mary, the only daughter of William Hill, an officer in the British Navy, the second son of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

This gentleman had been united in marriage to the only daughter of Governor Jennings, and took up his residence in that part of the Isle of Wight, one of the eight counties into which the province was divided, which was made a constituent part of the county of Brunswick in 1720. Soon after his marriage, Mr. Read went with Colonel Richard Randolph and Colonel Nicholas Edmonds on an exploring expedition, to locate land in that part of the county now known as Charlotte. Colonel Edmonds returned without purchasing; Mr. Read and Colonel Randolph purchased largely; Randolph on the Staunton, and Mr. Read about ten thousand acres, on the waters of Ash Camp, Dunivant, and Little Roanoke. Mr. Read removed to his purchase, and made his residence at Bushy Forest, about four miles south of the present village of Maryville. When the county of Lunenburg was set off, in 1746, its area extended from the line of the present Brunswick to the Blue Ridge, and from James' River to North Carolina. The early settlements of Presbyterians south of James' River, were in Lunenburg; and, by a subsequent division in Amelia; Colonel Clement Read became clerk of the county, and served seventeen years, keeping the office at his own house. He frequently served in the General Assembly of the State, and with men who become leaders in the Revolution. He was present when John Robinson, of King and Queen, moved the vote of thanks which so disconcerted Colonel Washington. He died January 2d, 1763, and was buried at Bushy Forest. His wife was laid by his side, November 11th, 1780, in her sixty-ninth year. She was a pious woman, and exemplary member of the Episcopal Church; their children, Isaac, Thomas, Clement, Margaret and Edmund.

Colonel Isaac Read, the father of the minister, resided at Bushy Forest. He married a daughter of Henry Embra, a representative of the county with Colonel Clement Read. He had three children, Clement, Priscilla, and Isaac. With his brother-in-law, Paul Carlington, he represented the county, and was associated with Washington, Jefferson, and Henry, in their patriotic movements. He received from Congress, in 1776, a commission as colonel of a Virginia regiment. He immediately joined the army. In less than a year, he fell a victim to disease; and was with military honors laid in a vault, in Philadelphia, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. The family preserve a correspondence between him and General Washington.

Clement Read, the minister, was but six years old at the time of his father's death. His mother, in a few years, married Colonel Thomas Scott, who superintended the education of the children. Hampden Sidney College was chartered by the State in 1783: an academy had been in operation, under the direction of Presbytery, about eight years. Upon entering college, young Read could look over the trustees, and name Thomas Scott, his step-father; Paul Carlington, who had entered his grandfather's office when a youth, and had married his Aunt Margaret; Thomas Read, the County Clerk, his uncle; William Cabel, who had married his cousin, a daughter

of Paul Carrington; Nathaniel Venable, had also married a cousin, a daughter of Paul Carrington. Two of his uncles, Thomas and Clement, had married each a sister of Judge Nash, a trustee; and President Smith had also married a sister of the Judge; and it may be mentioned, the mother of Nash Legrand, whose name is in the church, was also sister of Judge Nash. This Mr. Legrand, for his second wife, was married to Mrs. Paulina Read, widow of Colonel Edmund Read, a name mentioned with much kindness by Dr. Alexander, in his auto-biography. Mrs. Paulina Legrand, the widow of Colonel Edmund Read and Rev. Nash Legrand, was a firm friend of the College and the Union Theological Seminary, and the patroness of many young men, in preparation for the ministry. One of these, an associate of Clement Read in college, was Rev. William Hill, D. D.

The genealogy for the eighteenth century, of the Morton, Watkins, Venable, Allen, Womark, Smith, Spencer, Michaux, Wilson and Scott families, and many others that occupied Lunenburg, in its original boundaries, would offer to the philosophic observer of the human race subjects for profound reflection. Coming from different divisions of the European stock, mingling in society on the frontiers, amalgamating by marriage, moulded by the religious teachings of Robinson and Davies, and their associates and successors, they formed a state of society and morals, in which the excellences of the original constituent parts have all been preserved. The courtly manners of Williamsburg, the cheerfulness and ease of the Huguenots, the honest frankness and stern independence of the English country gentleman, the activity and shrewdness of the merchant, the simplicity of republican life — all have been combined. Removed from cities, and not densely crowded in neighborhoods, relieved from the drudgeries of common life, and stimulated to activity, to preserve a cheerful independence, the increasing population have improved the opportunities for moral, intellectual, and spiritual advancement, and pious examples, of excellence in manners, morals and religion, and domestic intercourse, worthy of remembrance and imitation. In the deficiency of these records, the main line of the Carrington family is all that can be presented.

A certain Paul Carrington and his wife, of the Heningham family, emigrated from Ireland to Barbadoes, and settled in Bridgetown. He died early in the eighteenth century, leaving a widow and a numerous family of young children. The youngest child, George, about the year 1727, came to Virginia with the family of Joseph Mayo, a Barbadoes merchant. Mr. Mayo purchased and occupied the ancient seat of Powhatan, near the falls of the James. Young Carrington lived some years with Mr. Mayo as his store-keeper. About 1732, he, in his twenty-first year, married Anne, the eldest daughter of William Mayo, brother of Joseph, who had settled in Goochland, she being in her twentieth year. They went to reside on Willis' Creek, now in the bounds of Cumberland County. They had eleven children: 1st. Paul, born March 5th, 1733, and

died June 22d, 1818; 2d. William, November 17th, 1785, died an infant; 3d. George, March 15th, 1787, died October 9th, 1784; 4th. William, December 22d, 1789, died August 20th, 1757; 5th. Joseph, February 6th, 1741, died April 4th, 1802; 6th. Nathaniel, February 8th, 1743, died November, 1803; 7th. Heningham, December 4th, 1746, (married a Bernard,) died January 24th, 1810; 8th. Edward, February 11th, 1748, died October 28th, 1810; 9th. Hannah, March 28th, 1757, (married a Cabel,) mother of Judge William H. Cabel, died August 27th, 1817; 10th. Mayo, April 1st, 1753, died December 28th, 1805; 11th. Mary, January 9th, 1759, (married a Watkins,) died —. George Carrington and his wife, Anne, both died in February, 1785. From them sprung the numerous families of the Carringtons, in Virginia; and, in the female line, the descendants have been numerous. Their eldest child, Paul, was married to Margaret Read, daughter of Colonel Clement Read, of Lunenburg, now Charlotte, October 1st, 1755. Their children were — Mary, George, Anne, Clement, and Paul. Mrs. Carrington died May 1st, 1766, and left a memory of great virtues. Her youngest child, Paul, became Judge of the General Court of Virginia, and died January 18th, 1816. Mr. Carrington was married the second time, in his fifty-eighth year, March 6th, 1792, to Miss Priscilla Sims. Their children were — Henry, (two died in infancy,) Letitia, Martha, and Robert. The services of Mr. Carrington in the Board of the College, and during the Revolutionary war, were becoming an honorable and high-minded man.

Clement Read, the minister, completed his course of study at Hampden Sidney College. As a resident graduate, he was present during the great awakening commencing in 1786, and united with Allen, and Hill, and Blythe, in the prayer-meeting pregnant with blessings. He had been carefully nurtured in good morals, polite intercourse, and the principles of Christian religion. His grandmother was remarkable for her efforts to maintain religion in her family. She had been nurtured in the Episcopal church by Commissary Blair; and was a devout mother seeking the salvation of her household according to the direction of the church of her fathers. The Prayer-book and Bible were read in her family in morning and evening worship: and when necessary she officiated herself. Young Read grew up under religious influence in the Presbyterian form. From the time Davies preached at the house of Littlejoe Morton, and was blessed in numbering him and his wife as converts to Christ, and members of that part of the church of which he was minister, the Presbyterian form and creed prevailed extensively in Charlotte. The colonies of Presbyterians settled in Cub Creek and Buffalo, and the blessings on the labors of Mr. Henry and his successors, had made large congregations of Presbyterian worshippers in Lunenburg, from the present Brunswick to the Blue Ridge. Many of Mr. Read's relations became members of the Presbyterian Church, and he grew up under its instructions. He professed his faith about

the same time that Hill and Allen made their profession. He at once devoted himself to the ministry of the gospel.

At a meeting of the Hanover Presbytery at Cumberland Meeting-House, Oct. 10th, 1788, Clement Read and Nash Legrand were received as candidates for the ministry. At a meeting at Buffalo, January 1789, the preparatory trials of Read and Legrand proceeded, and Cary Allen was taken as candidate. In the succeeding April, Legrand was licensed. In Bedford, Oct. 1789, Presbytery suspended any further preparatory steps for the licensure of Mr. Read. He had become interested with the Methodists, who were numerous in some neighborhoods, and their ministers very active and acceptable. They were yet considered as part of the Episcopal church, from which no separation had actually taken place, although the particular forms by which that church is characterized, were coming into notice. In finally separating from the Episcopal church a large body in Old Lunenburg formed a denomination called Republican Methodists, of which Mr. Read was for years a minister. He associated with these, and began preaching before he had finished his preparatory course under Presbytery. In this state of the case Presbytery, without passing any censure, suspended further attention to his case. In July, 1790, at Buffalo, Mr. Read had an interview with Presbytery particularly to exculpate himself from the charge of slandering President Smith, in saying that the President used his official influence to lead young men to the Presbyterian Church and ministry. Of this Mr. Smith complained: and of this charge Mr. Read desired to clear himself; and did satisfy Presbytery, that he was not guilty of impeaching the character of Mr. Smith. As Mr. Read was at that time connected with the Methodists, his name was removed from the list of candidates under the care of Presbytery. Mr. Read was ordained by the Republican Methodists, and was an aimable, devout, and earnest preacher, respected and beloved by all that loved the gospel.

In March, 1789, Mr. Read was married to Clarissa, daughter of Col. Thomas Edmunds, of Brunswick. She was his companion through life, and bore him thirteen children, six of whom were sons. These claim some mixture of Indian blood in their veins, derived through their mother from Pocahontas, of world-wide fame. The descent is thus. Pocahontas left an only child, Thomas Rolfe; he left an only daughter, who became the wife of Robert Bolling; she left one son, John Bolling; he had a number of daughters; one of them married Richard Randolph, the ancestor of the orator, John Randolph, of Roanoke, another Mr. Thomas Eldridge. Colonel Edmunds married a daughter of Mrs. Eldridge, and Mr. Read a daughter of Mrs. Edmunds. So that Mrs. Read's great-grandfather, John Bolling, was great-grandchild of the Princess Pocahontas. Hundreds of families may now claim descent from John Bolling, and some mixture of blood of Pocahontas. Mrs. Read was born in December, 1772, and died in June, 1845.

In the first year of the nineteenth century an effort was made to

promote unity of feeling and action among Christians in the bounds of ancient Lunenburg, and the account given of it by the Rev. Drury Lacy is probably all the record that remains. Under date of January 22d, 1802, Mount Ararat, Prince Edward County, Virginia, he says: — “On Christmas day about ten Baptist preachers, an equal number of Methodists, and six Presbyterian ministers, met at Bedford Court-House, in this State. The object of this meeting was to discourse freely together on the subject of our differences, and to see if we could not adopt some terms for living more friendly than we have done, and even to commune together. I have not a minute of the proceedings, but will relate the substance of what we did, as well as I can, from memory. It was mutually agreed that the ministers of the different denominations should exercise all good offices towards each other, and preach in each other’s pulpits as occasion might serve, where it would not interfere with a previous appointment; and that it should be esteemed unfriendly for the minister of one denomination to refuse the use of his pulpit to the minister of another, unless when the congregation was opposed. It was further agreed that the members of the respective societies might commune with the churches of the other denominations, where they found a freedom to do so; and that such should not be called to an account by the respective societies to which they belonged, as if guilty of any breach of regularity. That the members of different denominations should watch over each other in brotherly love; and in cases where offences should be committed, by a member of one communion, known to a member of another, which required the discipline of the church, that the society to which the offender belonged should be informed, and the party aggrieved be admitted to state the particulars of the offence. That the minister of one denomination should receive the members of another to communion, upon their producing a certificate of their good standing in their own society, or upon receiving satisfaction of the same in any other method. That if a member of one denomination wished to become a member of another, the latter should not receive him, unless he produced a certificate that he was free from censure in the society to which he formerly belonged. It was further agreed, that each Presbytery among us would admit two Baptists and two Methodists to sit with us as correspondents; that each association of the Baptists would admit two Presbyterian and two Methodist ministers; and that each Conference of the Methodists would admit two Presbyterian and two Baptist ministers as correspondents, upon such producing certificates of their appointment, properly attested. It was finally resolved to submit our proceedings to the consideration of the Presbyteries, Associations and Conferences to which we belonged.”

Under date of May 17th, 1802, he writes — “You have already been informed of a meeting which took place last Christmas at Bedford Court-House. Since that time, greater harmony and brotherly love have been apparent among the different denominations. They frequently preach together, and seem much stirred up to promote



the common cause of religion, and the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. But as the proposed plan of union has not yet been discussed by the respective church judicatories, to which it was referred, it is impossible to say what will be the result of that business. However, whether that be adopted or rejected, I am happy to inform you that the attention to religion which was excited at that meeting has continued to increase. It has spread upwards of twenty miles; and there have been pleasing prospects in more distant places, whenever the ministers have found an opportunity to preach from home."

Upon mature reflection it became evident to all, that external union could, at that time, be more closely cemented only by amalgamation. The Baptists were not prepared to throw off their peculiarities; and it became a question with the Republican Methodists whether they would retain their separate organization or unite with one of the other denominations; and if a union was to be attempted, to which denomination should the proposition be made. At a meeting of the Presbytery at Hampden Sidney, April, 1804, Rev. Messrs. John Robinson and Clement Read appeared as a committee of the Republican Methodists to confer with the Presbytery "on the subject of an union, which it appeared their constituents anxiously desired to form with the Presbyterian Church." A committee of conference was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Lacy, Alexander, and Lyle, with power "to adopt such measures respecting the union contemplated, as to them may appear eligible, and to make their report to Presbytery at their next meeting." In September, at Cub Creek, immediately after the ordination of J. H. Rice, the committee made report of having had a conference with a committee of the Republican Methodist Church, "but that committee, wishing for an opportunity to confer with their church upon some important points relative to the subject, before a decision was made, the business was postponed until they should have an opportunity of conversing with, and consulting their people. But since that time no communication had been received from the Republican Methodist Church on the subject." No further communications passed. In 1809 a called meeting of Presbytery was held on the 28th and 29th days of September, at Briery, to consider the application of Rev. Clement Read to be received as a member of Presbytery. After a full and free conference, and consideration of the testimonials of his ordination, and of his character and standing with his brethren, and Mr. Read "having adopted the constitution of our church," the Presbytery received him as a member, and gave him the right hand of fellowship. In 1822, the Rev. Messrs. Henderson Lee, John Davidson, Samuel Armstead, and Matthew W. Jackson, ministers of the Republican Methodist Church, met the Presbytery at Charlotte Court-House, and, "having adopted the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, and answered the questions put to candidates, were received and took their seats as members of Presbytery." By this act the Republican Methodist Church, as a body, in that part of Virginia, became extinct.

Mr. Read lived in harmony with the Presbytery, and continued to labor earnestly in the ministry while his physical powers endured. His adoption of the Confession of Faith was *ex animo*. He had always been a Predestinarian in creed. The reasons for his desiring a union with the Presbytery appear to have been his conviction of the importance of union among the people of God, and of the sufficiency of the Church as organized by the Apostles as the agent to accomplish the renovation of the human race. Through life he was opposed to any measure or system of things that appeared to him either to usurp the duties of the Church, or to stand between her and the performance of her proper work in the salvation of men. When the question arose between voluntary associations or the Church as organized, as the instrument of benevolent and Christian operations, he unhesitatingly chose the latter. In the early stages of the temperance movement, to the surprise of many, he raised his voice against some procedures, protesting they were unscriptural and inadmissible. He would agree to no principles or measures he judged unbecoming his office, and the great principle that the Church was sufficient for moral and religious enterprises.

Possessed of an ample estate, and far removed from a penurious spirit, he lived in great simplicity and abundance; and maintained to the last his simplicity of manners, frankness of expression, tenderness of feeling, and open hospitality, and singleness of mind. He was remarkable for that simplicity in all his principles and actions, that implied freedom from guile and envy. Dr. Hill, in his old age, being asked his opinion of Mr. Read, said he was the most simple-minded man he ever knew, the most child-like. "Did you esteem him pious?" "One of the most devout men in the world. Let a man go and visit him, and he would come away deeply impressed with the sincerity and depth of his piety."

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## CHAPTER XLVI.

MESSERS. LOGAN, BOWYER AND ANDERSON.

ROBERT LOGAN had the refusal of the tutorship in Hampden Sidney when John H. Rice applied for it. Upon being visited by Mr. Rice upon the subject, he gave up his right, and recommended his friend to be the tutor. He was born in Bethel Congregation, Augusta County, September, 1769. He was reared piously in the strictness of the Presbyterian faith and customs, one of a large family of children, all of whom became professing members of the Church. His literary and theological course was passed at Liberty Hall under the care of Rev. Wm. Graham. Upon being licensed to preach the gospel, he made some missionary excursions, and visited Genessee County in New York, made an excursion to New Eng-

land, visited Kentucky, and finally settled in Fincastle, Botetourt County. While in Kentucky he married Miss Margaret Moore, from Walker's Creek, Rockbridge County, Virginia. For many years he was the frontier minister. Mr. Houston, at the Natural Bridge, was his nearest neighbor north, and Mr. M'Ilhenney, of Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, west. Rev. Samuel H. M'Nutt was for a time his neighbor on New River. With a wide field around him, and a disposition to occupy it, he was compelled to teach a classical and promiscuous school a great part of the time he was in the ministry, to obtain a decent support for his family. His life was therefore monotonous, and his opportunities for improvement very limited; while his labors were great and unremitting, except as sickness sometimes caused him to intermit his regular course. Salem, now in Roanoke, shared with Fincastle in his principal labors; and as his strength enabled him to visit the surrounding counties with the messages of mercy. Occasionally he would dismiss his school, and try the practicability of living as a minister of Christ disengaged from all business but the especial duties of the office to which he had been ordained. On one of these occasions, having stated his intentions and hopes to Mr. Speece, and the amount of expenditure he thought would supply the wants of his family, and how it was to be obtained, that brother remarked, that brother Logan's faith must be very strong to live in Fincastle on his salary. Mr. Logan died October, 1828, in his 60th year, having preached in Fincastle about thirty years. Though his church and congregation were not large, there were some members of both for whom he had the highest regard. His remains lie near the church in Fincastle. A short sketch of two gentlemen of Fincastle, his cotemporaries, will not be uninteresting— Col. Bowyer and Col. Anderson, both of whom survived him a few years.

## COLONEL HENRY BOWYER.

Of the many in Botetourt County that did well in the Revolution, some at least, should have their names enrolled in the list of those to be remembered. Of the greater part of the active patriots no memorial has been written, and their names and their deeds are passing away from all human recollection. The following letter from the late Judge Edward Johnston gives all that can be gathered of one brave soldier, the type of many others.

“ Early in the war of the Revolution, if not at its commencement, Col. Bowyer was living in Fincastle with his uncle Mike Bowyer, who owned a store in that place, in which Colonel Bowyer, then supposed to be about sixteen years old, acted in the capacity of salesman. His uncle having determined to join the army, upon leaving Fincastle for that purpose, committed the management of his store to his nephew, with directions to continue the business until all the goods were disposed of. This, according to the Colonel's mode of conducting the business, required but a very short time, for, burning with a desire to join the army himself, no sooner had his uncle

taken his departure than he put up the whole establishment at auction, sold the goods for what they would bring, and immediately started himself for the army. He first went to Philadelphia, but whether he entered the service at once there, or at some other place, is not remembered. It is however certain that he soon connected himself with Col. Washington's corps of cavalry, with which he continued to the end of the war. There is reason to believe that at one time he served in the infantry, from a circumstance which he once mentioned, for the purpose of showing the undying hate which the enemy cherished towards the 'rebels.' It was this: After a skirmish, in which we were successful, Col. Bowyer was reloading his musket, and while doing so a wounded soldier of the enemy, who was lying prostrate on the ground near him, raised his head, and begged him for a drink of water. Having nothing else, Col. Bowyer took off his cap, and dipping up some water from a stream just at hand, handed it to the soldier. The latter, after satisfying his thirst, spirted his mouthful of water into the Colonel's face. His first impulse, he said, was to run his bayonet through him, but remembering his helpless condition, he restrained himself.

"Col. Bowyer was in that most bloody and disastrous engagement to our army, known as Buford's defeat. He acted as aid to Buford on the occasion, and during the day was ordered by the latter to bear a flag (of truce, I think) to Tarleton. Col. Bowyer remonstrated with Buford against the undertaking, by telling him that he must needs pass between the two armies, then hotly engaged, and thus be exposed to the fire of each. Col. Buford replied that 'he had his orders.' Immediately he put spurs to his horse, and galloped off in the direction of Tarleton, who was surrounded by his staff. Just before reaching the spot where Tarleton was stationed, the latter's horse had been shot, and in falling had caught Tarleton's leg under him, and Tarleton, being very much exasperated, and seeing Col. Bowyer approaching, ordered his men to 'Cut the d—d rebel down.' No sooner was this spoken, than they surrounded Col. Bowyer, and commenced cutting at him with their swords. At this critical moment, however, a well directed fire from our men, some of whom were watching with intense interest the result of Col. Bowyer's hazardous undertaking, set the horses of those around him to jumping and rearing, and thus an opening was formed, sufficient to pass through. Of this he instantly availed himself, neither he nor his horse, to use his own expression, 'liking the company they were in.' He was pursued for a considerable distance, and only escaped being taken by leaping a high fence that lay across his way. Those in pursuit of him did not attempt to follow him, although close upon his heels. His horse afterwards fainted from loss of blood from the wounds he received in the attempt to deliver the flag. By this time it is presumed our men were running in every direction. Col. Bowyer, in the flight, met with one of our wounded soldiers, who could scarcely walk. Dismounting, he put the wounded man on his horse, and reached in safety a cabin in the woods. Here they remained all night, the

wounded soldier lying before the fire, unable apparently to rise. But about midnight, a tramping of horses' hoofs being heard around the cabin, in an instant, as if nothing, said Col. Bowyer, was the matter, he sprang to his feet, and grasped his gun, and stood ready for battle. The alarm, however, proved a false one, for instead of the enemy as they supposed, the horses turned out to be loose ones, that had strayed in that direction, from the field of battle.

"At one time Col. Bowyer was stationed in Petersburg, While there, he performed a feat on horseback, which, in process of time, was much exaggerated. As the story ran, he leaped over a covered wagon standing in the street, and the prints of his horse's hoofs were visible for many years after. Upon being repeated to Col. Bowyer, in his old age, by a lady who lived in Petersburg at the time of the event, he was much amused, and said it was true he had leaped a wagon, but it was a small one, and had no cover on it. The facts, he said, were these: A company of soldiers, of whom Col. Washington and himself formed a part, had been to a party in the country, and returning at night in a gallop, they encountered a wagon stretching across the road. Col. Bowyer being mounted upon a remarkably fine horse, succeeded in clearing it, but none of the company followed him.

"After the war was ended, Col. Bowyer returned to Fincastle, and was subsequently elected Clerk of the County Court of Botetourt. This office he held until the new Constitution went into operation in 1831, a period of about 40 years. At the election under the new Constitution, he declined being a candidate, and his son, Henry W. Bowyer, the present Clerk of the Circuit Court of Botetourt, was elected in his place. Col. Bowyer's wife was a daughter of Thomas Madison, Esq., of Botetourt, brother to Bishop Madison. Her mother, Mrs. Madison, was a sister of Patrick Henry.

"Col. Bowyer departed this life in 1833, aged 72 years, leaving his wife and eight children to survive him. Of Mrs. Bowyer much might be said, were we attempting a sketch of her life. She was, in many respects, an extraordinary woman. Of a strong mind, and fond of reading, she devoted a large portion of her time to that favorite employment, especially to the reading of the Scriptures. For the last 20 years of her life she was in the constant habit of reading the Bible through every year, and sometimes in six months. She was remarkably punctual and regular in all her habits, devoting portions of every day to reading, and others to the ordinary duties of life. Of her deeds of charity and benevolence we will say nothing. She made no display of show while living, and was so averse to anything like ostentation, it would hardly be respectful to her memory to mention them now. Her recollection of past events was very accurate, and as evidence it may be interesting to mention the following fact. Some years before her death, which took place in 1847, a publication appeared of the Tract Society, in which it was stated that the work of Soame Jennings had produced so powerful an impression on the mind of the great orator, Patrick Henry, that he had,

while Governor of Virginia, procured an edition of it to be struck off for distribution among his friends. As soon as Mrs. Bowyer saw this statement, she said she distinctly remembered, while she was yet a girl, that her uncle, Mr. Henry, paid a visit to her father in Botetourt, and had in his saddle-bags a copy of that book, which he intended to present to General Breckenridge."

## COL. WILLIAM ANDERSON.

William Anderson, born in Delaware, in the year 1768, came with his father's family, when about six years of age, to the County of Botetourt; which was henceforth his home, and finally his burying-place. He grew up in the troubles, and distresses, and excitements, and sufferings of the Revolutionary War. When sixteen years of age, he took his musket, and engaged in the famous Southern War, of which Gen. Lee has given so powerfully graphic a description, in his *Memoirs of the Campaigns*. The battle of Camden had been fought, and Greene was sent to try the strategy of war with Cornwallis. Morgan, who would not serve under Gates, on account of the events succeeding the surrender of Burgoyne, was persuaded to go with Greene to the recovery of the South from the defeat at Camden. Young Anderson joined a volunteer company, and marched with Greene to North Carolina. He was detached with Morgan to Ninety-Six, where the battle of Cowpens was fought—in a manner so honorably and successfully. Morgan's flight towards Virginia, to preserve his 500 prisoners from recapture, brought the famous march of Greene across North Carolina, to cover Morgan's flight, and the equally famous pursuit of Cornwallis to recover Tarleton's men. The rear guard of the American forces was committed to Col. Otho Williams of Maryland, and young Anderson was detached to form one of his corps. Cornwallis was pressing on to bring Greene to action; and Greene straining every nerve to escape that necessity. The front guard of Cornwallis and the rear of Greene were often within gunshot of each other; and detachments not unfrequently in speaking distance. Conscious that any skirmish could but end in the loss of a few men, and that a general battle could be brought on only at some river, these brave men refused to fire at each other in these circumstances, and busied themselves in the ordinary duties of advanced and rear guards. It is said that small companies of these guards sometimes unexpectedly met at springs, and exchanged salutations, and tobacco, and rejoined their companions. Three times the main armies were so near, an action seemed inevitable—at the passage of the Catawba, the Yadkin, and the Dan. In this memorable passage across Carolina, young Anderson bore cheerfully the trials and distresses of the patriot army, on the success of which depended the liberties of the South. It is to be regretted that Mr. Anderson entirely omitted to leave any written memoranda of his youthful campaigns. A succinct, yet brief, diary of his marches with Morgan, and under Otho Williams, would now be read with intense interest by more than his descendants, If we could read

from him, how he fared, how far they marched, what the soldiers did in their encampments, we should be more than amused.

The second war with Great Britain found him a colonel of the militia of Botetourt. He answered the draft made for the defence of Norfolk; and marched at the head of a regiment to the seaboard. Through the trials of that tour of duty he passed with the cheerfulness that characterized him in Carolina. It is to be regretted that memoranda of his second experience in war, from his pen, can nowhere be found. In Carolina, activity, speed, and romantic enterprise, were the order of the day in the taste his youth had of war; in his 50th year, the dull routine of a camp life, in which sickness wasted the ranks the enemies bullets might not pierce. For a great part of his active life, about fifty years, he was county surveyor, for a long time a magistrate, and for many years commissioner of the James River, and occasionally engineer of public improvements, and member of the Legislature of the State. In all these public stations, he exhibited a high order of moral and physical energy, which seems to be passing away with the generation that were young in the Revolution, or confined to the remote frontiers of our extended country. He studied to make himself useful to the public that employed him, and the public continued his employment on account of his usefulness and integrity. His office as surveyor, when the country was comparatively new, and the boundaries of estates not very definitely settled, and much vacant land of good quality to be found, and speculations involving no impropriety, offering speedy increase of capital and future wealth, opened for him continued opportunities of acquiring large possessions. But he passed through life in moderate circumstances. Scrupulously honest, sensitive of his reputation, and cherishing the pure principles of the gospel, he practised a charity that seeketh not her own, believing that wealth was not the best inheritance for children.

In the great revival, to which reference is so often made, commencing in Charlotte and Prince Edward, and spreading ultimately over the Valley of Virginia, under the preaching of J. B. Smith, Graham, Mitchel, Lacy, and Legrand, about the years 1788 and '89, Mr. Anderson felt himself moved to attend particularly to the great concerns of his soul under the gospel dispensation. Of the crowds who then waited on the ministrations of the gospel, and professed their faith in the Lord Jesus, Mr. Anderson was one of the few that remained to tell, to the present generation, of the excitements and experience of those days. The Rev. Stephen F. Coker, the pastor of Fincastle Presbyterian church, in a sermon at the burial of Mr. Anderson, says, "He often referred to the period, in his private conversations with his Christian friends, and with becoming emotions of gratitude, thanked God that he permitted him, so early in life, to dedicate the prime and vigor of his days to the service of his Church. And when, like David, he was old and full of years, the Lord did not forsake his servant, but gave him the inestimable peace and satisfaction of looking back upon a long life, truly and

faithfully endeavored to have been spent in the service of his Maker, and forward to that dispensation of happiness in heaven, which he had embraced by faith, possessed in hope, and of which he had so often tasted in the comforts of the Holy Ghost, shed abroad in his soul. 'Tis true, as he himself observed, he had a most dreadful conflict with death; for the malignant character of his disease was most tormenting to the animal frame; and few men have been called to endure so much of excruciating bodily pain as that with which it pleased the Almighty to embitter the last moments of his life. But notwithstanding this, he never distrusted the constancy of God's goodness, or indulged the most distant fear of his completeness in Christ. He more than once exclaimed, 'I know in whom I have believed, and that he will keep that which I have committed unto him until that day. 'For though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God; whom I shall see for myself, and my eyes shall behold him; though my reins be consumed within me.' Such were his triumphs over the grave." He fell asleep in Jesus on the morning of Sept. 13th, 1839, in his 76th year.

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## CHAPTER XLVII.

JOHN B. HOGE AND JAMES H. FITZGERALD.

ON the Southern bank of the Rappahannock, where the swift current of the falls has subsided in the stillness of the sluggish tide that flows up from the Chesapeake, stands Fredericksburg, noted for the fascinations of its accomplished ladies, honored in years gone-by, as the residence of Mary Washington, and now as the place of her tomb. Here have risen and set days of gallantry, when at the word of beauty's lip, or the glance of her bewitching eye, or the crimson of her blushing cheek, the gallants would put their lives at the hazard of a pistol-shot at the Alum Spring. Here was the rallying place of brave men in times of the Indian wars, and the war of Independence. And here was the scene of Washington's farewell visit to his mother. Here also was the home of the illustrious Mercer, who poured out his blood for his county at the battle of Princeton.

There is a corner in this city, away from the noise and bustle of trade, with which are associated recollections of days, and things, and persons, long passed, but not forgotten; persons and things that shall fill a chapter in the book of everlasting remembrance. Up from the crowded street of business, along Amelia street, is the spot. There stands a neat, spacious building. The few words graven with the pen of iron on tablets of marble, tell its objects. An Asylum; the Female Orphan Asylum; in many senses of the word, female; planned by females, erected by the untiring efforts of females, managed by a band of females, and for female orphan children; for



poor friendless female orphans, the most desolate, and helpless, and pitiable of the human family. A short visit within these walls, spent in looking over the arrangements for comfort and neatness; the school-room, where these desolate ones receive instructions from hands, and heads, and hearts, that wealth would gladly employ in nurturing her favored children; the housewifery, employing and instructing the young lambs; the room for the operations connected with sewing and knitting; the place for morning and evening worship in company, would surely impress deeply the conviction, that the little sum, which, year by year, yields such blessedness, opening a refuge for her that has no parents, no money, no experience, and perhaps not even a penniless friend, a refuge that saves her from becoming a poison to our families, and a curse to our cities, is doubly blessed, "blessing those that give and those that receive." The history of this asylum, is the history of female benevolence; the development of that tenderness that dwells in the heart of mothers, and sisters, and wives, and daughters; and in the growth and full expansion of little orphan girls, to women, wives, mothers, Christians and saints in heaven.

This corner is associated with scenes of elevated feeling, that shall be bright and fair in that day when immortality shall blossom in every flower, and penitence and charity bring forth their fruit in eternal fragrance, and the meek be beautified with salvation. There stood, where this Asylum stands now, a house for public worship, for the Presbyterian congregation which now assembles, Sabbath by Sabbath, in that spacious and beautiful building, surmounted by a cupola. It was the first house of worship for that denomination in this city, built on this corner lot, given by the daughter of the lamented Mercer, of revolutionary memory; a house small in dimensions, but abundant in blessings showered down on the worshippers assembled, as multitudes, that now are seated in other houses, could abundantly testify, if they would, or could tell the blessings that fell here on their parents' heads. How wonderfully the spirit of the founder lives, for ages, in the society of his gathering. His weaknesses and defects shall be forgotten, and the excellent only, survive the waste of time, and work on through generations. John Mark still lives in Fredericksburg; his bones rest elsewhere; his impress is here. An emigrant from Ulster, that inexhaustible source of the best of citizens, he came in his youth, alone, to America, high in hope, with a good conscience toward God and toward man, counting it honorable to stand firm for the church of his fathers, the church of the living God, built on the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. His first years of residence, in America, were in the great valley of Virginia, and were prosperous and happy, employed first in the instruction of youth, and then in honorable traffic. As he advanced in years he came to this place to pursue his trade, and brought along with him the religion he so carefully cherished in Shepherdstown, and nurtured it here, where practical godliness was less esteemed

than at present. After repeated efforts, he at length obtained a minister of his own race and faith, from the mountains of North Carolina, trained in Lexington, Virginia, under that singularly gifted, simple-hearted man, George Baxter; and was the leading person of the three, who, as professors of religion, welcomed, in 1806, the first Presbyterian preacher in Fredericksburg, the Rev. Samuel B. Wilson. Quietness, devotion, straightforward honesty in his business and his religion, and generosity in his piety, adorned him, and have graced the church he assisted his pastor to gather. Activity in benevolence is their praise. May it be so for ever!

RECOLLECTIONS OF TWO YEARS OF WORSHIP, BY ONE WHO FREQUENTED THIS CORNER IN 1816-17-18.

“I was not born in Fredericksburg; I never lived there. But for two years I was not a stranger at the Asylum corner, on Amelia street; and the men and the things that became familiar then shall live in recollection till earthly things pass from these eyes, and the visions of past excellence can charm this heart no more. In the year 1816, on a beautiful Sabbath day in June, I first entered the house, a stranger, to join with the congregation in the worship of the Lord God Almighty, as I had been accustomed from my youth — from my very infancy. For a succession of months, from Sabbath to Sabbath, I met with a church few in numbers, and a congregation not numerous, but such as may not, cannot meet again. I love to recall the events and scenes connected with this place of worship. The persons, alas! that used to meet here, like the house of worship, have given place, and live in the heart of memory. How wonderful the power of memory and recollection! ‘Times past are brought to present view,’ we know not how. The dead come up from their sepulchres, not in mouldering forms, or the habiliments of the grave, but in the beauty and freshness of their every-day life. Here came always, at the hour of worship, the manly form and benevolent face of Daniel Grinnan, leading his lovely and devout wife, a daughter of the mountains; the man that felt himself obliged by having an opportunity of showing kindness. He sat half way from the right-hand door of entrance to the pulpit, with that peculiar contemplation seated on his face, that lacked but a single touch of enthusiasm to have made him a chosen leader of God’s host, in perilous circumstances. How many, in his quietness, he was the means of leading to Christ, can be known only at the great day. The company that shall meet him then will fill him with amazement. With him usually came his friend, John Mundle, with his calculating mind, and friendly heart, and overhanging brows, and orthodox creed, of the true Scottish mould; and sat between the two doors, by the wall, immediately in front of the pulpit, with all the grave attention of his church-going native land. Just before him was often seen that very pink of military courtesy, and gentlemanly intercourse, a member of Washington’s military family, and like that

great man, always true to the moment of his appointments, Major Day, with his powdered head and cue, and beautiful bouquet hanging from the third button-hole, on the left side of his coat, the very beau ideal of an old Virginia gentleman. A little in advance sat Seddon, from Falmouth, with his bold forehead, and cheerful face, over which gravity and merriment passed as in a twinkling, merriment without wildness, and gravity without severity; to his fellow men always kind; in the house of God always grave; the widow's friend. His household would often fill the whole pew. Near him, on the right, sat Vass, also from Falmouth, the warm-hearted, busy, music-loving, church-going Scotch merchant — his business always a pleasure, and his religion his inheritance. His family filled a pew. Devout in his worship, and social in his intercourse with his fellow men, prosperous in his business, he generously sustained the institutions of religion. By his side sat Morson, of Hollywood, that abode of hospitality, a Scotchman's son, firm in his purpose, unbending in his integrity, unwavering in his friendship, manly in his appearance, generous in his feelings. About midway from the pulpit to the right hand front door, sat the dignified, the majestic Patton, from the beautiful residence near the falls. And from the hills, above the falls, often came Thornton, the most amiable and gentlemanly of men; and with him, from Cumberland, not unfrequently, his no less amiable and gentlemanly son-in-law, Fitzgerald, tall, erect, a specimen of the present, as his father-in-law of the past, generation of Virginia gentlemen. Just in front of the pulpit sat Henderson, silent, thoughtful; prospered in his business in his manhood, and devout in his age; like Mark, from Ireland, unlike Mark in becoming religious late in life. Near by Grinnan, when his profession permitted, sat Wellford, the physician, of extensive reading, and wonderful memory, and great skill in the healing art; his amiable wife and his sons by his side. Not far from the pulpit sat the polite lawyer, Briggs, with his rosy cheeks and powdered head, a Scotchman's son. Here often came those amiable merchants, Scott and Ross, both Scotchmen. Many others I often saw. But can I pass thee by, Philip Alexander, the amiable, from Falmouth, always kind, and often heart-sick? And thou, too, my friend Brooke, so roughly handled by a world that knew not thy heart? And from the same village the two Gordons, Scotchmen, eminent for their correctness and success in trade, and the amiable Forbes, and Beale, and the Misses Barnes?

Of the female hearers let me name a few more. Here, in front of the pulpit, sat the dignified and devout Mrs. Lewis, an early member of the church; too polished to be charged with rudeness, when strictness in religion was in danger of being called ungenteel; and too religious to permit her polite attentions to the forms of society to wound her conscience; familiar in the highest circles, connected with the family of Washington; too kind and Christian not to bend to the humble in society; always at church, and ready to do good. And a little to the right sat one whom infirmity often barred from the house of God; her simple dress, mild, placid face, and black eye

would not let you pass her by; shall I ever forget the venerable Mary Alexander? or the no less valued friend, her daughter Morson, of Hollywood, who cheerfully rode her ten miles to attend upon the worship of God's house; with that lovely, frail, short-lived flower, her daughter Marion, and the retired and amiable sister Eliza? And here, too, was the delicate, conscientious and devout Mrs. Patton, the donor of the ground, Mercer's daughter, as frail as her husband was majestic, and often exercised with spiritual troubles. Just by sat Miss Stevenson, prayerful and devoted, and Mrs. French, chastened and afflicted, and the Misses Lomax, since so indissolubly interwoven with the asylum; and last, though not least, Mrs. Allison, from Hartwood, the cheerful, the pious, with her two daughters, and that devoted and retired child of God, Marion Briggs from Hartwood. Should I mention the worshippers from a distance, that at intervals, with some regularity, united with this congregation, I could not pass over the Kincaids and the Paynes, of Fauquier, whose visits were always anticipated with delight; or that genuine Scotch elder from Madison, tender of heart, but unconquerable in spirit, Andrew Glassel, with his short grey hair and Scottish accent, his long boots, and his small-clothes buckled at the knee, bending with age, but quick in his step; a full believer in his own creed, yet kind to those that differed, and charitable if their lives were correct; nor the Messrs. Gordon from Germanna, nor the staid Skinker from Yellow Chapel.

These formed an audience to preach to; people asking for the plain, simple announcement of the truths of Almighty God sent forth by him in such majesty. As I speak of them their persons seem to arise around me; I seem to hear their salutations full of kindness and urbanity, as they meet at the church doors; and see their solemnity as they enter the house of God. What silence reigned within! A whisper, a rustle would have been rude while these gentlemen and ladies worshipped God with their beloved pastor. But the communion seasons! When the church was all assembled; and Williamson came down from Fauquier with his heart warm, and "his face as a flint," for the truth; or some brother from a greater distance, to spend a few days. After the preachings and fasting and prayers on Friday and Saturday, on the Sabbath company after company sat down at the table near the pulpit, and delivering up to the eldership their tokens of admission, were served with the bread and wine consecrated to the communion of the Lord Jesus Christ. Tears of penitence flowed. The heart was comforted in its contrition and its faith. Hours were not counted in those solemn feasts. Spectators, and there were always many, often felt the separation made by the companies rising from around them, and going at the call of the pastor, to be like the division in that day when Christ shall separate the assembled multitude to the right hand and to the left; and many a heart was troubled at its own want of penitence and faith. But the Presbytery and Synod, the first I ever attended; their memory is dimmed somewhat by the multitude of novel things that blend and mingle light and shade, character and event in sweet

confusion. Clergymen of different denominations were not then in such brotherly contiguity as now. The assemblage of the ministers was called large, though the Presbytery then consisted of but ten members, and the Synod of about forty; and but about half of each attended. I remember the two brothers, Robert and Joseph Logan, amiable and laborious men, and Glass, with his kind heart and metaphysical mind, and indomitable will, and Speece, with his gigantic frame and power in debate, and Mitchel, that seemed a patriarch that from bitter experience could comfort the children of God, and could lift up his voice like a trumpet; and that wonderful compound of awkwardness and eloquence, of simplicity and shrewdness, strength and tenderness, of supreme devotion to heavenly things and wisdom in earthly things, Moses Hoge, the Synod's professor and President of Hampden Sidney College. His two sons, John Blair and Samuel Davies, came with him. I remember Rice, of Richmond, and his younger brother from Petersburg. And I heard one sermon from Archibald Alexander, from Princeton, on the saints being satisfied with the likeness of God in heaven. I also remember the sermon by the younger Rice on the parable of Dives and Lazarus; and know the effect produced by the one from a young man on the barren fig tree. Hill was there from Winchester: and who that ever met him forgot him if he read an ode of Horace with him. Crowds assembled to hear, and listened always; and at times were solemn as the subjects were grave.

One night a full house assembled to hear John B. Hoge on his first appearance in the pulpit, in Fredericksburg, after his return from Europe. Report had more than whispered that the young man excelled in his pulpit addresses. His text that night was — "And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled and said — go thy way for this time, when I have a convenient season I will call for thee." His first appearance was not prepossessing. His manner was unconstrained, but somewhat awkward. A slight hoarseness, and the heaving of his chest, evidenced the difficulty with which his lungs, not yet restored by a visit to the south of France, poured out the volume of sound. He gave a short history of the parties grouped in the text and context; and by his graphic skill we saw them all living and moving before us, the judge, the splendid company, and the prisoner, all in our "mind's eye." As he went on, his strong features softened and beamed with tenderness and intellect; and any want of gracefulness was lost in his dignified bearing and commanding manner. The speaker, in fact, was often forgotten in the subject and the personages before us. The inquirer after gospel truth heard truth in its beauty, — the reasoner heard reasoning along with the truth that required no reasoning, and permitted it only incidentally; and those that cared for neither, saw, heard, felt descriptions, figures, groupings of persons and passions in wonderful succession. The attention deepened. All were motionless but the venerable old man, whose varying countenance and agitated limbs exhibited the deep emotions of a father listening to a son in the ministry. As

the scenes and subject changed from righteousness to temperance, and from temperance to judgment to come, we heard his husky voice, and saw his strong ungainly gestures, with his stretched arm and extended fingers; but they were all lost sight of again, as with a sweep of his strained arm, and half shut hand and laboring chest; he made us see his mental visions, and feel the truth his struggling lungs announced. Felix trembled before us. The discourse on judgment brought to his mind the judgment before the tyrant at Rome, and the double judgment made him tremble; and we heard him say—“Go thy way for this time, when I have a convenient season I will call for thee.” We all felt sad; as lookers on we felt sad at the sight of an immortal man letting pass the golden moment for securing his welfare for eternity, when his hopes in time were so faint and few. Suddenly the scene changed, as with the motion of his hand. We ceased to be spectators; we were now actors. He was addressing us like Paul; and we like Felix were trembling on the brink of decision,—should we, in view of the judgment to come, cry out like Felix, “Go thy way,” or in sight of our sins cry out with the publican—“God be merciful to me a sinner?” He paused a moment, and then bid us cry out to the King of kings for pardon and for life. Pointing up with a voice sinking under weariness and emotion, he cried out—“O, thou recording Angel! dip thy pen in the blood of the everlasting covenant, and beneath this record of sins and transgressions, write *forgiven!*” — The book of remembrance seemed open in the ceiling, and by it stood the angel as about to write, with his pen bloody from the fount of Calvary, on the dark leaves. The silence was awful. Bursting hearts were ready to cry “*Write mine.*” The vision grew dim; we turned to the speaker; he had disappeared. But the deep impression remained. The name of the man was connected with the subject: probably no one that heard that sermon ever forgot either the man or the subject.

On the Sabbath of Synod, Dr. Alexander preached the sermon before communion. In setting forth “*Christ our passover,*” he gave a specimen of the simplicity of the graphic art as complete as the gorgeous display of Hoge; perhaps superior, as from the first to the last no one remembered anything of him, of his voice, tones or gestures, except a single one, after the first few short sentences; and then he stood before us an unpretending and somewhat abashed man, who had not raised his eyes to the view of the assembly. And yet there we sat, thinking of Christ our Passover slain for us. What thoughts! what scenes! so perfectly natural! The sermon passed: was it through? What a man to talk to people from the pulpit! Near the close, when he said—“There is our Lamb,” a Frenchman, unaccustomed to our worship, arose, and with his eye followed the direction of his finger—the only gesture remembered, to see the Lamb for sacrifice. Father Mitchel, in assisting at the communion lifted up his voice like a trumpet. Nobody knew what Alexander’s voice was: the church was not big enough for Mitchel’s. We felt as we reflected on the scenes of those meetings, that we had

listened to the gorgeousness, the simplicity, the earnestness and pathos of the Virginia pulpit.

So passed two years of worship at this corner of the Female Orphan Asylum, with the church under the care of the present Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, Samuel B. Wilson, D. D.

John B. Hoge died of consumption, on the 31st of March, 1826, and lies buried in Martinsburg. Born in the year 1790, he grew up in Jefferson County, Virginia. His education was paternal, being obtained in part at a private school taught by his father, while minister at Shepherdstown, and partly at Hampden Sidney College, of which Dr. Hoge became president, when his son was about seventeen years of age. After serving in the office of tutor, young Hoge commenced the study of law with Henry E. Watkins, of Prince Edward. His instructor remarked the ease with which his pupil mastered the principles of law; and that he possessed the faculty of generalization, embracing analogies, to a high degree. To this was united an imagination that could invest any subject with interest, by its gentle touches, like the morning light upon the hills and valleys. After much reflection he came to prefer theology to law, the ministry of the gospel to the bar; and in face of great inducements to prosecute the legal profession, he made preparation, under his father's teaching, for the ministry. He was licensed by Hanover Presbytery, at Old Concord, April 20th, 1810, in company with Charles H. Kennon. In 1811, he was transferred to Winchester Presbytery; and accepting a call from the churches of Tuscarora and Falling Waters, he was ordained in the regular form, Oct. 12th, at Tuscarora Meeting House, near Martinsburg, after sermon, by Rev. William Hill. His preaching attracted attention, both for its matter and manner. On some important truth he usually erected a fabric inwrought with metaphysical reasoning, more or less apparent, gospel explanation, and discussion. He interwove, everywhere, figures, graphic scenes, and flights of fancy, and the visions of a gifted imagination, at times with simplicity, and at times with gorgeousness, and carried his hearers along with him, deeply interested. All classes loved the man. The unpolished and uneducated hung upon his lips, and admired the same sentiments and sentences that charmed the refined and well disciplined. They gave as a reason—"It was beautiful, and spoke to the heart." The stream that flowed from his fervid soul electrified his hearers. His mind acted quickly. His imagination lent its aid at his pleasure. A close student, his health failed. He sought relief for his laboring lungs in the south of France. He was absent from his native land, on the ocean and in Europe, from the fall of 1814 to the summer of 1816. His residence in Europe was a source of great physical improvement, and mental development. In his preaching, after his return, he appeared to take larger views, and to express himself with a still greater degree of earnestness; and was more popular. The effect of his sermon in Fredericksburg was not dissimilar to the experience in other places.

This admiration abundantly expressed produced no visible signs of self-gratulation. He bore himself with unusual dignity and kindness, never visibly puffed up, or cast down, or deprived of his entire self possession.

On the 6th of May, 1819, he was united in marriage to Miss Ann K. Hunter, of Martinsburg, Berkeley County, Virginia. This lady, left early a widow, with two small children, was blessed to rear those children, and still lives. When the church on Shockoe Hill was prepared for the Presbyterians that were gathered by Rev. John Blair, Mr. Hoge was removed to Richmond, and became their pastor; having been released from the pastoral charge of Falling Waters, April 19th, 1822, and from Tuscarora on the 19th of the following June, and transferred to Hanover Presbytery on the 7th of the following September. In this new field his popularity and usefulness were enlarged; and for a time his health improved. The climate of Richmond was more genial to his lungs. But in two or three years it became evident that the race of this beloved and laborious minister of God must soon end. While in Richmond he compiled a volume of his father's sermons, which was sent forth by the Franklin press; and was making preparations to give to the public a memoir of that same father, written out with care, whilst residing in Martinsburg. He was active in giving permanency, and extensive efficiency, to the Theological Seminary in Prince Edward, taking his stand among the foremost in the Synod. But the hand of death was on him: and he passed away. Noble in mind, dignified and courteous in church business and in social intercourse, devoted to works of benevolence, and the building of the church of the living God, one of nature's gentlemen, and Christ's humble servants, multitudes mourned what seemed to them a premature grave.

#### JAMES H. FITZGERALD.

Mr. Fitzgerald, mentioned as an occasional hearer, at the Asylum Corner, became, in a few years, a resident at the Falls, and a regular worshipper with the congregation, and a ruling elder in the Church. Born in Cumberland County, liberally educated, and inheriting a competent estate, he was enabled to fill up the measure of duty as a private citizen, and to devote himself to labors for the welfare of his fellow men. Early in life he was called out from his retirement to represent the county in the Legislature of the State. The sphere of politics, however, was not the one in which he most delighted to serve his generation, and do good to the human race. Becoming connected by marriage with a family whose residence was at the falls of the Rappahannock, in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg, he was led to make his home in that healthy and beautiful situation. And as elder in the Church, trustee of Hampden Sidney College, director of Union Theological Seminary, President of the Central Board of Foreign Missions, and a helper in every good word and work, he expended his strength, and the resources of an ample income. His much beloved wife, the daughter of Francis Thornton, Esq., united cheerfully with him in his principles of religion, domes-



tic action, and public intercourse; and was, with his full approbation, a hearty directress and patroness of the Orphan Asylum in Fredericksburg, a founder of schools of merit in Fauquier, where they, for a series of years, passed their summer, and an active co-operator with the little church at Warrenton, in her efforts for excellence and enlargement. Tall, erect, symmetrically formed, with light hair, and an early tendency to baldness, with a countenance expressive of frankness and benevolence, easy and gentle in his motions, he mingled dignity and kindness in his manners; and at the first appearance prepossessed strangers. The favorable impression was not lost by prolonged acquaintance. Intimacy always ripened into friendship; and his friendships and his friends were abiding. Unostentatious in dress, or equipage, or style of living, he practised a generous hospitality. An economist of the highest kind, producing, and avoiding useless expenditures, he devoted his ample income as a Christian benefactor. The kindness of his disposition was equalled by the firmness of his moral principles. He carefully avoided prominence in any cause or act in which he was associated with others. When compelled to take the highest seat, his refined moral sympathies made him peculiarly careful of the boundaries of right, and feeling, and propriety. He seemed to make every one a leader rather than himself. In doing a kindness he seemed to be the obliged person. In the good order and quietness of any assembly over which he presided, which generally might be remarked for its completeness, he seemed to have received a favor for which he thanked the body. With all this, there was a resolution to defend the right, which became the more evident, the greater the necessity for its exercise. Naturally gentle, he was truly brave; retiring and unpresuming, he was strictly honorable. No man ever saw him tremble in danger, or agitated in perilous circumstances. In the judicatories of the Church, which he very generally attended as representative, he was always a welcome member, a model of propriety in action, and coolness of judgment, and correctness in decision. Through him the influence of the Church in Fredericksburg was commanding; and in him the Church in Warrenton had a firm friend and generous helper.

In those times and trials of the Church, commonly referred to as the times of 1837, Mr. Fitzgerald had a part. He read and pondered much on the condition of the Church and the current of events; and was one of those who believed, in 1837, that the first step towards peace and prosperity in the Church, was the separation of the discordant elements. In reference to the acts of the Assembly of 1837, of which he was a member, from Winchester Presbytery, he said, while they were in agitation, "I do not see how we can do better;" and, after they were determined upon, he often said, "I do not now see how we could have done better." He had never cherished unkind feelings for the brethren from whom he was separated. He cherished nothing but kindness for them after the separation, while he maintained, always and everywhere, that the different portions of the Presbyterian Church, having different principles and

plans of church action, and different views of some important doctrinal subjects, would be in less harmony, in one Assembly, than in two; and that by consent of the prominent actors on both sides, the time had arrived, in 1837, for some decisive steps to be taken. The particular mode and line of divisions adopted, were esteemed preferable to further contention, or any other proposed plan of separation. The difficulties he understood, the perplexities he felt, and the consequences he was willing to abide, and never regretted the part he had acted.

For various reasons relating to his health, in the year 1851 he visited Europe, accompanied by his wife. For a time the change of climate, the journeying, and the medical assistance obtained in Paris, had an apparent beneficial effect, and he was preparing to return to Virginia, with cheering prospects of prolonged usefulness and health. Suddenly, the symptoms of his disease assumed a fatal aspect. He heard the announcement of his physician, that the surgical operation, which had been altogether favorable in its appearance, would soon terminate in death, with a calmness that showed that the thoughts of death were not strangers to him, and preparation for its approach not a new work. The physician stood amazed at his patient. He had wondered at him, during the whole attendance upon him. His calmness, his entire politeness, his carefulness of the comfort of others, his occasional pleasant reference to religion, its principles and hopes, all had made a deep impression. The composure with which the dying man set about the arrangement of his affairs, for immediate dissolution, affected all beholders; and the quietness with which he committed himself to the Lord Christ, consoled his wife, whom, in anticipation of her trial and loneliness, he had affectionately committed to the same Lord. In the clear exercise of his reason, and in full faith, hope and charity, he met death in the city of Paris, May 6th, 1852. The habits of that city, in disposing of the dead, rallied the widow from her deep astonishment at the unexpected departure of her husband; and, without a single relative or American friend, she speedily embarked with the body of her husband for America. With appropriate services, his friends and members of the Church in Fredericksburg, deposited the remains of Mr. Fitzgerald in the private burial-ground at the Falls, on the second day of June. The sermon delivered by the Rev. G. W. M'Phail, on the occasion, is preserved in print, and characterizes the departed Elder as a model of the Christian gentleman. No one great act immortalized him: but a constant succession of duties well performed, filled up the beautiful picture of Christian excellence.

THE END.

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